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[*And say : My Lord ! Increase me in knowledge.—Qur'ân*]

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EDITORIAL NOTE

The New Year for the Islamic Culture has set in with the auspicious event that H.M. the King Emperor has been graciously pleased to confer upon its President—The Hon'ble Dr. Nawab Mahdi Yar Jung Bahadur—the honour of Knighthood in recognition of the meritorious services the Hon'ble Nawab Mahdi Yar Jung Bahadur has rendered to the educational, political, judicial and administrative progress of Hyderabad. Only recently the Nawab Saheb has been awarded an honorary degree of D.Litt. by the Osmania University as he has so successfully served the University in capacity of its Vice-Chancellor and Education Member. The successful career of the Islamic Culture is also indebted to the ripe experience and keen interest of this veteran scholar and patron of learning—Dr. Nawab Sir Mahdi Yar Jung Bahadur—under whose able guidance the Journal has been so far conducted. The Islamic Culture therefore feels satisfied to see that the distinguished services of its President have received deserving appreciation and recognition. It is in the fitness of things that this auspicious beginning of the year should be placed on record as it ensures further success and prosperous future for the Islamic Culture.

We take this opportunity to wish happy New Hijra Year to and thank the members of the Islamic Culture Boards, learned contributors of articles, subscribers and the Hyderabad Government Central Press for their good co-operation which has made it possible for us to keep up the high standard of the Journal and place it in the hands of the readers at its usual price in spite of the war.

Ed., I.C.

CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORICAL STUDY OF HOSPITALS IN MEDIÆVAL ISLAM

WHEN Ibn-Jubayr, the Spanish-Arabian scholar and traveller, visited the Eastern lands of Islam in the second half of the 6th century of the Hijra era, he was much struck by the large number and magnificent equipment of the hospitals which he found there; and anyone who reads the interesting and impressive accounts of these institutions in the Arabic literary sources will readily agree with the Spanish savant's remark that the hospitals of those days constituted one of the chief glories of the Muslim world.¹

The hospitals that came into existence in the early centuries of Islam are an index to the economic prosperity of those times as well as a manifestation of the humanitarian spirit of their founders. They are also deserving of our serious study, as they represent a brilliant aspect of the remarkable development of medical science among the Muslims. In the present article it is proposed to make a rapid survey of such institutions, to give a brief account of the circumstances in which they arose, and to call attention to certain prominent features that characterized them.

THE HOSPICE OF WALID

THE first institution for the sick, of which we hear in Islamic times, was the infirmary established by the Omayyad Caliph al-Walid, as is recorded by at-Tabari and other later historians.² We are told that in 88 A.H. the lepers and the blind were segregated, and an adequate supply of food was provided for them. When Ibn-Jubayr visited Damascus about five hundred years later, he saw a number of lunatics in the Old Hospital, where they were still in receipt of some sort of medical treatment.³

1. هذه المارستانات مفخر عظيم من مفاخر الاسلام (Ibn-Jubayr, *Rihlah*, Leyden, 1907, p. 284).

2. at-Tabari, *Annales* (Leyden edition), II, p. 1196; and Maqrizi, *Khitat*, II, p. 405.

3. Ibn-Jubayr, *Rihlah*, 2nd ed. (Leyden, 1907), p. 283.

HOSPITALS AT BAGHDĀD

A FEW decades after the reign of al-Walīd, however, the centre of Muslim political power and culture shifted to the newly-founded capital of Baghdād, which also became the centre of the great scientific movement under the 'Abbasids. It was at Baghdād that the influences of Greek, Persian, and Indian sciences began to pour into the Muslim world, assumed large volume, and took on an Arabian character. Just as Persian influences began to be felt more and more in administration and many other spheres of life, so in the field of medicine too the traditions of the old Sassanian school of Jundi-Shāpur became predominant. Thanks to the enlightened policy of the Sassanids, this medical school had grown from strength to strength and had become a meeting-point for Greek and Indian sciences, with an underlying Persian element. When the 'Abbasids established themselves at Baghdād, this school was still flourishing. In 765 A.D., when the second 'Abbasid Caliph, al-Manṣūr, was afflicted with an illness which baffled his medical advisers, he summoned to attend him Jurjis, the son of Bakhtīshū, the chief physician of the hospital at Jundi-Shāpur; and when the great physician returned after four years' sojourn at Baghdād, he sent his pupil 'Isā b. Shahlah to replace him at the Metropolis.¹

When Hārūn ar-Rashīd, the fifth 'Abbasid Caliph, wanted to establish a hospital at Baghdād, eyes were again turned towards Jundi-Shāpur; and he requisitioned the services of Jibrīl b. Bakhtīshū for the purpose. Abū-Yahyā Zakariyā b. Māsawayh, who specialized in pharmacology, was appointed director of this hospital, which was the first institution of its kind to be founded at Baghdād.²

At the medical school of Jundi-Shāpur, the theory and practice of medicine went hand in hand: it was a teaching institution as well as a hospital, where patients were admitted and treated for their respective ailments. The hospital bore the Persian name of Bīmāristān (بیمارستان), or the house of the sick; and since the first hospital at Baghdād was organized by the associates of the school of Jundi-Shāpur, most probably on the model of their own institution, the hospital at Baghdād also came to be known as Bīmāristān, which is in fact the earliest word used in Arabic literature for a hospital. Later on, it was abbreviated to Māristān. From very early times, patients suffering from mental diseases were also accommodated in hospitals; but in the period of decline, when proper medical treatment was no longer available at these hospitals and the ordinary patients ceased to visit them, there remained only the helpless lunatics as the sole inmates of these institutions, as also happened in the case of several hospitals in Egypt and Syria. The result was that the word

1. Ibn al-Qiftī, *Tārīkh al-Hukamā'*, ed. Lippert (Leipzig, 1903), p. 158.

2. Ibn al-Qiftī, *Tārīkh al-Hukamā'*, ed. J. Lippert (Leipzig, 1903) p. 383; Ibn-Abī 'Uṣaybi'a: *Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā'*, Vol. II, p. 175.

Māristān gradually fell into disrepute ; and in the Arabic-speaking countries it came to denote only a lunatic asylum, whereas a hospital came to be designated by the purely Arabic word, *Mustashfā*.

HOSPITALS OF THE BARMECIDES

THE celebrated family of the Barmecides also founded a hospital at Baghdād. A special feature of this hospital seems to have been that the Indian system of medicine was predominant at this institution, which was directed by a Hindu physician, called (ابن دهن) by Arabic authors. Moreover, we learn from the *Fihrist* of Ibn an-Nadīm that the Vizier Yahyā b. *Khālīd* of the same family sent an agent to India to fetch the materia medica peculiar to that country. He also invited several Indian physicians, who translated a number of medical works from Sanskrit into Arabic, including an Indian Pharmacopœia, which was introduced in the hospitals of Baghdād. The Barmecides seem to have been firmly persuaded that the sources of Indian wisdom had not gone dry, and that India had yet to teach a great deal to the outside world. The facts recorded by Arabic authors sufficiently indicate that the Barmecides were instrumental in importing a considerable amount of Indian medical lore into the general system of the so-called Yūnānī (Ionian) medicine, current in the Muslim world ; so that when 'Alī b. Rabbān wrote his *Firdaws al-Hikmah* in the reign of the Caliph al-Mutawakkil, he was able to give in the concluding part of his work a summary of Indian medicine in 36 sections.¹ Similarly, in another work of his, entitled *Hifẓ aṣ-Ṣiḥḥa*, he follows Indian as well as Greek authorities.

HOSPITALS UNDER AL-MUQTADIR

ANOTHER royal hospital founded at Baghdād was that of the Caliph al-Muqtadir, who opened it about the beginning of the 4th century of the Hijra era on the advice of Sinān, the son of the famous translator, *Thābit*, b. Qurra. It was situated near the Bāb al-Shām, and was named after its founder, who assigned to it a monthly expenditure of 200 dinars out of his own privy purse. Many eminent physicians served at this hospital from time to time, the most distinguished of them being the famous Ibn-Zakariyā ar-Rāzī.²

Another hospital at Baghdād stands to the credit of al-Muqtadir's Vizier, 'Alī b. 'Isā, who, in an age of corruption and oppression, served his master for several years with rare integrity and ability.³ Besides being

1. *Firdaws-u'l-Hikmat* of 'Alī bin Rabbān aṭ-Ṭabarī, edited by Muḥammad az-Zubayr aṣ-Ṣiddiqī, 1928.

2. Ibn al-Qiftī, *Tārīkh al-Hukamā'*, ed. J. Lippert (Leipzig, 1903), p. 194 ; and Ibn-'Abī 'Uṣaybi'a, *Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā'*, II, p. 222.

3. On the life of 'Alī b. 'Isā, see the excellent monograph of Harold Bowen, *the Life and Times of 'Alī ibn-'Isā* (Cambridge) 1928.

a good financier and economist, 'Alī b. 'Isā was also deeply interested in works of public utility, so that Baghdād came to have another hospital through the generosity and humanitarian spirit of this good Vizier. This hospital was situated in the Harbiyya quarter of Baghdād, and its entire expenses were borne by the Vizier alone out of his private income.¹

While the generous Vizier, 'Alī b. 'Isā, presented the inhabitants of Baghdād with a new hospital, he was at the same time not unmindful of the needs of the people living in the countryside. He felt that there must be many sick persons in the outlying districts of Iraq, who stood in need of medical aid but could not avail themselves of the services of competent physicians. Accordingly, he asked Sinān b. Thābit to organize medical relief in the rural areas, and wrote to him several letters on the subject, the substance of which has been given by the son of Sinān in a biographical sketch of his illustrious father, which has been fortunately preserved through the industry of Ibn-Abī 'Uṣaybi'a.² Acting on the instructions of the Vizier, Sinān b. Thābit despatched into the rural districts a number of physicians, who were well provided with medicaments. They went from place to place, staying in each village for a few days according to the requirements of the locality.

Even the needs of prisoners and criminals were not forgotten. The same Vizier once wrote to Sinān b. Thābit: "May God prolong your life! I have bethought myself of the condition of prisoners. Want of adequate accommodation in the prisons and the large number of their inmates render the prisoners an easy prey to various kinds of disease. Since their incarceration prevents them from approaching physicians and receiving proper treatment at public hospitals in the usual way, you should appoint a number of physicians to visit the prisoners daily and treat such of them as happen to be ill."²

STATE CONTROL OF PHYSICIANS

SINĀN b. Thābit was a kind of inspector-general of hospitals and medical services in the reign of the Caliph al-Muqtadir. The name of this eminent doctor is also connected with the first qualifying examination of medical practitioners of which we read in the history of Arabian medicine. In 319 A.H., the Caliph came to know that the blunder of a quack had caused the death of an unfortunate patient. He thereupon issued an order to the Muhtasib that no one should practise in Baghdād until he was able to satisfy Sinān b. Thābit of his competence and proficiency, with the exception of a few physicians of recognized standing, who were exempted from this test on account of their reputation. The

1. Ibn-Abī 'Uṣaybi'a, *Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā'*, I, p. 234.

2. Ibid., I, p. 22.

remainder who had to submit to the test numbered about eight hundred. Sinān b. Thābit indicated in each case the branch of medicine which the candidate was permitted to practise.¹

That the examination was not devoid of its humorous aspect is shown by the following anecdote, related by Ibn-al-Qiftī in his *Tārīkh al-Hukamā'*. Among the practitioners who presented themselves before Sinān was a dignified and well-dressed old man of imposing appearance. Sinān, accordingly, treated him with consideration and respect, and addressed to him various remarks on the cases before him. When the other candidates had been dismissed, he said, "I should like to hear from the *Shaikh* something which I may remember and that he should mention who was his teacher in the profession." The old gentleman replied, "I cannot read or write well, nor have I read anything systematically; but I have a family whom I maintain by my professional labours, which, therefore, I beg you not to interrupt." Sinān laughed and replied, "On condition that you do not treat any patient with what you know nothing about, and that you do not prescribe phlebotomy or any purgative drug save for simple ailments." "This," said the old man, "has been my practice all my life, nor have I ever ventured beyond sikangabin (oxymel) and jullāb (jalap)." Next day amongst those who presented themselves before Sinān was a well-dressed young man of pleasing and intelligent appearance. "With whom did you study?" enquired Sinān. "With my father," answered the youth. And who is your father? asked Sinān. "The old gentleman who was with you yesterday," replied the other. "A fine old gentleman!" exclaimed Sinān; "and do you follow his methods? Yes? Then see to it that you do not go beyond them!"²

We read of a similar test of oculists, conducted by the royal physician Ibn-Abi Khalifa at a later date. Nūr-ud-Dīn Zangī had entrusted him with the examination of oculists and charged him to grant permission to practise the art only to those who were proficient in it.

That some sort of State control was exercised as a matter of set policy by the government of the day over the dealings of druggists and pharmacists and the professional labours of physicians and surgeons in Islamic countries, is evident from the fact that almost all the manuals written for the guidance of the Muhtasib contain a number of chapters which give the duties of that official with respect to the medical practitioners and druggists, along with instructions regarding the ways and means of detecting their fraudulent practices. The latest manual of this kind to see the light of the day is the *Ma'alim al-Qurbah fi Ahkām al-Hisbah* of Diyā-ud-Dīn Muḥammad, commonly known as Ibn-al-Ukhuvvāh, an Egyptian writer of the eighth century of the Hijra era. The Arabic text of this interesting book has been edited, along with a full abstract of its contents

1. *Tārīkh al-Hukamā'* of Ibn-al-Qiftī, ed. Lippert, pp. 191-92.

2. E. G. Browne, *Arabian Medicine* (Cambridge, 1921), pp. 40-41.

in English, by Dr. Reuben Levy for the Trustees of the E. J. W. Gibb Memorial (London, 1938); and a few paragraphs from this valuable source which illustrate the theme in hand are translated below :—

“The Muhtasib must exact the oath of Hippocrates¹ from all physicians, and make them swear that they will not give to any one a harmful medicament, or compound a poison for anyone, or describe poisons to any member of the public, or mention to women a medicament for procuring abortion, or to men one which will prevent procreation. They shall avert their glances from forbidden things, when they come into the sick; and they shall not reveal any secret, or bring anyone into disrepute, or concern themselves with anything which has been forbidden to them.²

“As for the oculists, they should be examined by the Muhtasib on the *Book* of Hunayn b. Ishāq, namely the “*Ten Discourses on the Eye*.” Those whom he finds competent in the subjects of the examination—those, namely, who know the structure of the layers of the eye and their number (seven), and the number of the humours (three) and of the diseases of the eye (three), and the ramifications of these diseases; who know, further, how to compound the salves and are acquainted with the properties of drugs—these shall be licensed by the Muhtasib to undertake the treatment of eyes. The practitioner must not be negligent with respect to the instruments of his craft. And as for street oculists, no trust can be put in most of them, for there is no honesty in them. The Muhtasib should prevent them from onslaughts on the eyes of the people with incisions and application of *kuhl*, for they have no knowledge or experience of diseases and the ailments which occur.³

“Surgeons must have a knowledge of the *Book* of Galen on wounds and dressings, of the anatomy of the human body and of the muscles, veins, arteries and nerves it is made of, so that these may be avoided when incisions are made or abscesses opened. No man shall undertake blood-letting, except he who is well-known for his science and honesty and for his sound knowledge of the anatomy of organs, veins, muscles, and arteries, and is acquainted with their disposition, so that the lancet may not strike any vein, muscle, or artery not intended, and so lead to the injury of the member and the death of the person who is bled. The Muhtasib must exact a promise and a bond from them that they will not bleed, except after consultation with physicians, in cases where the patient is under

1. By enunciating certain principles of conduct to be followed by medical practitioners, Hippocrates (died about 370 B.C.) gave medicine its ethical basis. On the subject of the oath, see further W. H. S. Jones’ *the Doctor’s Oath: an Essay in the History of Medicine* (Cambridge, 1924).

2. Ma’ālim al-Qurbah, ed. R. Levy, (London, 1938), p. 167-68.

3. Ibid., p. 168.

14 years of age or is old, or suffers from extreme emaciation or anæmia or has an excessively cold temperament."¹

THE HOSPITAL OF 'AḌUD-AD-DAWLA

GOING back once again to Baghdād, we find that it was adorned a few decades later—in 370 A.H. to be exact—with another hospital, founded and endowed this time by 'Aḏud-ad-Dawla, the greatest and the most celebrated prince of the Buwayhid house, who had his seat of government at Shīrāz. He founded many hospitals throughout his realm; but he reserved the greatest measure of his princely munificence for the one established at Baghdād, which city, though shorn of much of its former political power and prestige, still retained its importance as the largest centre of Muslim culture. This hospital, which was fittingly named after its founder, was situated in the western part of Baghdād, right on the bank of the Tigris. It was well stocked with all kinds of necessary drugs and appliances. The royal founder had invited famous doctors from all over the country to work in this hospital. The panel comprised about two dozen specialists, including physicians, surgeons and oculists of wide experience and fame. The names of most of them have been preserved by some Arabic writers.² The hospital was so generously endowed, and the endowments were based upon such a sound and secure footing, that it was still found in a flourishing condition two hundred years later, by the Spanish-Arabian scholar and traveller, Ibn-Jubayr, who visited Baghdād in the second half of the 6th century of the Hijra era. He writes in his travel-book that the hospital of 'Aḏud-ad-Dawla was the largest and best-known hospital of the day, and that a whole quarter of Baghdād was known after it. The chief physicians visited the hospital twice a week, examined the patients, and prescribed suitable medicine and diet for them. They had a number of assistants, who were in charge of medicaments and the nursing of the sick. The building looked like a large palace, with several pavilions and a large number of rooms, provided with all kinds of comforts.³

There is no space here to describe all the other hospitals which came into existence at one time or another in the City of Peace. We may, however, gain a good idea of the facilities for medical aid which were available in the Baghdād of those days from what has been reported in this respect by the Jewish traveller, Benjamin of Tudela, who passed through it in the second half of the 12th century after Christ. He writes that he found

1. *Ma'ālim al-Qurbah*, ed. R. Levy, pp. 159-160

2. Ibn al-Qiftī, *Tārīkh al-Hukamā'*, ed. Lippert, pp. 235, 337, 438; Ibn-Abī 'Uṣaybi'a, *Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā'*, I, pp. 244, 238, 310; Guy Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate* (Oxford, 1900), pp. 103-105.

3. Ibn-Jubayr, *Riḥlah*, ed. De Goeje (Leyden, 1907), p. 225.

sixty hospitals there, all well provided from the king's stores with drugs and other necessities ; and that every patient who claimed assistance was fed at the king's expense, until his cure was completed.¹

OTHER HOSPITALS OF IRAQ AND SYRIA

ALTHOUGH we have not as yet mentioned all the hospitals that arose at Baghdād, we must leave the City of the Caliphs, and turn our attention to other centres of Muslim life. In Mesopotamia itself, we read of hospitals that were founded at Mawṣil, Raqqa, Ḥarran and Mayyāfāriqīn ; but since our principal authorities, e.g., Ibn-Abī 'Uṣaybi'a and Ibn-Jubayr, do not give us any information concerning them beyond the fact of their existence or the circumstances in which they were founded, we must pass over them in silence.

Going towards the west into Syria and Palestine, we learn from our literary sources that hospitals existed at one time or another at Antioch, Aleppo, Emessa, Jerusalem and Safad—not to mention Damascus, the chief city of Syria, where as we have already seen, the Caliph Walīd had founded the first infirmary in Islam. With the decline of the 'Abbasids of Baghdād, when many provincial towns came into prominence as centres of independent or semi-independent dynasties, Damascus also regained some of its old importance and prosperity as the seat or annex of many ruling houses that followed each other in rather rapid succession. We learn of several hospitals that added to the glory of Damascus ; but I shall confine myself here to a brief description of the best-known of them—I mean the Nūrī Hospital (مارستان نوریه), founded by Sultān Nūr-ud-Dīn ibn-Zangī.

THE NŪRĪ HOSPITAL OF DAMASCUS

KING Nūr-ud-Dīn, who ruled over Syria in the second half of the 6th century of the Hijra era, had no jewels to give to his favourite Sultāna ; but he had a scimitar, which kept at bay the crusading armies of half Europe. In the course of warfare, he once vanquished and took prisoner a prince of Europe, who according to the custom of the day was held to ransom. The Christian prince bought his freedom with a large sum of money ; but he died on the way before he reached his native land. The gallant Sultān disdained to touch the money ; and decided to utilize it in founding a hospital.² Ibn-Jubayr, who visited it thirty years after its foundation, says that it was well provided in every respect, and its daily

1. Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela (1160-1173 A.C.) travelled extensively in the second half of the 12th century, visited Egypt and Syria, and penetrated as far east as Baghdād. An English version of his travel-book is published in Bohn's Library.

2. Ibn-Abī, *Uṣaybi'a, Ṭabaqāt al-Aʿẓabā'*, Vol. I, p. 190.

expenses amounted to a considerable sum of money. The warden kept a register, containing the names of the patients, and an account of the expenses incurred in connection with their food and medicaments. The physicians in-charge visited the hospital fairly early in the morning, examined the patients, and prescribed diet and medicine as required in each case.¹

The famous historian, Ibn-Athīr, also had occasion to visit and receive treatment at the Nūrī Hospital. "I am rich enough," he protested, "to pay for my drugs." The superintendent replied: "No doubt you can do without our medicines; but here nobody despises Nūr-ud-Dīn's bounty. In the name of God, I assure you that Sultān Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn's sons and their whole families send here for medicines and never pay." Khalīl ibn-Shāhīn az-Zāhirī, who wrote a valuable account of Egypt, Syria, and the Hijaz under the Mamlūk Sultāns, has also referred to this hospital in connection with his visit to Damascus in 831 A.H. He visited the hospital 270 years after its foundation; and relates an amusing anecdote, which illustrates in a delightful manner the lavish scale on which this charitable institution was managed. Ibn-Shāhīn was accompanied by a distinguished and amiable Persian gentleman, a man of wit and intelligence. When he went over the hospital, and saw the patients' diet and the comforts provided for them, he felt tempted to give them a trial himself. He accordingly pretended to be ill, and actually got admitted into the hospital. When the consulting physician felt his pulse, he found nothing wrong with him. He, however, had enough humour to fall into the spirit of the joke, and prescribed for the shamming patient pleasant and fragrant sherbets as medicine, and chicken, savoury cakes, fruits and other delicacies for his diet. When three days were over, the physician wrote down in place of the usual prescription that "hospitality is for three days." The Persian gentleman took the polite hint, and, having enjoyed the cuisine and comforts of the Nūrī Hospital for three days, discreetly took his leave.

THE HOSPITAL OF AḤMAD IBN ṬULŪN

AḤMAD b. Ṭulūn, the founder of the Ṭulunid dynasty, is unanimously credited by Arabic historians with the foundation of the first hospital to be constructed in Egypt (at Fustāt) under the Muslim rule. The date of its foundation is variously given as 259 or 261 A.H. Its cost amounted to 60,000 dinars; and the income of several valuable properties was set aside for its maintenance. Two baths were also attached to the hospital, one for men and the other for women. As regards the arrangements made for the reception and care of the patients, the following points are worthy of note. When a patient was admitted, his clothes were taken off and special hospital garments were given him to wear. If he had any money,

1. Ibn-Jubayr, *Rihlah*, ed. De Goeje, p. 283.

it was deposited with the bursar of the hospital. He was provided with a bed; and treated with suitable medicines and diet according to the directions of the physician-in-charge. When he was able to eat bread and chicken, he was considered to be cured of his disease, his clothes and money were returned to him, and he was discharged. Ibn-Ṭūlūn rode to the hospital every Friday, inspected the hospital stores, and visited the sick.¹ As Ibn-Ṭūlūn was a despotic ruler of harsh and vindictive character, the foundation of a hospital by him did not excite universal enthusiasm among his subjects. Muḥammad b. Dā'ūd composed some bitterly satirical verses on the occasion, which have been preserved by the Egyptian historian Abū-'Umar Muḥammad al-Kindī in his *History of the Governor and Judges of Egypt*.²

THE MANṢŪRĪ HOSPITAL OF CAIRO

THE Hospital of Ibn-Ṭūlūn was easily surpassed by the Manṣūrī Hospital, built in Cairo four centuries later by the Mamlūk Sultān Manṣūr Qalāwūn, in the richness of its endowment as well as the splendour of its equipment. We owe a fairly detailed account of it to the scholarly labours of the Egyptian historian, al-Maqrīzī, who has described it, along with four other hospitals which existed in different periods in Cairo, in his well-known work, *al-Khiṭaṭ wa'l-Āthār*, which is a topographical description of Egypt. We are told that Amīr Manṣūr Jilafān was detained at Damascus during a campaign, not by an onslaught of the enemy but by an attack of colic. The physicians treated him with medicaments from the Nūrī Hospital, which he visited on his recovery. He greatly marvelled at what he saw, and took a vow that he too would build a hospital, if God ever raised him to the position of a king. After seven years, in the summer of 1283 A.D., he was in a position to fulfil his vow. The house and grounds of a high-born widow, Qutbiyya by name, appealed to him as a suitable site for his projected hospital in Cairo. The Arabic historian relates that the Sultān Manṣūr Qalāwūn accordingly sent his trusted servant, Ḥusām, to carry on negotiations for the purchase, knowing that through his wisdom the matter would soon be satisfactorily settled. These are the words of al-Maqrīzī, who is discreetly silent as to what would have happened if the noble lady had been unwilling to part with her property. She received a sum of money and the Emerald Castle in exchange, and also consented to move without delay; for she is reported to have overlooked certain things, such as a large number of female slaves and costly treasures including a remarkable ruby; while from the courtyard of her palatial house they dug up a sealed pitcher filled with gold and pearls. The

1. For an account of the Ṭulūnid Hospital, see al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Khiṭaṭ*, Vol. II, p. 405; brief references in Ibn-Taghri Bardī, *an-Nujūm az-Zāhirah*, ed. Juynboll, Vol. II, p. 11; Abū-'Umar al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-'Umarā* (Gibb Mem. Ser.), pp. 216-17; and al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, III, 337.

2. Abū-'Umar Muḥammad al-Kindī, *The Governors and Judges of Egypt*, Arabic text, ed. R. Guest (Gibb Memorial Series), Leyden & London, 1912, pp. 216-17.

Arabic historian is too discreet to suggest that the lady was in fact evicted forcibly and hurriedly ; but he admits that the value of what she left behind her was quite as much as the cost of the hospital. There have been many Maṣṣūr in Arabian history ; but this Egyptian Maṣṣūr is particularly memorable for showing would-be benefactors of humanity how to erect a great hospital without incurring any expenditure at all.

Maṣṣūr was as arbitrary with the builders of the hospital as he had been with the noble lady, Qutbiyya, in acquiring the site for it. He brought 300 prisoners to the spot, and also acquisitioned the services of all the masons in the city, with the result that all building operations in the rest of the Capital were completely at a standstill. Whoever passed and looked at the projected hospital was forced to help : proud soldiers and high officials were dismounted and compelled to pick up a stone and carry it to its destination; the Sultān himself rode every day to inspect the rising structure ; and his people saw him polishing stones. In less than a year, the Maṣṣūrī hospital was ready, supplemented by an academy and a library. Maṣṣūr did not forget the spiritual needs of his subjects, for he also added a mosque to the hospital, where the Qur'ān was recited by expert readers day and night, and a professor of theology lectured on the Traditions of the Prophet. Although the Mu'adhdhin called the faithful to prayer, yet the orthodox did not come. They remembered the eviction of Qutbiyya and the compulsory labour employed. They whispered that the hospital was founded on injustice, and preferred to worship Allāh elsewhere. But the sick could not afford to be so scrupulous as the general public. When they heard of the comfortable beds of the royal hospital and of the appetising foods and syrups that were prepared in its kitchens, they flocked to it in large numbers. Neither the number of patients nor the length of their stay was limited. There were drugs and physicians for all possible diseases, and separate wards for cases of fever, ophthalmia, and dysentery, and for the wounded. There were separate sections for convalescent men and women, whose wants were looked after by male and female attendants. Even an outpatient department was not lacking ; and invalids confined at home were supplied with necessary medicines. So well endowed was this hospital that the poorest were readily admitted, and on leaving received funds which made it unnecessary for them to work until they were completely restored to health and strength.¹

THE HOSPITAL OF ABŪ-YŪSUF YA'QŪB AT MARRAKUSH

EVEN the extreme west of the Islamic world did not remain without its hospitals. In his *History of the Maghrib*, 'Abdul-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī

1. Maqrizī, *al-Khiṭaṭ wal-Āthār* (Bulaq, 1270 A.H.), Vol. II, 406-8.

The readers will be interested to read further accounts of hospitals (such as Bimāristān of Kāfūr al-Akḥshid, Bimāristān of Sultān Ṣālahuddīn) and their organisations in Dr. Ahmed 'Isā Bey's article on *Muslim Hospitals*, published in the Egyptian Magazine *Al-Ma'rifa* during the years 1931-33.—Ed., I.C

writes about Amīr ul-Mu'minīn Abū-Yūsuf Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr, the fourth ruler of the Almohade dynasty, who reigned from 580 to 595 A.H. that he "built in the city of Marrākush a hospital, the like of which, I think, does not exist in the world. He selected for the purpose a large open site in the best part of the town, and ordered the architects to execute the work in the best possible manner. Accordingly, they embellished it with beautiful designs and other adornments. He also ordered that all kinds of fragrant and edible plants should be planted in it; and brought to it numerous channels of water, which circulated in all the rooms, in addition to four cisterns built in the centre of the hospital, one of them being of white marble. The rooms were furnished with luxurious beds, covered with woollen cloth, linen, silk, leather, etc., which defy description. The Amīr donated to the institution a daily allowance of 30 gold pieces for victuals, in addition to the drugs supplied. He also appointed pharmacists to prepare various kinds of syrups, ointments, and collyrium. The patients were provided with day and night clothing, according to the requirements of hot and cold weather. If a patient happened to be indigent, he was given a sum of money on being discharged, so that he might live upon it till he got some employment. The hospital was open to the poor and the rich alike. Any stranger who happened to fall ill while in Marrākush was taken to the hospital and treated, till he recovered his health or died. After the Friday prayers, the Amīr rode to the hospital, visited the sick and made inquiries from them about their state of health, the attention they received from the attendants, and other matters. He continued this practice till his death."¹

GENERAL FEATURES OF ARABIAN HOSPITALS

WE learn of many other hospitals that existed at one time or another in the lands of Islam; but they cannot be all described within the limits of a short article. I shall therefore content myself with pointing out certain features which seem to be more or less common to these institutions. We notice in the first place that not only was medical treatment free at these hospitals, but food and other necessities were also supplied gratis to the patients. Usually a number of rooms were set apart for those suffering from mental disorders or infectious diseases. There were also separate wards for female patients, who were looked after by attendants of their own sex. The patients were further separated according to the nature of their ailments. Each hospital had its own pharmacy, well supplied with all kinds of *materia medica*, in charge of a special official, called *Shaykh Ṣaydalānī* (شيخ صيدلانی) or the chief pharmacist. The director of the hospital was called *Ṣā'ūr al-Bīmāristān* (ساعور البيمارستان), and

1. 'Abdul-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī, *Kitāb al-Mu'jib fī Talkhīṣ Akhbār al-Maghrib*, ed. R. Dozy, 2nd edition (Leyden, 1881), pp. 209-10.

he was assisted by a number of specialists, such as physicians, surgeons, oculists, and bone-setters. There were also superintendents and administrators in charge of the various sections of the hospital, besides domestics to look after the sick and minister to their wants. Most of the hospitals had an outpatient department, where a physician sat on a divan during consultation hours and wrote out prescriptions for the patients, who obtained the prescribed medicines from the hospital pharmacy. In most hospitals, they were given special hospital-clothes to wear in place of their own clothing, which was returned to them on their being discharged. In some hospitals, silver-voiced Qur'ān-readers were appointed to read the Qur'ān, so as to soothe the irritated nerves of the patients, especially those suffering from mental disorders. This shows that the people of those times were perfectly aware of the value of music in psychical therapy. Most hospitals were also furnished with large or small collections of medical books.

It has to be further noted that hospitals were closely connected with the teaching of medicine. The chief physicians were generally surrounded by students, who received practical training under the eyes of their teachers and rendered assistance in hospital work. In some hospitals there were separate rooms for lectures on the theory of medicine. Independent medical schools, called *Madāris at-Tibb*, also existed; but their number does not seem to have been large. The teaching of medicine was carried on mostly in connection with hospitals under individual physicians and surgeons, who were distinguished for their experience as well as for the theoretical knowledge of their science. Students who followed the course of instruction successfully were granted diplomas (*ijāzah*) by their teachers.

In properly managed hospitals, an excellent opportunity existed for the promotion of nosological and therapeutical knowledge. That this opportunity was not lost is shown by the frequent references to the registers or records which were kept of interesting clinical observations. Although the fresh clinical results seem to be meagre in proportion to the number of Arabic medical writers and institutions, yet the advance which the Arabs undoubtedly made upon the Greek tradition in certain branches of pathology and therapy was to a considerable extent due to the practical experience gained in their hospitals. The greatest progress was in this way made in the symptomatology of skin, nervine, and venereal diseases, in epidemiology and in the treatment of eye-diseases in particular.¹

The scientific value of the hospitals in Islamic countries becomes all the more remarkable when we compare them with similar institutions in the contemporary Byzantine empire. In the words of Professor Neuburger "under the Byzantine regime, hospitals remained sterile for scientific research, because the physicians were not afforded proper scope in them

1. Cf. Prof. Dr. Max Neuburger, *Geschichte der Medizin*, II Band, Erster Teil (Stuttgart, 1911), S. 194.

for the exercise of their talents, and, instead of the scientific spirit, bigotry, superstition, and dilettantism held sway over them."¹

Mediæval Europe obtained its knowledge of the medical sciences from the Islamic world, mainly through the numerous translations from Greco-Arabic literature which continued to be made well into the sixteenth century. This process of assimilation was further accelerated by the establishment of the medical schools of Salerno, Montpellier, and Paris, where courses of study were almost entirely based on the works of Arabic medical writers. It was at Salerno near Naples that Constantine the African, a christianised Arab from Tunisia (d. 1087), spent several decades of his life preparing Latin versions of Arabic medical works. In view of these well-known corroborative historical facts, it seems probable that the foundation of hospitals throughout Europe during the thirteenth century was likewise due to the European contact with Arabic countries, especially during the Crusades. The asylum and hospital 'Les Quinze-Vingt,' for instance, was founded in Paris by King Louis IX after his return from his unsuccessful Crusade in 1254-60; and, as Dr. Meyerhof has opined, the hospitals of Mediæval Europe may well have been imitations of such splendidly installed Bīmāristāns as that of Sultān Nūr-ud-Dīn in Damascus and that of the Mamlūk Sultān al-Manšūr Qalāwūn in Cairo.²

SH. INAYATULLAH.

1. [In byzantinischer Zeit] Krankenhäuser . . . für die Forschung sterile Stätten blieben, weil den Aerzten in ihren Mauern nicht der gebührende Wirkungskreis eingeräumt war und statt des wissenschaftlichen Betriebs die Bigotterie, der Aberglaube und der dilettantismus das Szepter führten. [M. Neuburger in his *Geschichte der Medizin*, Vol. II, pt. i (Stuttgart, 1911), p. 103]. It has to be remembered in this connection that hospitals in Mediæval Europe were partly under clerical supervision.

2. Cf. Max Meyerhof in the *Legacy of Islam*, (Oxford, 1931), p. 349.



FIGURE 1. Portrait of Murād III at prayer
(Fol. 7b.) *Actual size.*

A RARE OTTOMAN MANUSCRIPT WITH TWO CONTEMPORARY PORTRAITS OF MURĀD III

THE National Library of Scotland possesses a few miscellaneous oriental manuscripts catalogued by the authors of the Edinburgh University collection. This handlist has never been published. There are in Scotland two other as yet unknown collections of oriental MSS. which have not been properly catalogued, one at St. Andrews, and another at Aberdeen. I am informed that the collection at St. Andrews is fairly large and would repay examination, while the MSS. at Aberdeen number about twenty volumes.

The subject of this article is a fine Ottoman manuscript (No. 18.7.3.) in the National Library, containing two miniatures. The Arabic colophon in gold (fol. 33a) gives the following particulars : " At the most auspicious times, I composed this treatise which is named *Djāmi' al-Kamālāt* (the Sum of Perfections), in the month of Šafar al-Muẓaffar of the year 992 A.H. (1584 A.D.) at Constantinople. May it be preserved from harm." Below this a rather ambiguous line adds, " And I am the Faqīr 'Alī, the servant of the people." The catalogue description runs as follows :

" Fol. 32, i, 8½ by 5½. Fifteen lines to the page, each 2½ long,¹ and written in good nasta'liq on pink-tinted polished paper with borders left uncoloured ; gold ornaments and gold-lined round the columns ; frontispiece ('unwān) illuminated with gold, illustrated with two portraits (fol. 7b. and fol. 28a) ; bound in gilt-stamped leather A short treatise intended for the guidance of kings. It was compiled in A.H. 992/A.D. 1584 according to a chronogram, during the reign of Sultān Murād III, upon whom numerous praises are lavished. It is divided into twelve fasls or chapters, each treating of the virtues of kings The *Djāmi' al-Kamālāt* is followed by a short treatise on the beauties of Aleppo, probably by the same author or scribe, dated A.H. 999/A.D. 1590.*

1. Dr. R. B. Serjeant along with his article has kindly sent actual size photographs which show that the size of the MS. and the length of the lines are in inches.—Ed., I.C.

From the wording of the colophon and the general appearance of the manuscript itself, I think we can fairly safely assume that the dates of the composition and transcription of this manuscript lie within a few years of each other, if indeed this is not the autograph, and perhaps the only copy of the work.

According to Charles Rieu in his preface to the *Catalogue of Turkish MSS. in the British Museum* (p. xi), "it is a matter of experience that illuminated Turkish MSS. are extremely rare..." While illustrated Turkish MSS. will probably be found more numerous than Rieu supposed at that time, it is well to remember that the British Museum then had only eleven illustrated MSS. and the Bodleian only two. The University of Stamboul has some copiously illustrated MSS., but as in the case of the British Museum and the Bodleian few are earlier in date than the *Djāmi' al-Kamālāt*. The two paintings illustrated in this article belong to the school of early Turkish painting at Constantinople which was based upon, and followed, the Persian tradition. They show no trace of the western influence of Gentile Bellini, who visited Constantinople in 1480 to paint the Ottoman Sultān. Apart from certain details of costume, it is often difficult, at first sight, to say whether portraits such as these are Persian or Turkish. There is however a certain stiffness and rigidity in Turkish painting that distinguishes it from the more flexible compositions of the Persians; this is especially true of figure i.

Composed in the Ottoman capital, probably for the court, certainly for a wealthy patron able to pay for the costly painting and fine calligraphy,¹ and being fulsomely interlarded with compliments to Murād III, one naturally assumes the pictures are portraits of the monarch. Portraits of Murād III are reproduced in the catalogue of Stamboul University from a contemporary manuscript of the *Shāhinshāh-Nāmah* or *Shamā'il-Nāmah* of 'Alā'-ad-Dīn Maṣṣūr-i Shīrazī. One shows the monarch on horseback at a revue in honour of Shāh Tahmāsp, and a second shows him at the fall of Kars to the Turks. These paintings belong to the Constantinople school and are of about the same date as the *Djāmi' al-Kamālāt*. The portraits of Murād, especially the equestrian one, correspond very closely to those illustrated here; they must therefore be based on a common model, if not taken from life.

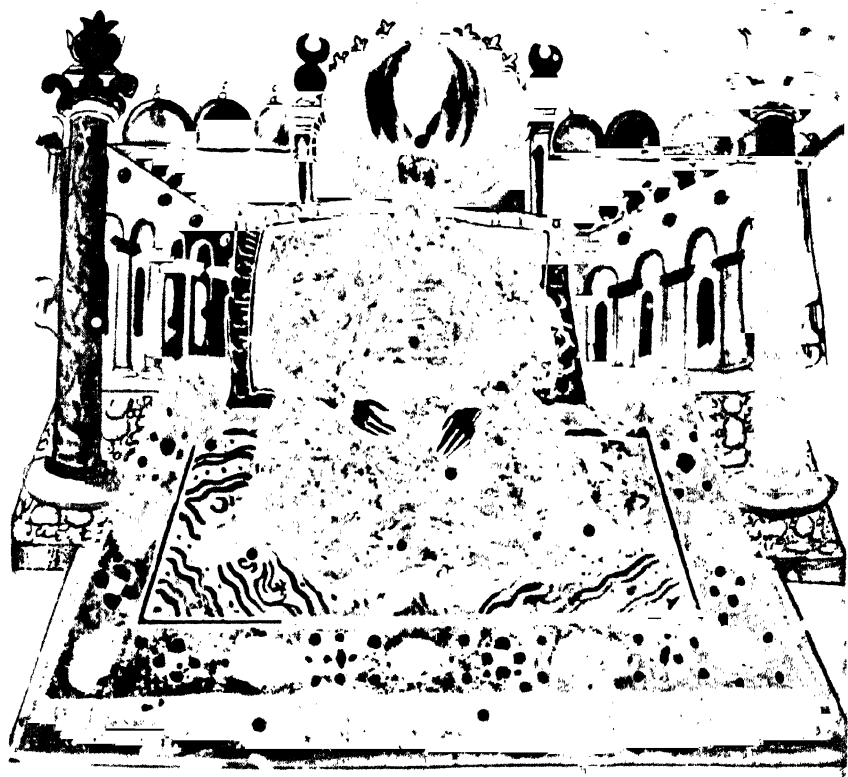
In disposition Murād III was far less harsh than his predecessors, and at the time of composition of the *Djāmi' al-Kamālāt* he was in the prime of life, being only in his thirty-eighth year. These traits accord well with the character of the person we see in the Edinburgh portraits. The composition of the equestrian portraits in both the Edinburgh and Stamboul MSS. are conventional in composition, closely resembling those of Sulaimān Khān and Murād's immediate predecessor, Salīm, both in the Bibliothèque Nationale, reproduced by Blochet in his *Musulman Painting*. The drawing

1. Fig. IV shows that calligraphy is of an ordinary type.



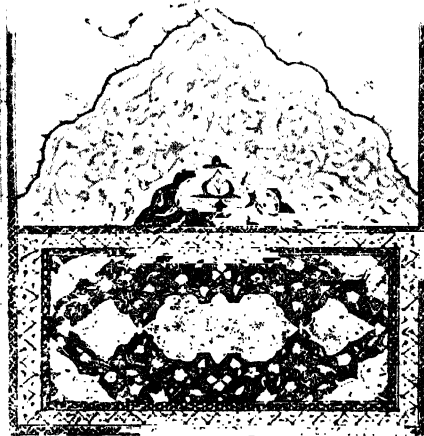
FIGURE II. Portrait of Murâd III, riding
(Fol. 28a.) *Actual size.*





Gulian AMVRAT iam Florentis Calaris Sides Christi-
nis Legationis dandas Audiens

FIGURE III Italian Portrait reputed to be of Murād III holding an audience
(Actual size)



مدد و پاس و نیایش بنیاد پس اول تاج الناس
 و رازق جن و ناس جناب پستطاب عرش مجاهد که
 خلق عالمی یوقدن و ارایلیدی و سلاطین مجتبی انده فرمان کا
 و رعایای امرا ریس فرمان بردار ایلیدی و سر و آرد که
 بنی نبیه و سر سیک او نیکوئی او نیکوئی
 نواید و عواید و مویجه و قلوب مرغوب پادشاهی اولی
 لذت ایلر و چوردی دخی صلوة و سلام اول نبی
 تمام و رسول عالی مقام حضرت علی صوبه که اول و نجای
 ریزدن او نیکوئی مام لازم الاحرام سپید شهور و عوم
 و ر وابط و دهور و ایام کبی سبیل و متصل اولدی و امت

FIGURE IV.—Title-page of the *ẓāmī-*al-kamālāt** (Fol. 1b.)

of the horse, its furniture and trappings, even the seat of the Sultān in the saddle, hardly differ in any respect.

The first portrait (fig. i) represents Murād, robed in green and white, performing the prayer on a carpet. To the right foreground is the favourite, perhaps one of his sons, a youth of pleasant mien. On the left stand two Janissaries wearing the red and gold cap, the identical uniform to be seen in the picture of the siege of Belgrade (A.D. 1521), reproduced in Kühnel's *Islamische Miniaturmalerei* (pl. 96). The Janissaries are stiff and wooden-looking. In front are two golden candlesticks of a well-known type, the candles burning brightly; to the right an embroidered leather cushion with books, a pair of scissors and an inkpot. The room is decorated with tilework picked out in gold—the photographs do not do justice to the fineness of the detail and exquisiteness of the colours. By oversight, the painter, who, as is well known, was sometimes a different person from the draughtsman, has continued the paintings of the tilework over the right arm of the favourite. The costume of both Sultān and favourite is of simple silk cloth, gold-embroidered with a repeat-motive (cf. the coat published by Reath and Sachs in *Persian Textiles*, p. 13).

The second portrait (figure ii) shows the Sultān resplendent in orange coat and blue trousers with gold embroidery, riding out with the favourite and the two Janissaries of the first picture. A farrāsh wearing a hat after the Mongol style, presumably a Tatar slave (perhaps the eunuch Ghāzānfer Aghā (?), for many Turkish court miniatures are full of actual portraits), collects complaints and petitions from the common people, thus typifying Murād as a just prince. The sky is golden, and the brook in the foreground silver, now turned purple-black with age; the usual perspective convention of a mountainous background with trees is observed.

By way of comparison, a portrait supposed to be of Murād III, is reproduced here (fig. iii) from an album in the Bodleian (MS. Bodl. Or., 430), containing pictures of Turkish and Italian subjects. I have not had an opportunity of examining this portrait, but it is described as richly illuminated in gold. The Sultān was much under the influence of his wife Şafiyah, a member of the noble family of Baffa—her father had been governor of the island of Corfu. It may have been under her patronage that the western artist who painted this portrait was admitted to the royal presence.

The opening folio of the manuscript (of which one of the pages is misplaced, fol. 16a should be 2a) is ornamented with the conventional title-piece in blue and gold (fig. iv), but the margin is covered by an interlacing design of gold lines with a thin wash of gold between, and dark crimson touches, a pattern reminiscent of the so-called Rhodes ware (cf. No. 2 of *A Picture-Book of Turkish Pottery*, Victoria & Albert Museum). The binding (fig. v) is probably nearly contemporary, certainly Turkish, for Sarre illustrates a 17th century example of similar design

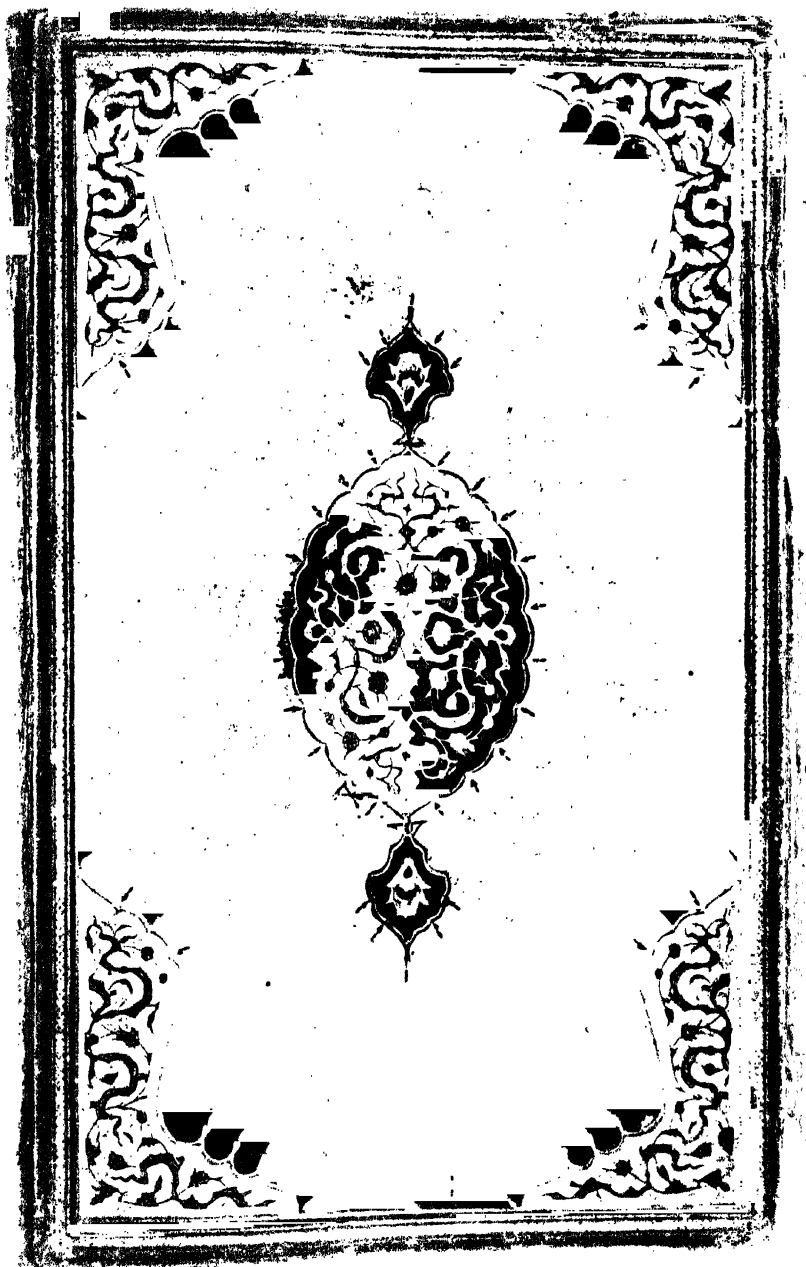
acquired in Istantbul (*Islamic Bookbindings*, pl. xviii). The *Djāmi' al-Kamālāt* is bound in rich mahogany-coloured leather, tooled and stamped, with scroll-work in relief and ground enriched with gold; the inside is lined with grey-blue leather with a gold arabasque in the centre. The MS. is, in short, a fine and perfect specimen but for a missing cover-flap. The next could easily be reproduced by the photographic method, as it is clear and legible.

I have pleasure in acknowledging the courtesy of the National Library and its Director, Dr. Meikle, and the Librarian of the Bodleian, to whom I owe permission to photograph, and reproduce the illustrations of this article.

R. B. SERJEANT.

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LAHORE

(Being an Account of Lahore Compiled from Original Sources)

NAME AND DATE OF FOUNDATION

THE early history of Lahore is enveloped in a mist of traditions, conjectures, and guesses, and it must be frankly admitted that from the available sources of information it is not possible to arrive at any definite conclusions about the earliest name and the date of foundation of the city. Definite references to this town have been made only by the early Arab geographers and Muslim historians, and these, along with other references to Lahore of a later period, will be discussed here in their chronological order.

Al-Balādhurī (Aḥmad bin Yaḥyā), who lived at the court of Baghdād towards the middle of the ninth century of the Christian era, during the *Khilāfat* of the 'Abbāsi *Khalifa* Mu'tamid (256 A.H./870 A.D.—279 A.H./892 A.D.)¹ and died in 279 A.H./892 A.D.,² is one of the earliest Arab chroniclers, and he gives an account of the first conquests of the Arabs in Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Iran, Armenia, Trans-Ōxonia, Africa, Spain, and Sindh, in his famous book, *Futūḥul Buldān*. He calls Lahore by the name of al-Āhvār.

ثم غزا ذلك الثغر المهلب ابن أبي صفرة في أيام معاوية سنة ٢٥٦م فاتى بنة والاھوار وھا بين الملتان
وڪابل ٣

Then al-Muhallab son of Abū-Ṣufrah raided this frontier in the days of Mu'aviyah in the year 44. He reached Bannah (Bannū) and al-Āhvār, which lie between Multan and Kabul.⁴

After al-Balādhurī we find Lahore mentioned in a geographical treatise, entitled *Hudūdul 'Ālam*, which was compiled in 372 A.H./982 A.D. The author of this work is not known but this is what he remarks about Lahore :

لھور شھرست با ناحيت بسيار و سلطانش از دست امير ملتانست و اندرو بازارھا و بت خانہاست
و اندرو درخت چلغوزہ و بادام و جوزھندی بسيارست و ھمہ بت پرستند و اندروی ھيچ مسلمان نيست ٥

1. Lane-Poole, S., *The Mohammadan Dynasties* (Paris, 1925), p. 12.

2. *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. I.

3. Al-Balādhurī, Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā, *Futūḥ-ul-Buldān* (Cairo, 1901), p. 438.

4. Cf. Laṭīf, Sayyad Muḥammad, *Lahore* (Lahore, 1892), p. 2 and Murgotten, *The Origin of the Islamic State*, p. 210.

5. *Hudūdul 'Ālam* (Tehran, 1352 A.H.), p. 44.

Lahor is a town with numerous districts. Its government (*sultān*) is on behalf of the chief (*amīr*) of Multan. In it there are markets and idol-temples. In it great numbers of pine-trees, almond-trees, and coconut trees are found. All the inhabitants are idolaters and there are no Muslims there.¹

Abū-Raiḥān Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī, who resided in India and speaks from personal knowledge of the country at the time of Maḥmūd's invasions at the beginning of the eleventh century of the Christian era, in his celebrated work *Tārīkhul Hind*, mentions Lahore, not as a city, but as a territory of which the capital was Mandahūkūr :

ثم فيا بين المغرب والشال الى آدت هور تسعة والى جنير ستة والى مندهو كور قصبه لوهو او ر على شرق

نهر ايراهو ثمنية. 2

Thence marching towards the north-west, you come to Adittahaur, 9 (*farsakh*) ; Jajjanīr, 6 (*farsakh*) ; Mandahūkūr, the capital of Lauhāvar, east of the river Irāva, 8 (*farsakh*).³

Again al-Bīrūnī in his description of the Himalayan mountains observes :

على اليسار يمتد في العارات الى القصبه وعلى اليمين الى قري متصلة على جنوب القصبه ويقضى الى جبل كلارجك وهو كالقبة شبيه بجبل دنباوند لا يخسر عنه الثلج ويرى دائما من حدود تاكيشر ولوهوار.

Marching on the left side of the river you always pass cultivated ground and reach the capital ; marching on the right side, you pass through villages, one close to the other, south of the capital, and thence you reach the mountain Kulārjak, which is like a cupola, similar to the mountain Dunbāvand. The snow there never melts. It is always visible from the region of Tākīsher and Lauhāvar.⁴

Shaikh Aḥmad Zanjānī, who, according to the statement of Kanhayyā La'ī,⁵ wrote his treatise, *Tuḥfatul Vāsilīn*, in 435 A.H./1043 A.D., is supposed to have remarked :

1. Vide Minorsky, V., *Hudūdul 'Ālam* (London, 1937), pp. 89 and 90.

2. Al-Bīrūnī, Abū-Raiḥān Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, *Tārīkhul Hind* (London, 1887), p. 101.

3. Vide Sachau, Edward C., *Alberuni's India* (London, 1888), Vol. I, p. 206.

4. Vide Sachau, Edward C., *Alberuni's India*, Vol. I, pp. 207 & 208.

5. Vide Kanhayyā La'ī, *Tārīkh-e-Lāhore* (Lahore, 1884), p. 9. Kanhayyā La'ī remarks :

شيخ احمد زنجاني صاحب رسالة تحفة الواصلين جس نے وہ کتاب سنہ ۴۳۵ ہجری عہد سلطان مسعود غزنوی بمقام لاہور اس کے علماء و فضلاء کے حال میں لکھی ہے

"Shaikh Aḥmad Zanjānī, the author of the treatise, *Tuḥfatul Vāsilīn*, who wrote this work in Lahore about the learned people of this town, in the year 435 A.H. during the time of Sultān Mas'ūd of Ghazni"

The whole of this statement is not correct, because Mas'ūd I reigned from 421 A.H./1030 A.D. to 432 A.H./1040 A.D. So either the book was written in 432 A.H./1040 A.D. or it was written during the reign of Maudūd, the successor of Mas'ūd I. I have not been able to trace this work.

' This (Lahore) town was first of all founded by Rāja Parīchhit, who was a great Rāja from the descendants of Pāṇḍavas. After some time this town was depopulated on account of famines, etc., and was laid waste for many centuries. During the time of Rāja Bikramājīt the town was ordered to be populated again and little progress had been made in this direction when Bikramājīt died, and Samand Pāl Jōgī succeeded him. The town prospered during his reign and was named Samand Pāl Nagarī. The town continued to flourish for a long time. Afterwards, when Rāja Dīp Chand became the king of Delhi, he gave away the Panjab as a jāgir to his nephew, Lohār Chand, who, on acquiring perfect control over the whole of the Panjab, made it (Lahore) his capital. He tried to add to the prosperity of the town and discarding the name of Samand Pāl Nagarī named it Lohārpur, after his own name. This name during the course of time was corrupted into Lahore !'

Describing an expedition of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, in Kashmīr, Gardīzī, the author of *Zainul Akhbār*, observes in 440 A.H./1048 A.D. :

و چون سنه اثنی عشر واربعمائه اندر آمد قصد کشمیر کرد و حصار لوهركوت را اندر پیچید و يكماه آنجا قیام کرد و از آنچه قلعه بغایت منیع و محکم بود نتوانست كشاد . و اندرین سال امیر نصر بن ناصرالدین رحمه الله فرمان یافته بود و امیر یوسف بن ناصرالدین رحمه الله با یمین الدوله رفته بود . و چون لوهركوت كشادن ممکن نگشت از آن دره بیرون آمد بر جانب لوهور و تا کیشرف رفت .¹

In the year 412 he (Maḥmūd) attacked Kashmīr and besieged the fortress of Loharkot. He stayed there for one month, but as the fort was exceptionally high and strong he could not conquer it. In the same year Amīr Naṣr b. Nāṣiruddīn (May he rest in peace !) had died and Amīr Yūsuf b. Nāṣiruddīn (May he rest in peace !) was accompanying Yāmīnuddaulah (Maḥmūd). But as Loharkot could not be conquered he (Maḥmūd) came out of that pass and proceeded towards Lohūr and Tākīshar.

The same author names the province 'Lahore,' when he refers to the conferment of the viceroyalty of this province by Mas'ūd on his son Majdūd :

پس امیر مجدود بن مسعود را رحمہا الله ولایت لاهور داد و قیل و علم داد و او را با حشم و حاشیت سوی لاهور بفرستاد و خود سوی غزنین آمد .²

Then he (Mas'ūd) gave the kingdom of Lahore to Amir Majdūd b. Mas'ūd (May both of them rest in peace !) and conferred upon him the royal insignia (literally, drum and standard). He then sent him with retinue and attendants towards Lahore and himself returned to Ghaznī.

Sayyid 'Alī Ḥajvīrī, a mystic saint and scholar of the eleventh century of the Christian era, who lived in Lahore for a considerable number of

1. Gardīzī, Abū-Sa'īd 'Abdul Ḥay b. aḍ-Ḍaḥāk b. Maḥmūd, *Zain-ul-Akḥbār* (Berlin, 1928), p. 79.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 104.

years and died here between 465 A.H./1072 A.D. and 469 A.H./1076 A.D., remarks in his book *Kashful Mahjūb* :

1. من اندر دیار هند در بلده لہانور کہ از مضافات ملتان است در میان ناچسان گرفتار شدہ بودم .

In the country of India I myself had become a captive among uncongenial folk in the town of Lahānor, which is a dependency of Multan.²

Abul Faḍl Muḥammad b. Ḥusain Baihaqī,³ a famous Persian Historian of the eleventh century of the Christian era, who is the author of history of the Ghaznavis in three volumes, writing in 450-51 A.H./1058-59 A.D. about the life of Mas'ūd, the son of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, in his book *Tārīkh-e-Baihaqī*, makes mention of Lahore along with the fort of Mandkakūr, a variation of the name of the place which is mentioned by al-Bīrūnī as the capital of the province of Lahore :

ونیمہ این ماہ (رمضان سن خمس وعشیرین واربعمائہ) نامہا رسید از لہور کہ احمد نیالتگین با بسیار مردم آنجا آمد وقاضی شیراز وجملہ مصلحان در قلعہ مند ککور رفتند ویوستہ جنگ است ونواحی میکنند ویوستہ فساد است . امیر سخت اندیشمند شد کہ دل مشغول بود از سہ جانب بسبب ترکمانان .
عراق و خوارزم و لہور بدین سبب کہ شرح کردم .⁴

In the middle of this month (Ramaḍān 425 A.H./July 1033 A.D.) letters were received from Lahor, stating that Aḥmad Niāltigīn had arrived there with several men ; that Qāḍī Shīrāz, with all his counsellors had entered the fort of Mandkakūr ; that there was perpetual fighting ; and that the whole neighbourhood was in a state of turmoil and agitation. The Amīr became thoughtful, because his mind was troubled from three different sources, viz., the Turkomāns of 'Irāq, Khwārazm, and Lahor, as I have already described.⁵

Abul Faraj Rūnī, a great poet, writing a Qaṣīda of Sultān Ibrāhīm, a grandson of Maḥmūd, names the town or the province Lohāvar in 472 A.H./1079 A.D. :

کشید رایت منصور سوی لوهاور بطالعی کہ تولا کند بدو تقویم⁶

He (Ibrāhīm) proceeded towards Lohāvar with victorious banners and with a fortune which was favoured by the stars.

1. Hajviri, Sayyid 'Ali, *Kashful-Mahjūb* (Panjab University Library Manuscript No. Pc. IV, 7b, f. 56b).

2. Vide Nicholson, Reynold A., *the Kashful-Mahjūb* (London, 1911), p. 91.

3. d. 470 A.H./1077 A.D. *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 592.

4. Baihaqī, *Tārīkh-e-Baihaqī* (Calcutta, 1862), p. 523.

5. Vide Elliot & Dowson, *The History of India as told by its own Historians* (London, 1877), Vol. II p. 129.

6. Rūnī, *The Diwān* (Tehran, 1304 A.H.), p. 86.

Al-Idrīsī¹ (Abū ‘Abdullāh Muḥammad b. Muḥd.-b.-‘Abdullāh-bin-Idrīs), one of the most eminent Arab geographers of Sibta, who composed his famous system of geography, *Nuḥḥatul Mushtāq fī Ikhtirāqul Āfāq*,² which has been translated into Latin by several authors, names the town Lahāvar in his work :

The towns of India are numerous ; among them may be mentioned Māhmal, Kambāya, Sūbara, Asāval, Janāval, Sindān, Saimūr, Sandūr, Rūmala ; in the desert : Kahata, Aughasht, Nahrivāra, and Lahāvar.:

Turning to early literary references we find that Mas‘ūd b. Sa’d Salmān, a Panjabi poet, who flourished in the latter half of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century of the Christian era, and who probably died in 515 A.H./1121 A.D., refers in his *Diwān* very often to Lahore, but almost always gives it a different name ; e.g., Lahāvūr, Lohāvūr, Lāvahur, Lovhūr, Lohūr, and Lahore. In a Qaṣīda in praise of ‘Alī, the favourite of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, he says :

درویشی و نیستی ز لوهور بر کند و بحضرت فرستاده

Poverty and want drove me forth from Lohūr and sent me to the capital (Ghaznī).⁵

In another qaṣīda he writes :

سید عید و من از روی حور دلبر دور	چگونه باشم بی روی آن بهشتی حور
مرا که گوید کای دوست عید فرخ باد	نگار من به لاهور و من به نیشاپور
.....
چه یاد شهر لاهور و یار خویش کنم	نبود کسی که شد از شهر و یار خویش نفور
مرا به است بهر حالی و بهر وجهی	جال حضرت غزنین ز شهر لوهاور ⁶

The festal time is come, and I am far from the face of that charming houri ;

How can I exist without the face of that houri of paradise ?

Who shall say to me, ‘ O friend, a happy festival to thee,’

When my sweetheart is at Lahāvūr while I am in Nishāpūr ?

Why do I recall the city of Lahāvūr and my friends ?

Because no one can be indifferent to his friends and his native land.

Yet, in any case and in every way, to me

The beauty of the capital of Ghaznī is better than the city of Lohāvūr.⁷

1. d. 560 A.H./1166 A.D., *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. II, p. 451.

2. Beale, T. W., *An Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (London, 1894), p. 175.

3. Vide Elliot & Dowson, I, 84.

4. Mas‘ūd b. Sa’d Salmān, *The Diwān* (Ed. 1296 A.H.), p. 49.

5. Vide Qazwīnī, Mīrza Muḥammad b. ‘Abdul Wahhāb, *JRAS.*, 1905, p. 704.

6. Mas‘ūd b. Sa’d Salmān, *The Diwān*, p. 98.

7. Vide *JRAS.*, 1905, p. 706.

In another *Qasīda* entirely addressed to Lahore, wherein he grieves and pines for the days passed in his native town, he says :

ای لاهور ویک بی من چگونہ بی آفتاب تابان و روشن چگونہ¹

O Lāohūr, well-a-way, how farest thou without me ?

How canst thou be bright without the luminous Sun ?²

In another poem, after complaining of his imprisonment, he makes the following request of some great man :

مخملی باید از خداوندم کہ ازو بوی لوهور آید

کہ ہمی ز آرزوی لوهور جان و دل درتم ہمی ناید³

I want from my lord some velvet from which emanates the fragrance of Lovāhūr,

For, through longing for Lohāvar, heart and soul faint within me.⁴

In another passage, while complaining of the filth of his prison, and indicating the comfort which he enjoyed in his own country, he says :

گرما بہ سہ داشتہ بلاهور وین ازد ہمہ کسی عیان است

امروز سہ سال شد کہ مویم ماندہ موئی کافران است⁵

I had three baths at Lahore, a fact patent to everyone ;

To-day it is three years since my hair became like the hair of the unbelievers.⁶

In another passage wherein, after describing his prison, he expresses his longing for his country, he says :

از زمانہ نکردہ ام گنہ تاکہ دانستہ ام کہ مجبو راست

مر مرا گہ گہ رنج کند ہمہ ام یوہہ لہاور است⁷

I have not uttered one complaint against Fortune, since I know that she acts under compulsion :

The only thing which troubles me from time to time is my longing for Lahāvūr.⁸

1. Mas'ūd b. Sa'd Salmān, *The Diwān*, p. 200.

2. *JRAS.*, 1905, p. 706.

3. Mas'ūd b. Sa'd Salmān, *The Diwān*, p. 255.

4. *JRAS.*, 1905, p. 707.

5. Mas'ūd b. Sa'd Salmān, *The Diwān*, p. 251.

6. *JRAS.*, 1905, p. 707.

7. Mas'ūd b. Sa'd Salmān, *The Diwān*, p. 24.

8. *JRAS.*, 1905, p. 707.

And lastly in the following quatrain, also composed in prison, he thus speaks of his longing for his country :

دانی تو که پابند گرامم یارب دانی که ضعیف و ناتوانم یارب
شد در غم لوهور روانم یارب یارب که در آرزوی آتم یارب¹

Thou knowest that I lie in grievous bonds, O Lord !

Thou knowest that I am weak and feeble, O Lord !

My spirit goes out in longing for Lohūr, O Lord !

O Lord, how I crave for it, O Lord !²

Abul Hasan 'Alī b. Zaid Baihaqī, called ibn-e-Fundūq, wrote a history of his native district of Baihaq in 563 A.H./1168 A.D.³ In this history, giving the details of the kingdom of the Ghaznavis, he remarks that Loh-āvūr was a province or region :

ملک ایشان از دیار خراسان و عراق منتطع گشت و باغزنی افتاد فی شهر سنه ثمان و عشرین
وار بمائه ، و از غزنین منتطع شده است و با دیار لوهاور و برشاوور و آن طرف افتاده از سنه خمس و
خمسین و خمسائه .⁴

In the year 428 their dominions ceased in the countries of Khurāsān and 'Irāq and shifted to Ghazni. And in the year 555 their dominions ceased in Ghazni and shifted to the country of Lohāvūr and Barshāvūr (Peshawar).

Yāqūt b. 'Abdullāh, a famous Arab geographer, in his monumental work, *Mu'jam-ul-Buldān*, completed in 621 A.H./1224 A.D., mentions the name of the place as Lauhūr as well as Lahāvūr, and names the capital of the province Mandakūr :

لوهور بفتح اوله و سکون ثانیه والهاء و اخره راء و المشهور من اسم هذا البلد لهاوور و هی مدینة
عظيمة مشهورة فی بلاد الهند .⁵

Lauhūr is generally known as Lanavūr. It is a big and well-known town in India.

مندکور بالفتح ثم السكون و فتح الدال و سکون الکاف و همزه علی واو و راء مدینة و هی قصبة
لوهور من نواحي الهند فی سمت غزنه .⁶

Mandakūr : It is a town, which is the capital of Lauhūr, a city of India, in the direction of Ghazna.

1. Mas'ūd b. Sa'd Salmān, *The Dīwān*, p. 293.

2. *JRAS.*, 1905, p. 708.

3. *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 592.

4. Baihaqī, Abul Hasan 'Alī b. Zaid, *Tārīkh e Baihaq* (Tehran, 1317 *Khurshīdī*), p. 71.

5. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam-ul-Buldān* (Leipzig, 1886), Vol. IV, p. 371.

6. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam-ul-Buldān*, Vol. IV, p. 660.

Here is a traditional record of the history of the foundation of Lahore. Hitherto no author has traced the history of Lahore earlier than the times mentioned by Sharif-e-Muhammad b. Manṣūr, who wrote a treatise on the art of war, etc., in the time of Sultān Iltutmish (1210-1236). In his work entitled *Adābul Harb wash Shujā'a*, Sharif-e-Muhammad remarks :

و در تاریخ چنین آمده است که حج بن بهندرا که والی لوهور بود و بنای لوهور او نهاده است او بگذشت . پسری بود او را بنرت نام مردی عادل . روزگاری آرمیده داشت و آنجا در لوهور مسجد خشتی است بتخانه کرد . و صورتی از سنگ بفرمود تا بتراشیدند و آنرا آفتاب نام کرده بود و مذهب او آفتاب پرستی بود و عمری دراز یافته بود نود و سه سال از انجمله هفتاد و پنج سال امیر لوهور بود .¹

It is related that Haj (Chach ?) b. Bhandrā, who was the ruler and founder of Lohūr, had died, and had a son named Banrat (?), who was a just person under whose benevolent administration the people enjoyed peace. In Lohūr he ordered a temple to be constructed on the site where now stands the brick mosque. He ordered an idol to be made of stone and named it "the Sun." He worshipped the Sun. He lived to the advanced age of 93 years and ruled Lohūr for seventy-five years.²

The famous Indian poet Amīr Khusrāw in his *Qirān-us-Sa'dain*, compiled in 688 A.H./1289 A.D., names the town Lāohūr. Writing about the attack of the Mughals on the Panjab he says :

از قدم شوم مغل آن بلاد نام و نشان ز غارت نداد
از حد سامان و تا لوهور هیچ غارت نه مگرد قصور³

In that country not a sign of a building remained when the wretched steps of Mughals trod on it.

From the boundary of Sāmāna to Lāohūr every building was shaky (or, no building was left except in Qusūr).

The famous historian Rashīduddīn has only repeated the words of al-Bīrūnī in his *Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh* (828 A.H./1424 A.D.):

و سالک چون بر یسار آن برود سمتد بر غارات باقصابات بدیهائی چند که متصل اند بر جنوب قصبه و بمقضى تابکوه لارجک که او مانند کوه دماوند است و میان او و صحرائی کشمیر دو فرسنگ است و دایما از حدود کشمیر و لها و رآنرا توان دید.⁴

Whoever travels along the left bank (of the river) will find villages and towns which are close to one another on the south of the capital and as far as the mountain Lārjak, which resembles the mountain Damā-

1. Sharif-e-Muhammad b. Manṣūr, *Ādāb-ul-Harb-wash Shujā'a* (British Museum Manuscript Add. 16, 853) f. [This book is styled *Ādāb-ul Mulūk wa Kifāyāt-ul Mamlūk* in Ethès Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the India Office Library (Column 1493), but I had access to the rotographs of the British Museum Manuscript].

2. Compare with the translation in the JRAS., 1927, p. 491.

3. Khusrāw, Amīr, *Qirān-us-Sa'dain* (Aligarh, 1918), p. 64.

4. Rashīduddīn, *Jāmi'-ut Tawārīkh* (Panjab University Library Manuscript, Pe I, 55), f. 662.

vand, between which and Kashmīr there is a distance of two farsangs. It can be seen from the boundaries of Kashmīr and Lohāvar.¹

And again :

پس آنچه میان شاه، و مغرب است تا ادت هور نه و تا ججنیر ششی، و تا مندهو کور قصبه لوهاور
نشت فرسنگ .²

In going north-west from the latter place (Sanām) to Ādittahaur, nine farsangs ; thence to Jajjanīr, six ; thence to Mandhūkūr, the capital of Lohāvar, on the east of the river Irāva, eight.....³

Haider Mirzā Dughlat, who conquered Kashmīr in the time of Humā-yūn (947 A.H./1540 A.D.) and later on became the king of that country, has fixed the position of Lahore in his famous work *Tārīkh-e-Rashidī*, compiled in 1544-47 A.D. In the description of the position of mountains and plains of Tibet he remarks :

چنانچه عقبه بالاشدن از جانب یارکند سانجو است و عقبه فرود آمدن بر جانب کشمیر عقبه اشکار دو
است از ان تاباین عقبه بیست روزه راه باشد و هم چنین بر مغرب زمستان ختن بعضی از بلاد هند
واقع است چون لاهور و سلطان پور و با جواره.⁴

The pass ascending from Yārkaṇd is the pass of Sānjū, and the pass descending on the side of Kashmīr is the pass of Aṣhkārdū. [From the Sānjū pass to the Aṣhkārdū pass] is twenty days' journey. In the direction of winter sunset from Khutan are some of the cities of Hind, such as Lahore, Sultānpur and Bājwāra.....⁵

Jamāluddīn Husain Injū, a grandee of Jahāngīr's time, furnishes us with useful information about the name of Lahore authenticated by verses of eminent Indian and Iranian poets. In his Persian dictionary called *Farhang-e-Jahāngīrī*, which he compiled in 1017 A.H./1608 A.D. and dedicated to the emperor Jahāngīr, he says :

لاهور و لانهور و لوهاور و لوهور و لهماور و لهماور و لهماور نام شهر است ز ملک هندوستان که بلاهور
اشتهار دارد .

ابوالفرج رونی	بلاهور در آمد میان موکب خویش	بزیستی که برآید شب چهارده ماه
امیر خسرو فرماید	از حد سامانه تا لانهور	هیچ عارت نیست مگر در قصور
از ابوالفرج رونی است	کشید رایت منصور سوی لوهاور	بطالعی که تولا کند بدو تقویم
حکیم ثنائی منظوم ساخته	ای بزرگان غزنه و لوهور	چشم بد زین زمانه بادا دور
شیخ نظامی راست	ندیم خاص بودش شاپور	جهان گشته ز مشرق تا لها نور ⁶

1. Vide Elliot and Dowson, I, 65.

2. Rashiduddin, *Jāmi'-ut Tawārīkh*, f. 661b.

3. Vide Elliot and Dowson, I, 62.

4. Dughlat, *Tārīkh-i-Rashidī* (Panjab University Library Manuscript, A Pe I, 9a), f. 604.

5. Elias, N., and Ross, E. D., *the Tārīkh-i-Rashidī* (London, 1895), p. 405.

6. Injū, *Farhang-e-Jahāngīrī* (P.U.L. MS.), Vol. II, f. 75 b.

Lāohūr, Lānhor, Lohāvar, Lohūr, Lahāvar, Lahāvār, and Lahānūr are the (different) names of a town of India, which is known as Lahore. (The translation of the verses is omitted as most of them have been already translated).

This is a pure and authentic history, recorded as it is, about the name and date of foundation of Lahore. I have reproduced it word by word. Looking back into this faithful record the following inferences can be drawn :

(i) The earliest definite reference to Lahore is made by al-Balādhurī, the Arab chronicler, in the latter half of the ninth century of the Christian era, in his *Futūḥul-Buldān*, wherein the town is named Alahvār. Lahore is not mentioned by any other traveller, geographer, or historian earlier than this.

(ii) Lahore has been differently named by different authors ; one author has even named it in several ways. The following are the different variants employed by chroniclers, historians, and geographers :

الاهور	Alahvār ;
لهور	Lahor, Lahūr or Lahore ;
لوهاور	Lauhāvar, Lūhāvar or Lohāvar ;
لوهور	Lohūr, Lohor, Lauhor or Lauhūr ;
لہانور	Lahānor, Lahānūr or Lahānaur ;
لوهāvūr	Lohāvūr ;
لہāvūr	Lahāvūr ;
لاوهور	Lāohūr ;
لہāvār	Lohāvar ;
لānhor	Lānhor ;
لہāvār	Lahāvār ;
لاهور	Lahore.

Why these twelve variants are used is not known. There is another notable thing about the names : one and the same name is used by different authors at different times, so no one name is older than another, and there is no chronological order in the use of the names.

(iii) The town (or fort) of Mandahukūr (Mandkakūr or Mandakūr) is mentioned as the capital of the province of Lahore, and as a separate town from that of Lahore.

Obviously when a region or country is named Lahore, the writer means the province of the Panjab of those days, which had its capital at Mandakūr.

Mandakūr, or any of its variants, is not traceable in these days. Amongst western orientalisks and historians Thomas is the first person to identify this city with Lahore, suggesting that it is a corrupt form of

Maḥmūdpur.¹ This is the basis of his conclusions. Some coins struck at Maḥmūdpur by Maḥmūd of Ghaznī are preserved in the British and Lahore Museums. I have personally examined all the coins preserved in the Lahore Museum. None of them bears a date, but the cataloguer, taking a hint from the cataloguer of coins of the British Museum,² has also included dates in the transcription of the legends of the coins, and this is how he has reproduced the legend³ from one of the coins :

Obverse		Reverse
अव्यक्तमेक		القادر
मुहम्मद अ		لااله الا الله
वतार (नृप) ⁴	بالله	محمد رسول الله
(ति) ⁴ महमूद		يمين الدولة
Margin :		وامين الملة
अयं टंकं महमूदपुर घटे(त) ⁴ (ता) ⁴		محمد
जिकीयेर संवती ४१९	Margin :	بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بمحمود پورسنه
		تسم عشره واربع مايه

This is a silver bilingual coin which bears a Sanskrit inscription (*Abyaktameka, Muḥammad Avatār, Nripati Maḥmūd*. Margin : (*Āyam ṭāṅkam Maḥmūdpur ghatet Tājikiyera Samvatī* 419) on the obverse, and an Arabic inscription in Kufic letters on the reverse. The Kufic dies for these coins seem to have been entrusted to first-class artists, for they are always excellently fashioned and correctly marked in the details ; whereas the legends on Sanskrit face of the coins vary considerably in their execution, and the orthography and the forms of the characters themselves are crude. The Arabic inscription rendered into English reads thus : Alqādir Billah ; there is no god but God, Muḥammad is the Prophet of God ; Yamīnuddaulah, Amīnūl Millat Maḥmūd. Margin : Begin in the name of God. This dirham was struck at Maḥmūdpur in 419.

The Sanskrit inscription means :

The Invisible (is) One Muḥammad incarnation King Maḥmūd.

Margin : This ṭāṅkam (was) struck at Maḥmūdpur, (in) the Arabic Samvat 419.

Thomas happened to see some similar coins struck by Maḥmūd and without either rhyme or reason jumped to the conclusion that Maḥmūdpur, a corruption of Mandakūr, was the name of Lahore, where these coins were struck in 419 A.H./1028 A.D., that is about three years before the death of Maḥmūd. Talking about ṭanka in his Chronicles of the Pathan

1. Cf. Cunningham, A., *Ancient Geography of India* (Calcutta, 1924), p. 228 and Thomas, Edward, *The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi* (London, 1871), p. 47.

2. *British Museum Catalogue of Coins*, Vol. II, No. 510, p. 151.

3. Rodgers, C. J., *Catalogue of the Coins in the Government Museum, Lahore*, (Calcutta, 1891), p. 27.

4. These letters have not been deciphered by Rodgers, the cataloguer, but they are there.

Kings of Delhi, he remarks : " Moreover, it may be seen how distinctly the *tankah* was the accepted and recognised term in India by the fact that the great Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, while continuing to make use of the ordinary mint designation of *dirham*, in the Kufic legend of his new Lāhor coinage of 'Maḥmūdpur' admits the corresponding word *ṭaka* (or *ṭanka*) in the Sanskrit legend, on the reverse."¹ And in the foot-note Thomas has suggested that Mandūkūr and its variants are a corruption of Maḥmūdpur.

From this statement we cannot discover how Thomas has been able to decide that by Maḥmūdpur Maḥmūd of Ghaznī meant Lahore and that Mandūkūr is a corrupted form of Maḥmūdpur. But Rodgers has further misled people and has tried to perpetuate this conjecture by writing in his lectures on *Coin Collecting in Northern India* : " One series of coins he (Maḥmūd) struck in Lahore. On one side in the centre was the Mahomedan confession of faith, together with the name and titles of Maḥmūd ; on the margin was a statement of the fact that the coin was struck at Mahmudpur, as it pleased the conqueror to rename Lahore, and the year. The other side was covered with Sanskrit."²

I do not feel convinced by this conjecture for various reasons. Firstly there is no reason to believe that eminent men like al-Bīrūnī would have corrupted Maḥmūdpur into Mandūkūr ; particularly when we know that al-Bīrūnī was a contemporary and companion of Maḥmūd, and was well-versed in the literature of the Hindus. Secondly it has not been mentioned anywhere in any chronicle, history, or literary composition like a *Qaṣīda*, that Maḥmūd renamed Lahore and called it Maḥmūdpur. Such an event should have figured prominently somewhere in some record, but, as it is, we do not find a single reference to this imaginary episode. Besides, it is a remarkable fact that no mention of Lahore is to be found in the *Tārīkh-e-Yamīnī* of 'Utbi (420 A.H./1029 A.D.), who held many responsible positions under Maḥmūd and travelled with him, although 'Utbi has made a reference to Maḥmūd's crossing of the Rāwī in his book.

وعبر مياه سيحون وجبلرم وچندراهه وايرابه وشتلذ سالما في سالمين . وهذه اودية تجل
اعا قها عن الاوصاف وتمنع اطرافها عن الاطراف . منها مايعمر غوارب الفيول فكيف كواهل الخيول³

He (the Sultān) crossed in safety the Sīhūn (Indus), Jelam, Chandrāha, Irābah (Rāwī) and Shataludz. These are all rivers, deep beyond description ; even elephants' bodies are concealed in them, so it may easily be conceived what is the case with horses.⁴

1. Thomas, Edward, *The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, p. 27.

2. Rodgers, Charles J., *Coin-Collecting in Northern India* (Allahabad, 1851) pp. 58 and 59.

3. 'Utbi, Abū Naṣr Muḥammad al-Jabbār, *Tārīkh-e-Yamīnī*, (Lahore, 1860), p. 305.

4. See Elliot and Dowson, II, 41.

Similarly Mas'ūdī (d. 345 A.H./965 A.D.), the "Herodotus of the Arabs," who wrote in the tenth century of the Christian era, and himself sojourned at Multan, does not mention Lahore or Mandūkūr in his famous geography *Murūjūdḥ Dhahab*.¹

So the results of my inquiries are :— (i) Lahore, Maḥmūdpur and Mandakūr are all different places ; (ii) Maḥmūd definitely struck coins in Maḥmūdpur, but this town cannot be identified from the available sources of information, although the Sanskrit legends on the coins testify to the fact that Maḥmūdpur was definitely in India ; (iii) Mandakūr was the capital of the province of Lahore (Panjab), but it again cannot be identified, although Thornton has suggested that it is a corrupted form of Mānkot, a place near Sialkot. "Now," says Thornton, "Madhokor might easily, from the similarity between *h* and *n*, and *r* and final *t*, in the Arabic character, be corrupted from Mankot or Mandhukot, a place near Sialkot. The supposition is rendered more probable by the fact that, in after-times, Shir Shah, the so-called usurper,—but, as will be hereafter pointed out, in reality the representative of the anti-Mogul, or anti-foreigner party,—seriously contemplated removing the seat of Government from Lahore, which had become associated with Mogul supremacy, to this very place, the capital of the last dynasty."² Thornton's guess would have fitted in very well but, in fact, no such place as Mankot or Mandhukot is traceable near Sialkot, as he asserts.

(iv) The government of Lahore was on behalf of the chief of Multan in 372 A.H./982 A.D., and it was a dependency of Multan in 465 A.H./1072 A.D.

(v) At least up to 372 A.H./982 A.D. there was no Muslim living in the town of Lahore, and it was inhabited only by Hindus.

(vi) There is no contemporary evidence to prove definitely that a certain person at a certain time founded this town. The traditions name different founders, some of which are the following :—

(a) Rājā Parīchhit, who was a descendant of the Pāṇḍavas.

(b) Lohār Chand, who was the nephew of Rājā Dīp Chand.

As has been already stated, this is all the traceable pre-Muslim history of Lahore, which neither gives us the exact date of its foundation nor the definite name of its founder. Lahore suddenly seems to spring into existence and prominence in the latter half of the ninth century of the Christian era. This may not be a fact, and very probably it is not, but all the same we have no authentic source from which we can prove the existence of Lahore earlier than this time. But many conjectures, some of them ingenious and based upon very striking probabilities, have been made to fix the date of foundation and the name of the founder of Lahore.

1. Vide Mas'ūdī, Abul-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Ḥusain, *Murūjūdḥ Dhahab* (Paris, 1863), and Sprenger, A., *Measures of Gold and Mines of Gems* (London, 1841).

2. Thornton, T. H., *Lahore*, p. 61.

Necessarily these have to be noted. They will be discussed here in chronological order.

Here are some of the most popular legendary and traditional accounts written by western and oriental writers about the founders of Lahore:.

Bernier in a letter written to Monsieur De Merveilles from Lahore in February 1665, casually remarks: "Whether Lahor be the ancient Bucefalos, I do not pretend to determine. Alexander is here well known by the name of Sekander Filfous, or Alexander the son of Philip: concerning his horse, however, they know nothing."¹

Sujān Rāe, the author of *Khulāṣat-ut-Tawārīkh*, writing in 1107 A.H./ 1695-96 A.D. reproduces the popular legend that Lava, the son of Rāma Chandra, was the founder of Lahore, and that the capital of the Panjab was shifted to Siālkot when Lahore was depopulated:

لاهور مصریست متقدمین برکنار دریای راوی، آبادی آنرا به لوخلف راجه رام چندر نسبت میدهند
در بعضی تواریخ لهور و لهور نیز می نویسند. چون از گردش چرخ دوار بعد امتداد ادوار
در ارکان آبادی آن انهدام رو داد قلیلی نشان معموری ماند دارالحکومت این ولایت شهر سیالکوت
گردید.²

Lahore is an ancient town situated on the bank of the Rāvi. It is related that Lava, the son of Rājā Rām Chand, founded it. In some books of history it is also styled Lahūr and Lahāvar. As time passed, its inhabitants began to decrease and the population became thin. Then Siālkot became the capital of this region.

Khairullāh Fidā, a Panjabi poet, thinks Ayāz was the founder of Lahore. In an epopée, *Mirzā Shāhibān*, written by him in 1155 A.H./ 1742 A.D. Fidā says:

نیست در هیچ کشوری مشهور شهر دیگر بخوبی لاهور
زین بنا حسن و عشق مقصودست بانی او ایاز محمودست³

A town with the beauties of Lahore is not known in any kingdom.

The foundation of this town was inspired by Beauty and Love and Ayāz of Maḥmūd was its founder.

Murtazā Ḥusain, the author of *Ḥadīqatul Aqālīm*, written in 1202 A.H./ 1787 A.D. has only carelessly quoted Sujān Rāe:

لاهور شهریست در هندوستان بر ساحل دریائی راوی. مولف خلاصه التواریخ می نویسد که هندوان
آبادی آفرا بخلف رام چند که لهور نام داشت نسبت می دهند.⁴

1. Bernier, Francois, *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, (Oxford, 1934), p. 383.

2. Sujān Rāe Bhandāri, *Khulāṣat-ut-Tawārīkh* (Delhi, 1918), p. 64.

3. Fidā, Khairullāh, *Mirzā Shāhibān* (MS. owned by Ghulam Dastagīr Nāmi of Lahore), f. 76.

4. Murtazā Ḥusain, *Ḥadīqatul Aqālīm* (Panjab University Library MS., p. 8) f. 192.

Lahore is a town in India, situated on the bank of the Rāvi. The compiler of *Khulāṣṭa-ut-Tawārīkh* writes : Hindus relate that Lahor (Lava), the son of Rām Chand, founded it.

The following authors have all stated that Lava, the son of Rāma, was the founder of Lahore :

Todd (1832) : "Rāma had two sons, Lava and Kusa : from the former the Rana's family claim descent. He is stated to have built Lahore,"¹

Būte Shāh (1258 A.H./1847 A.D.) :

شہرینست پاستانی کہ بناء آنرا بہ لو پسر راجہ رام چندر پسر جسرت نسبت میکنند . 2

It is an ancient town, which is said to have been founded by Lava, the son of Rāja Rāma Chandra, the son of Jasrat.

Chishtī (1867) :

راجہ رام چندر کے دو بیٹے ایک کشو اور دوسرا لوهو تھے . لوهو نے شہر لاہور آباد کیا . 3

Rāja Rāma Chandra had two sons, viz., Kushū and Lohū. Lohū founded the town of Lahore.

Cunningham (1871) : "The great city of Lahore, which has been the capital of the Panjab for nearly nine hundred years, is said to have been founded by Lava, the son of Rāma, after whom it was named Lohāwar."⁴

Kanhayyā La'l (1882) :

عموما مشہور ہے کہ مہاراجہ رام چندر اوتار کے فرزند سسی لو نے یہ شہر آباد کیا اور لوپور نام رکھا تھا . صدہا بلکہ ہزارہا سال کی مدت گزرنے کے سبب سے لوپور کا لفظ بگڑ کر لاہور مشہور ہو گیا . 5

It is generally known that Lava, the son of Mahārāja Rāma Chandra, the *avatār*, founded this town and named it Lavpur. After many centuries Lavpur was corrupted into Lahore.

Temple (1884) : "The name Lāhore, in full Lāhāwar or Lāh's fort, is usually derived from Lava, the son of Rāma Chandra."⁶

Gulab Singh (1884) : "Lahōr (Lahore) is variously called Lahār, Lāhār, Lohār, Lāhāwar, and Lohāwar. According to Hindu tradition it is named after Rāma Chandra's son, Loū (Lava). Afterwards when this prince's kingdom sank, the capital was removed to Sialkot. During the rule of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznī his favourite Malik Ayāz repopulated the town and built a substantial fort."⁷

1. Todd James, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, (Oxford, 1920), Vol. I, p. 252.

2. Būte Shāh, *Tārīkh-e-Panjāb* (P.U.L. MS. A Pe III 8), f. 16b.

3. Chishtī, Nūr Aḥmad *Tahqīqāt-e-Chishtī*, (Lahore, 1867), p. 793.

4. Cunningham, A., *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 226.

5. Kanhayyā La'l, *Tārīkh-e-Lahore*, p. 7.

6. Temple, R. C., *Panjab Notes and Queries* (Allahabad, 1884), Vol. I, March, 1884, p. 68.

7. Gulab Singh, *Panjab Notes and Queries*, Vol. I, February 1884, p. 57.

In the classical Greek accounts we do not find Lahore mentioned in connection with Alexander. Yet there can be no doubt that Alexander crossed the Rāvi in the vicinity of Lahore, and must in all probability have passed the site of the modern city. If, therefore, any place of importance had existed at the time, it would doubtless have been mentioned. So it is not probable that Lahore was founded before the first century A.D. In the next place, no city answering in name or description to Lahore occurs in Strabo, who wrote between 60 B.C. and 19 A.D. and whose object was "to correct the earlier works in th light of the increase of knowledge;" nor does it appear in Pliny's description of the royal road between the Indus and Allahabad, which must have been written between 23 A.D. and 79. A.D.

But, further, in the Geography of Ptolemy, whose name marks the highest pitch of perfection in early geography, and who flourished at Alexandria about 150 A.D., mention is made of a city called Labokla, situated on the route between the Indus and Palibothra, in a tract of country called Kaspeira (Kashmir?), described as extending along the rivers Bidastas (Jehlum), Sandabal (Chandra Bhaga, or Chenab), and Adris (Rāvi). This place Wilford would identify. from its name and position, with Lahore, and the identification is made more probable by the discovery of Cunningham of the Amakatis of Ptolemy, a city placed by him in the immediate vicinity of Labokla, to the West of the Rāvi, in the ruins of Amba Kapi, about 25 miles from Lahore. Cunningham believes the identification of Wilford to be correct. If we agree with these inferences, we can approximately fix the date of the foundation of Lahore at the end of the first or the beginning of the second century of the Christian era.¹

Walker,² Hunter³ and the author of the article on Lahore contributed to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*,⁴ have remarked that Yüan Chwāng, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim of the seventh century of the Christian era, who visited the Panjāb in 630 A.D., notices the city in his itinerary. This is an error. In the itinerary published by Cunningham no mention of Lahore exists.⁵ Besides, this is how this portion of Yüan Chwāng's journey is described by Shamans Hwui Li and Yen Tsung, in their *Life of Huen-Tsiang*: "From this (Rajpura), going south-east down the mountains and crossing the river, after 700 li or so, he came to the kingdom of Tseh-kia (Ṭakka)." After travelling for some time "on the morrow he arrived at the eastern frontiers of the kingdom of Tcheka (Ṭakka) and

1. Cf. Latif's *Lahore*, pp. 6-7; Cunningham's *Geography*, pp. 225-28; Thornton's *Lahore*, pp. 58-9; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XVI, p. 106; Walker's *Lahore District Gazetteer*, p. 20; and Wilford's *Comparative Geography of India*.

2. Walker, Casson, *Lahore District Gazetteer* (Lahore, 1919), p. 20.

3. Hunter, *the Imperial Gazetteer of India*, (Oxford, 1908), XVI, 106.

4. *Encyclopædia Britannica*, (London, 1926), Vol. 13, p. 596.

5. Cunningham, Alexander, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 644.

entered a great city."¹ This city, Samuel Beale thinks, would probably be Lahore.² Thornton also subscribes to this opinion, saying: "A far less dubious mention of Lahore is found, as was pointed out by Major-General Cunningham, in the itinerary of Hwan Thsang, the Chinese traveller, who visited the Punjab, 630 A.D. He speaks of a large city, containing many thousands of families, chiefly Brahmans, situated on the eastern frontier of the kingdom of Cheka, which, he says, extended from the Indus to the Byas. From this city he proceeded to Jalandhara, the modern Jullundur. Now Jullundur is situated almost due east of Lahore, and midway between the two cities is a village called Patti to this day. There can be little doubt, therefore, that the great Brahmanical city of Hwan Thsang was the city of Lahore."³ Now all this is not very logical if we compare the statement with the itinerary of Yüan Chwāng, the Chinese traveller. Yüan Chwāng has clearly stated that the kingdom of Cheka or Takka extended from the Indus to the Bias. He also mentions that travelling south-east from Rajpura he came to the eastern frontier of the kingdom of Cheka, which should naturally be near the Bias. Here he enters a great city, which should be on the Bias river, and as Cunningham has pointed out, must be Kasūr⁴ and not Lahore. This disproves the assertion that Yüan Chwāng has directly or indirectly mentioned Lahore in his itinerary.

To borrow an expression from Thornton, "such are the somewhat barren results of inquiries" about the name and date of foundation of Lahore. They may be briefly recapitulated as follows: The city of Lahore, named variously, and possibly the Labokla of Ptolemy, was probably founded as early as the beginning of the second century of the Christian era; it is definitely mentioned first of all in the ninth century; and it did not come into prominence until the period of the invasion of Maḥmūd of Ghazni, in the beginning of the eleventh century.

MUHAMMAD BĀQIR.

1. Shamans Hwui Li and Yen-Tsung, *The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang* (London, 1888), pp. 72-74.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 74, f.n.

3. Thornton, T. H., *Lahore*, p. 60.

4. Cunningham, A., *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 229.

MEDIAEVAL MUSLIM POLITICAL THEORIES OF REBELLION AGAINST THE STATE¹

ALL Muslim political thinkers recognised the necessity of a temporal and religious head for the Muslim community.² Men are naturally vicious, they maintained, following the Qur'ānic teachings,³ and therefore in order to save society from falling into chaos, it was necessary to have an Imām or Leader who should interpret and enforce the Shari'a, defend the State against foreign aggression, and promote the spiritual and temporal well-being of the people. But although the various sects and schools of thought agreed that the presence of an Imām was indispensable, they disagreed as regards his qualifications and the method of his appointment. Accordingly, obedience was rendered to the ruler if his appointment conformed to certain ideas, and was withdrawn if it was against those ideas.

I shall first discuss the attitude of the Sunni jurists, philosophers, and statesmen towards the Imām or Caliph, for they represent orthodox ideas which mostly dominated Mediaeval Islam. After this the theories of the Khārijites, the Shī'as, the Ismā'ilites, and those of the Carmathians will be dealt with.

THE SUNNĪ THEORY

THE early Sunnī jurists sanctioned the duty of obedience to the Khalīfah ; at the same time, they did not fail to emphasize his responsibilities. The Khalīfah was elected by the community, and this established a contact between the two. Men were required to pay due obedience to the

1. I have discussed in this short article the political ideas of all the important Muslim sects—Sunnīs, Shī'as, Khārijites, Ismā'ilites and Carmathians. Some people may object to my use of the word 'Muslim' for these sects, but I think that, objectively speaking, all those ideas which arose within the body of and as a result of Islam, and which drew their inspiration chiefly from the Qur'an and the Tradition, are entitled to the name of 'Muslim.'

2. Qur'an : III, 25. Also VI, 166.

3. Qur'an : XX, 123.

ruler, while he, on his part, was to look after their welfare. In case he proved to be wicked and ordered anything which was physically impossible, or against the Shari'a, he was not to be obeyed, for there is "no obedience in sin." Abū-Bakr, the first Caliph, clearly brought out the limits of obedience in the first speech which he made soon after his election to the Caliphate. "As I obey God and his Prophet, obey me," said he. "If I neglect the Laws of God and the Prophet, I have no more right to your obedience." Abū-Yūsuf, similarly, strikes the same note in the introductory part of his book *Kitāb-ul-Kharāj*. "The Shepherds of men must give account to their Lord," observes he while advising Hārūn ar-Rashīd, "as a shepherd renders account to his master. Also thou must practise justice in the exercise of what God has entrusted to thy care and what He has put in thy charge, if only for a moment. On the Day of Judgement, God will accord the greatest happiness to the prince who will make his people most happy."¹ Abū-Yūsuf also collected many Traditions of the Prophet according to which obedience to wicked rulers was denied.

But this theory of conditional obedience to rulers was subsequently modified, as the Sunnī jurists and philosophers realized that their ideas were too idealistic to suit the realities of political life. They had believed in election, but after the first four Caliphs, election had become merely a formal affair, and the hereditary principle had been introduced. But even this had not been strictly adhered to. For although the Caliphate remained within a particular family, it was force which determined the question of succession. The jurists had emphasized that the Caliphs should be good and virtuous and realize their responsibilities, but many of them had been irresponsible tyrants. This contradiction between their theories and the facts of history obliged them to modify their views. For, if the jurists had clung too closely to their ideas, they would have had to renounce their allegiance to most of the rulers and call upon the Muslim community to do the same. But this they did not want to do, for without an Imām the community would be living in sin. Besides, they were so apprehensive of the dangers of anarchy resulting from the breakdown of authority, that they even preferred a vicious Caliph. The destruction of authority was bound to lead to civil war and disorder, while the presence of an Imām, however unworthy he might be, would at least promote some semblance of peace and security. These ideas are very similar to those of Hobbes, an English political thinker of the seventeenth century.

It is true that Māwardī (974/1058) lays down a number of high qualifications for the Khalīfah,² but this represents his desire to revive the glories of the early Caliphate. In reality he knew that the Caliphate had passed and was passing through periods of extreme degradation and impotence. In spite of this, he condoned those Caliphs who were sunk in vice, and gave them his moral and legal recognition. He acted in this way, first,

1. Abū-Yūsuf, *Kitāb-ul-Kharāj*, p. 4.

2. Māwardī, *Al-Aḥkām as-Sultāniya*, pp. 5-10.

because he wanted to prevent rebellions which were sure to lead to disastrous results for the moral, social, and religious life of the Muslims, and which would break the unity of Islam; second, because he realized that without an Imām the Muslim community would be living in sin. For the same reasons, he even maintained that a duly elected Imām cannot be displaced in favour of a more capable candidate. It is true he admits that the Caliph can forfeit his position as a result of evil conduct or heresy, infirmity of body and mind, and loss of liberty.¹ But he is extremely vague as to how the deposition is to be brought about. "It appears," as Professor Gibb observes, "that while a Khalīfah may legally be deposed, there is no legal means of deposing him."² The result was that Māwardī, in the last analysis, remained an apologist of the Caliphate.

But he had, in spite of this, at least the courage to recognize, though in a vague and ineffective manner, the right of the people to rebel against a wicked Caliph. Subsequent thinkers do not even go as far as this. On the other hand, owing to the influence of the autocratic traditions of the Persian empire, and because of the necessity to suppress the rebellions of Khārijites and Shī'as, political thinkers were led to invest the Caliphs with more and more powers. Besides, because of their experiences of civil war and rebellions, the jurists and philosophers began to consider even a wicked ruler better than the destruction of government, for the collapse of authority would lead to complete anarchy, and the breaking up of the unity of Islam; while even a weak government would at least give some material and religious security to the Muslim community. Thus, al-Ash'arī says, "We maintain the error of those who hold it right to rise against the Imāms whensoever there may be apparent in them a falling-away from right. We opposed to armed rebellion against them and civil war." Similarly, Ghazzālī towards the end of the 5th century very frankly observed, "We know it is not allowed to feed on a dead animal: still, it would be worse to die of hunger. Of those that contend that the Caliphate is dead for ever and irreplaceable, we should like to ask: 'Which is to be preferred, anarchy and the stoppage of social life for lack of a properly constituted authority, or acknowledgement of the existing power, whatever it be?' Of these two alternatives, the jurists cannot but choose the latter."³ Ghazzālī, of course, calls on the rulers to be good and virtuous and to enforce the Shari'a, but at the same time he strongly advises the people to honour their king and that "they should in no way rebel against him, so that they may act upon the words of the great and mighty God which we have already mentioned, 'Obey God, obey the Apostle and those in authority among you.'"⁴ Qādī Ibn-Jam'a of Damascus (about 700 A.H.) also enjoins obedience to rulers however vicious they

1. Māwardī, *Al-Aḥkām as-Sultāniya*, Urdu translation, Osmania University publication, pp. 31-40.

2. *Islamic Culture*, Vol. No. 3; H. A. R. Gibb., *Al-Māwardī's Theory of the Khalīfah*.

3. *The Legacy of Islam*, p. 302.

4. Al-Ghazzālī, *Nasīḥat-ul-Mulūk*, p. 93.

may be.¹ And Turtūshī, a Spanish jurist, thinks that an unjust monarchy for forty years is preferable to an hour of anarchy.

It must not be thought, however, that the Muslim thinkers in enjoining obedience to rulers were trying to sacrifice the rights of the people. What they were attempting to do was to emphasize that human rights cannot be protected if authority breaks down, and that religion, honour, life, and property can only remain secure if organized government exists. The reason why the later Muslim jurists conferred unlimited powers upon the Caliph was not because they desired the glorification of the rulers, but because they realized that there was no other way of maintaining law and order and enforcing the Shari'a. They would have liked to put restrictions upon the powers of rulers, but as practical men who faced the realities of the historical process, they acquiesced in the *status quo*.

Nizām-ul-Mulk on the other hand belonged to a different category of thinkers. While the jurists were the apologists of the Caliphate, he was a statesman and the theorist of the Saljuqid dynasty. It is true he desired the rulers to abide by the Shari'a² but he was also anxious to revive the traditions of the Persian empire. His famous book *Siyāsat Nāma* is crammed with anecdotes from Persian history which clearly suggest that Nizām-ul-Mulk wanted the Saljūq Sultāns to model their policy and government upon the examples set by Bahrām, Naushīrwān, and other famous rulers. He accordingly pointed out the need of a strong government, and completely ignored the rights of the people, for they were only required to pay taxes and render passive obedience to their ruler. In fact, even if the latter proved wicked and unjust his subjects should not rebel, for if they did, and "refused to obey the king, they would not get comfort from God."³ It is true that the ruler is enjoined by Nizām-ul-Mulk to be just and benevolent, but this was in order that "his people may pray for him and his kingdom may grow large and powerful and he may go to Heaven."⁴ Besides, a ruler is appointed by God,⁵ and therefore is accountable for his actions not to the people but to Him alone. From this analysis it is clear that to Nizām-ul-Mulk a ruler was an end in himself, and that men existed only for his glorification. It was indeed a reactionary theory, for it only emphasized the duties of the subjects and ignored their rights.

Thus the Sunnī jurists and thinkers, in spite of certain differences among them at best remained apologists of the existing governments. It was, however, the Khārijites, the Shī'as and some of their sects who represented revolutionary tendencies; for they not only aimed at substituting one ruler for another, but they also wanted to introduce changes in

1. Ibn-Jam'a, *Tahrīr-al-Ahkām*, pp. 7-8. Quoted by Von Kramer in his *Orient under the Caliphs*, p. 269.

2. Nizām-ul-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāma*, p. 53.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

the conception of kingship, and, as in the case of the Carmathians, even wanted to overthrow the social and economic structure of society.

THE KHĀRIJITE THEORY

THE Khārijites¹ agreed with the Sunnī jurists in the theory of the election of the Caliph, but they disagreed with them in restricting the Caliphate to the Quraish. They put forward a Hadīth of the Prophet that even if a negro slave becomes an Imām, obedience must be paid to him. They believed that the chief qualifications of a ruler were his moral and intellectual qualities. They recognized that it was the duty of the people to obey their ruler, but if the latter departed from the Sharī'a, and failed to promote the well-being of his subjects, he must be deposed and even slain. And because no Caliphs except Abū-Bakr and 'Umar, and 'Uthmān for the first six years of his Caliphate, and 'Alī till the battle of Šiffin, conformed to their ideas, the Khārijites remained in perpetual revolt against the established government. But this extreme and uncompromising attitude led to their extinction. Only a moderate wing under the name of 'Ibādiya has survived.

THE SHĪ'A THEORY

THE Shī'as also refused to recognize the Sunnī Caliphs and constantly organized conspiracies and rebellions against them. In the beginning the opposition was only of a political nature. The Shī'as claimed that 'Alī instead of Abū-Bakr should have been the Caliph after the death of the Prophet, for 'Alī was not only the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet, but was also the ablest man among the latter's Companions, and, what was more important, had been nominated to the Caliphate by the Prophet.²

Later on, from the 'Abbāsīd period, the grounds for claiming the Caliphate for 'Alī and his descendants from Fāṭima (daughter of the Prophet) were reinforced by metaphysical arguments. It was claimed that 'Alī had been nominated by God to the Imāmate since Eternity. God had allotted a portion of his Light (Nūr) to Adam, and this had been transmitted to the Prophets in the elder branch. In the family of Muḥammad, the Nūr divided itself—part went to Muḥammad and part to 'Alī. But it was again reunited in the descendants of 'Alī and Fāṭima.

The result of such a theory was to invest the Imāms with great sanctity and power. They began to be considered by the Shī'as as supernatural

1. Art. "Kharijites," *the Encyclopædia of Islam*.

2. Hasan b. Yūsuf b. 'Alī al-Ḥillī: *Al-Bābu'l-Hādī 'Ashar*. It gives a very good exposition of the Shī'a point of view, and has been translated into English.

beings who could perform miracles, knew the hearts of men, and were devoid of all human weaknesses. Their opinions were, therefore, infallible, and every Muslim was required to submit to them. Human beings possess no rights; their only duty is to bow down to the decisions of the Imām; for, while human intellect is imperfect, the Imām knows what is good for them. Thus a Shī'a Imām was made even more absolute than a Sunnī Caliph. But the Shī'a theories were never tested by the realities of political life, for the Shī'a Imāms remained spiritual leaders, and with the exception of 'Alī never possessed political power. It is difficult to say whether or not they had any hand in fomenting rebellions against the established Caliphate, but after the martyrdom of Husain, they mostly led a retired life and were unconcerned with the turmoils of worldly existence. The Shī'as, could, therefore, easily afford to build up a consistent theory of the State, while maintaining a hostile attitude towards the Sunnī Caliphs. They sent their agents to all parts of the Muslim empire, and organized conspiracies and rebellions for the overthrow of the Caliphate. But as long as Shī'ism remained merely a political or religious movement it did not become a great force; it was only when it became organized on a class basis that its influence over Muslim politics became effective and widespread.

In Persia, during the Sassanid period, bitter social antagonism existed between the rich and the poor, which found expression in the sphere of religion also so that while the ruling classes followed Zoroastrianism, the lower classes were either Mazdakites or Manichæans. When Persia was conquered by the Arabs, the class basis of society remained; only the old social antagonisms adopted new disguises. The upper classes identified their interests with the Arab aristocracy and embraced Sunnism, while the lower classes were gradually won over by the Shī'as because of their common interests, namely opposition to the established government. It was a great stroke of diplomacy on the part of the Shī'as to have given their movement a social basis, for in this way they were able to collect under their banner not only the peasants and artisans of Persia, but also those of other countries. In Iraq and Syria, for example, the Greek Christians became Sunnīs, while the peasants and artisans who were Gnostics accepted Shī'ism, and Shī'ism also became intimately connected with the trade-guilds of Syria and Egypt.¹

THE ISMĀ'ĪLITES

THIS antagonism between the rich and the poor was still more developed and exploited by a sect of Shī'as called the Ismā'īlites or the Seveners. The Ismā'īlites agreed with the Shī'a Ithnā'-'ashary (the orthodox Shī'as or the believers in 12 Imāms) as far as the sixth Imām; but after him dis-

1. A. J. Toynbee, *A Study of History*, Vol. I, pp. 400-401. (Note by Professor Gibb). Professor Gibb is against the view of the late Professor Browne, who identified Shī'ism with Persia "as the principal expression of an Iranian social consciousness" in opposition to the Arabs.

agreement began. For the orthodox Sh'ias believed that, though Ismā'il was the eldest son of Ja'far-i-Šādiq, yet, he was not entitled to the Imāmate because of his intemperate habits, and therefore they considered his younger brother Mūsa as the rightful Imām.¹ The Ismā'ilites, on the other hand, regarded Ismā'il as the seventh Imām. They, however, not only accepted the Light theory of the orthodox Sh'ias, but even went further and claimed 'Alī as the reincarnation of God. The result of such a theory was that the Ismā'ilites enforced the duty of obedience to their Imāms even more strongly than was ever done by the Sh'ias. At the same time they exalted the opposition and rebellion against the Sunnī Caliphs to the point of virtue, while submission to them was regarded as sin.

It was 'Abdullāh, son of Maymūn, a Persian oculist of Ahwāz, who, by giving this sect a social basis, converted it into a powerful organization. He took advantage of the troubles of the 9th century A.D. which were threatening the Caliphate. The peasantry of Iraq had been impoverished by civil wars and maladministration and was therefore discontented. In 869 A.D. the negro slaves (Zanj) employed in the saltpetre industry at Baṣra rebelled against the government. This social unrest helped 'Abdullāh and his followers to win over the peasants and artizans and to organize movements against the government and the feudal classes, both Persian and Arab. But since they had no conception of an organized revolution, they plotted the assassination of their leading enemies and led sporadic risings in order to overthrow the Caliphate. The Ismā'ilites were, however, not merely content to introduce religious and political changes into Muslim society; they also wanted an intellectual revolution, for which they borrowed freely from the philosophical systems of Plato and Pythagoras.²

The anti-feudal role of the Ismā'ilites continued so long as they remained out of power. But as soon as they established their own government in Egypt, their passion for social justice subsided, and they became as unjust to the peasants and workers as their predecessors had been (they however continued their patronage of trade guilds). And although they remained anti-authoritarian so far as the Baghdad Caliphate was concerned, they enforced extreme obedience to their own leaders. This cult of leader-worship reached a climax with the Assassins, an Eastern branch of the Ismā'ilites, who captured a number of fortresses in Ispahan, Fars, Khuzistan, and other parts of Persia, whence they carried on assassinations of the leading men of Baghdad. They were in the end destroyed by the Mongol invasion in the 13th century.³

THE CARMATHIANS

The Carmathians were also a branch of the Ismā'ilites, but they were

1. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, pp. 194-198.

2. *Rasā'il-i-Ikhwān-aṣ-Ṣafā'*, Introduction by Dr. Tāhā Ḥussain. Vol. I, pp. 1-8, Cairo, 1926.

3. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, pp. 201-211.

more radical and revolutionary than any other of the Islamic sects. They not only desired the overthrow of the Caliphate, they also wanted a social revolution. They based their movement on tolerance, equality, and justice.¹ They planned a kind of communism, with community of property, and for some time even community of wives.² And because of their desire to promote social justice, their influence among the peasants and artisans was very great.

The Carmathian movement was founded by Hamdān bin al-Ashat, nicknamed Carmat a follower of 'Abdullāh the Ismā'īlite. His followers inspired great terror among the orthodox Muslims throughout the 10th century A.D. Taking advantage of the weakness of the Caliphate, Abū-Sa'īd occupied Bahrain in 287 A.H. Baṣra, Kūfa, and 'Umān were occupied by his son and successor Abū-Ṭāhir Sulaimān. The latter also seized Mecca in 317 A.H., from which place he carried off the Black Stone, to the great horror of the Muslim world. But some of these conquests were temporary, because the Carmathians succeeded in establishing their power only in Bahrain, 'Umān, and parts of Yemen. Their government were not strictly monarchical.³ Abu-Sa'īd, for example, was only *Primus Inter Pares* and Abū-Ṭāhir established a representative council for the administration of Bahrain.

In conclusion it must be said that the Carmathians represented some of the most progressive tendencies of Mediaeval Islam. They were opposed to the Baghdad Caliphate not so much because they believed in 'Alid legitimism, but chiefly because they thought it was a negation of social justice and was based upon the exploitation of the peasants, artisans and workers. The Shī'a opposition to the Orthodox Caliphs was based upon the fact that 'Alī and his descendants from Fāṭima claimed the Caliphate. These claims were later on reinforced by metaphysical and supernatural arguments and an attempt was made to give a social basis to the Shī'a movement. It was however the Ismā'īlites⁴ who taking advantage of the unrest among the peasants and artisans during the 9th century A.D. gave their movement an anti-feudal character. But their main plank of opposition to the Caliphate was 'Alid legitimism. The Carmathians, however, made this only a subordinate consideration; for their primary aim was to establish equality, tolerance, and justice. And wherever they established their power, they tried to put their ideals into practice. They were strongly opposed to despotic governments, and so they not only denounced the Baghdad Caliphs but also refused later on to acknowledge

1. Art. "Karmatians," *the Encyclopædia of Islam*.

2. Bahā'-ud-din al-Janadi, *The Carmathians of Bahrain*, translated by Henry Cassels Kay, p. 203. Also see De Goeje, Vol. I, pp. 176-177.

3. De Goeje, *Memoire sur less Carmathes du Bahrain et less Fatimides*, Vol. I, p. 150.

4. Al-Baghdādī, *Al-Farq Bain al-Firaq*, English translation by Abraham S. Halkin. This book gives a very prejudiced account of the Ismā'īlites and the Carmathians and deals mostly with their philosophical and scientific ideas.

the Fātimids as their overlords. From the eleventh century their influence began to decline. There were various reasons for this: first, because their ideas and plans were vague and not clearly defined; second, because their extreme violence antagonized the masses against them; and third because their ideas were too advanced for their time. But in spite of their failures, the story of their struggle against oppression, and of their social experiments, forms one of the most interesting and instructive pages of Islamic history.

MOHIBUL HASAN KHAN.

'ALĀ'-UD-DIN'S PRICE CONTROL SYSTEM

A LĀ'-UD-DĪN KHILJĪ was the greatest mediæval ruler of India. The significance of the Khiljī revolution lies in this, that it transferred political power from the Turkish to the Indian Muslims. And soon the essentially Indian genius for administrative organisation made itself felt. The early Turkish rulers rendered a very important service to Islam by consolidating the Muslim power in India. These Turks were warrior-kings, Qutb-ud-Dīn, Iltutmish and Balban. The rich plains of India resounded with the hoofs of Muslim cavalry. But these early Muslim rulers of India had neither the leisure nor the inclination for administrative reform. 'Alā'-ud-Dīn inherited and developed the tradition of Mulkīrī, i.e., imperialism. The lure of the Deccan gold and his own restless ambition led him to establish a Muslim empire throughout the length and breadth of India. But besides the tradition of conquest, 'Alā'-ud-Dīn started another tradition of administrative reform which was continued by the Tughluqs. This is the chief significance of the reign of 'Alā'-ud-Dīn. We hear a good deal nowadays about 'planned economy.' It is interesting to notice that 'Alā'-ud-Dīn—a mediæval despot—was able to undertake 'planned economy' on a large scale. Every modern government is faced with the problem of 'price control.' It will be of interest therefore to understand the price control organisation of 'Alā'-ud-Dīn.

CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH LED TO THE PRICE CONTROL

PRICE Control is essentially a war-time measure. The control of supplies and prices has been found necessary by practically every administration in the world to-day. The exigencies of modern war have necessitated price control. Similarly the pressure of Mongol invasions led to the institution of price control in the time of 'Alā'-ud-Dīn. Baranī has given a graphic account of the terror inspired by the threat of Mongol invasions. A keenly contested battle for supremacy took place when the Mongols under their leader Qutlugh Khwāja invaded India and Zafar Khān, the greatest warrior of the age was killed.¹ Though the Mongols

1. Baranī, 260.

retreated, 'Alā'-ud-Dīn won only a Pyrrhic victory, for the Mongols under Targhi invaded India with larger forces next time and succeeded in laying siege to Delhi. The Mongols commanded all the roads and lanes leading to the city of Delhi so that the people of Delhi were faced with starvation. The Mongols pushed on the siege of Delhi for two months and then suddenly departed. People considered it to be a miracle that Delhi should have escaped the horrors of being sacked. They attributed their escape from this danger to the prayers of Shaikh Nizām-ud-Dīn Auliya'. Baranī makes a definite statement that if Targhi had prosecuted the siege for a month more, Delhi would have fallen.¹ This serious threat to the safety of the empire alarmed 'Alā'-ud-Dīn and he took vigorous measures to maintain a powerful, well-organised, and well-equipped army. But lest the army expenditure should prove too heavy a drain upon the exchequer, 'Alā'-ud-Dīn fixed the salary of a soldier at a rather low level—e.g., 234 tankas a year (a man with two horses was paid 78 tankas more).² But if the soldiers were not provided with the wherewithal to live at a price within their means, the war effort would be crippled and the country itself exposed to grave dangers. Hence the necessity of the control of supplies and prices. There was another reason for the price control. Plenty of the Deccan gold had poured into the treasury and hence a much larger amount of money came into circulation than before. The conquests of Malik Kāfūr marked the zenith of Muslim power in the Deccan. Kāfūr returned to Delhi after the Deccan conquests with a thousand camels groaning under the weight of the treasure. According to Baranī "the old inhabitants of Delhi remarked that so many elephants and so much gold had never before been brought into Delhi. No one could remember anything like it nor was there anything like it recorded in history."³ Thus there must have been a rise of prices due to the government's demands for the needs of the defence forces and the inflatory forces at work. Hence 'Alā'-ud-Dīn's government adopted various measures to bring down the prices of commodities and especially to cheapen the necessities of life. Baranī has described in detail the steps taken by 'Alā'-ud-Dīn's government in enforcing price control.

FOOD CONTROL

It is really surprising that 'Alā'-ud-Dīn—an illiterate mediæval despot—should have succeeded in enforcing food control whereas the highly organised modern government of India has failed in its main object of stabilising the prices of commodities. 'Alā'-ud-Dīn's food control policy was successful because he did not believe in half-hearted measures. His

1. Baranī, 302.

2. *Idem*, 319 and 303.

3. *Idem*, 333.

food control organisation was a marvel of efficiency because he understood the fundamental nature of the problem which, on account of its complexity, has almost baffled modern governments. 'Alā'-ud-Dīn adopted the following measures for carrying out his policy of food control :—

I. *Fixation of Maximum Prices.*—'Alā'-ud-Dīn did not make the mistake of fixing the maximum prices of wheat, sugar, salt and a few other commodities only and leaving the rest of the food-grains untouched. His price control was comprehensive enough to include all essential foodstuffs.

The rates were fixed as follows :—

	per man	Seer	Jitals
Wheat	do	..	7½
Barley	do	..	4
Rice	do	..	5
Mash (pulse) ..	do	..	5
Nakhud (,,) ..	do	..	5
Moth (,,) ..	do	..	3
Refined Sugar (Nabāt) ..	do	1	2½
Sugar 1st Class ..	do	1	1½
Sugar 2nd class ..	do	3	1½
Salt	man		5½

There are three striking features of these tariff rates: (a) The food control order was fairly comprehensive—it included all the necessities of life—wheat, barley, rice, various kinds of pulses, salt and various kinds of sugar. (b) Prices once fixed were not modified later on. In fact this scale of prices was maintained as long as 'Alā'-ud-Dīn lived. This unvarying price of grains in the market was indeed looked upon as one of the wonders of the time.¹ The system was rigid and wooden ; it was not elastic enough to be responsive to the needs of changing circumstances. To maintain uniformity of prices for a number of years might simplify the administrative problem but could not be expected to fit into the needs of the producers or the consumers. (c) But we have no data at our disposal to doubt the definite statement of Baranī that the system worked efficiently in practice and that the prices of commodities did not rise by even one Jital.²

II. *Royal Granaries.*—The secret of the success of 'Alā'-ud-Dīn's food control system was that the government took steps to have large stocks of foodstuffs in royal granaries. All possible sources of supply were tapped. The Khālṣa villages (crown lands) of the Doaba were ordered to pay the revenue in kind. The corn was stored in royal granaries in Delhi. In the country dependent on the New City half the Sultān's portion of the produce was ordered to be taken in grain. In Jhain also stores were to be

1. Baranī, 305.

2. *Idem*, 308.

formed. These stores of grain were to be sent to Delhi in caravans. Thus plenty of grain came to Delhi to be stored in royal granaries.¹ The State thus became the greatest dealer.

At the present time the public has witnessed a strange spectacle—wheat, sugar and other articles for which maximum prices have been fixed are not available in the market at all. They can be had only in the 'black markets.' When the public knock at the doors of grain dealers they receive the reply that they have not the commodities required. 'Alā'-ud-Dīn did not make the mistake of leaving the consumers at the mercy of the grain dealers and the latter at the mercy of hoarders and profiteers. 'Alā'-ud-Dīn's government undertook the responsibility of supplying commodities to the grain dealers. Thus effective measures were taken to maintain the supplies of essential foodstuffs at the new prices.

III. *Control of Supplies.*—'Alā'-ud-Dīn's government took vigorous steps to ensure the supply of goods to the market. For the success of the scheme it was necessary to control supplies at the source. The grower was to be assured of a reasonably fair price for his products but he was not to be permitted to hold back the stocks in the hope of selling them at higher rates. Instructions were given to the revenue collectors to collect the revenue vigorously and to see to it that the cultivators did not hoard foodstuffs. An ordinance was passed by which cultivators were compelled to sell their corn in the fields to the corn carriers at a low price so that the dealers should have no excuse for neglecting to bring the corn into the markets. The government however gave a very important concession to the cultivators—they were permitted to carry their own corn into the market and sell it at market rates, thus pocketing the margin of profit which was allowed to the dealers.²

IV. *Checking Profiteering.*—Strong action was taken against the hoarder and the profiteer. 'Alā'-ud-Dīn put down profiteering with a high hand. He adopted really drastic measures. All carriers and dealers were registered. Orders were given to arrest the head carriers and bring them in chains before the controller of the markets, who was directed to detain them until they agreed upon one common mode of action and gave bail for each other. Nor were they to be released until they brought their wives and children, beasts of burden and cattle, and all their property, and fixed their abodes in the villages along the banks of the Jamna.³ Thus an effective means was devised of maintaining control over the carriers and dealers; their families were kept as hostages at Delhi or in the vicinity, and they were held collectively responsible for the offences of any member of their fraternity. They had to enter into engagement to buy foodstuffs from the cultivators at fixed rates and to sell them in Delhi at market rates. By this means an effective supply of foodstuffs to the market was assured.

1. Barani, 306.

2. *Idem*, 307.

3. *Idem*, 306.

V. *Anti-hoarding Drive*.—No government worth the name can allow a state of affairs to develop in which certain individuals can be allowed to hoard and secrete stocks of food while thousands of hungry men and women are on the verge of starvation and death. Hence a merciless attack was launched on the hoarder and profiteer. No merchant, farmer, corn dealer or any one else, could hoard secretly even a *Man* or half a *Man* of grain and sell it at his shop for a *Dang* above the regulated price. If regrated grain was discovered, it was forfeited to the Sultān and the regrater was fined. The governors and revenue collectors had to give assurance to the government that they would do their best to discover regrated grain and to punish the offender. Thus it was made a penal offence for any farmer, merchant, or corn dealer to store grain in excess of his normal requirements. Even the consumers were not allowed to buy in excess of their recognised needs.¹ Thus the anti-hoarding drive was directed not only against the farmer, merchant, and corn dealer but also against the consumer. The difficulties of enforcing maximum prices by penal provision are obvious and the existence of black markets is well known. Credit must therefore be given to 'Alā'-ud-Dīn's government for having had full success in enforcing maximum prices.

VI. *Government Depots*.—In normal times sufficient supplies of corn reached the market. But even in the years in which the rains were deficient, there was no want of corn in Delhi and no rise in the price of foodstuffs. 'Alā'-ud-Dīn was very strict in enforcing his price control system. Once or twice when the rains were deficient a market overseer reported that the price had risen half a jital and he received twenty blows with the stick.² In times of scarcity government depots were opened and the system of rationing of foodstuffs was enforced. A quantity of corn sufficient for the daily supply of each quarter of the city was given to the managers in charge of government depots. Rationing of food was taken up—half a *Man* used to be allowed to the ordinary purchaser.³ But great care was taken that the people did not go away disappointed on account of a rush of buyers at government depots. If any person failed to get his apportioned ration of foodstuffs or received injuries on account of the rush of buyers, the overseer of the market was taken to task.⁴ The market officials were held responsible for the proper working of the rationing system.

VII. *Price Control Officers*.—The head of the department of food was Malik Kābul Ulugh Khān.⁵ The department concerned with the control of the market was Dīwān-i-Riyāsat. Ya'qūb was the Ra'īs or the

1. Baranī, 307.

2. *Idem*, 308.

3. *Idem*, 309.

4. *Idem*, 309.

5. *Idem*, 305.

controller of the market.¹ There was a highly organised espionage system, and 'Alā'-ud-Dīn took a keen interest in the affairs of the market. Reports used to be made daily to the Sultān of the market rate and of the market transactions from three distinct sources. The superintendent of the market (Shahṇā-i-Mandī) made a report. The Barīds or reporters made a separate report. The Manhis or spies made another report. If there was any variance in these reports, the superintendent was punished.² The close supervision exercised by 'Alā'-ud-Dīn kept the market officers straight in the path of duty.

CLOTH CONTROL

NEXT to food, cloth is a necessity of the masses. 'Alā'-ud-Dīn's cloth control order aimed at making cloth available to the people at reasonable prices. The following were the chief features of Alā'-ud-Dīn's cloth control order :—

(i) All buying and selling of cloth had to be done in the market called Serāi 'Adl, situated inside the Badaun Gate. This rule was strictly enforced. If goods were sold at higher rates or at any other place than the Serāi 'Adl, then those goods were forfeited to the State and the offender was punished. All kinds of cloth, whether the price ranged from 1 tanka to 100 tankas or to 1,000 and 2,000 tankas, had to be bought and sold only in the market called Serāi 'Adl.³

(ii) The cloth control order was comprehensive enough to include nearly all varieties of cloth in demand. The price of 'standard cloth' was fixed at a fairly low level. Thus coarse cloth (called Kirpas) of the best quality was sold at the rate of 20 yards for one tanka and cloth of an inferior quality at the rate of 40 yards for one tanka. A bed sheet could be had for 10 jitals. Finely woven cloth (Shīrīn Bāft) was divided into three grades. The best quality was sold for 5 tankas a yard, the middling for 3, and the inferior for 2 tankas. Delhi silk was sold for 16 tankas a yard and Kotla silk for 6 tankas. Cloth in which fine yarn was used was sold for 3 tankas a yard.⁴

(iii) All cloth merchants (whether wholesale dealers or retailers) were registered in the office of the controller of markets. They were required to enter into engagements to bring all varieties of cloth to the Serāi 'Adl and sell them at regulated prices.⁴

(iv) The government lent 20 lakhs of tankas to rich merchants, so that they might purchase cloth of excellent quality from countries far and

1. Baranī, 317.

2. Idem, 308.

3. Idem, 309-10.

4. Idem, 310-11.

wide and bring it to the Serāi 'Adl for sale.¹

(v) Distinction was made between standard cloth required for the use of the masses and cloth of the best quality which was required by the rich and the nobility. To keep down the prices of cloth of the best quality an ordinance was issued that no one could purchase silk, satin, brocade and other cloth of superior quality without a permit from the controller of markets.¹

CATTLE MARKET

THE cattle market was also controlled. The efficiency of the army depended upon the cavalry. Hence 'Alā'-ud-Dīn took steps to ensure a cheap supply of horses for his troops. Horses required for the use of the army were divided into three grades. Horses of the first-class could be purchased for 100 to 120 tankas, of the second for 80 to 90, of the third for 65 to 70 tankas, while ponies could be had for 10 to 25 tankas.² Great care was taken to ensure the supply of excellent horses at regulated prices. The brokers and the horse-dealers who used to reap large profits by buying horses at cheap rates and selling them at higher rates in the black markets were sternly dealt with—they were deported to distant provinces and imprisoned.² With the elimination of middlemen the cattle market was well brought under control. 'Alā'-ud-Dīn once in 40 days or two months used to send for the horse-dealers and also their horses, and thoroughly examined their prices and compared these with the market rates. If any one reported that the horse-dealers were demanding higher prices for the horses than the tariff rates, the dealers were severely punished.³ A milch cow could be had for 3 or 4 tankas and a buffalo for 10 or 12 tankas. Sheep could be had for 10 or 12 or 14 jitals. The price of a maid servant ranged from 5 to 40 tankas. A handsome slave could be had for 20 or 30 tankas, and servants for 10 or 15 tankas.⁴

GENERAL MERCHANDISE

'ALĀ'-UD-DĪN regulated the prices of nearly all commodities needed by the masses. It is surprising to notice that the prices of even insignificant commodities were regulated such as caps, combs, needles, besides sugarcane, vegetables, bread, roast meat, reori, ḥalwa, yakhnī, etc.⁵

1. Baranī, 311.

2. Idem, 313.

3. Idem, 314.

4. Idem, 314-15.

5. Idem, 316.

Severe punishments were inflicted on those who violated the tariff laws. The Sultān used to send his slaves to the market to bring various commodities and thus checked the market rates.

SUCCESSFUL WORKING OF THE PRICE CONTROL SYSTEM

VARIOUS factors contributed to the success of 'Alā'ud-Dīn's price control system. Ya'qūb, the controller of markets, was a strict disciplinarian. Those who violated the tariff laws were severely punished: they were mercilessly beaten, flesh was cut off from their haunches, and they were also fined and imprisoned. There was an efficient espionage system. But it was not merely by a reign of terror that the system was enforced. Steps of a scientific nature were taken, by controlling supply, transport and demand, the State succeeded in stabilising prices of commodities. But whatever policy was adopted or whatever measures were put into force, no lasting success could have been achieved without the whole-hearted co-operation of the whole body of the community. The efficiency of 'Alā'ud-Dīn's price control system was primarily due to the fact that the country prospered under his despotic but benign rule. Great progress was made in nearly every department of life. The Mongol danger was checked, the policy of imperialism was successfully carried out so as to establish Muslim power throughout the length and breadth of the country, the State was secularised, and prices of commodities were stabilised. Poets like Amīr Khusro and Mīr Ḥassan Dehlwī shed lustre on the court. Shaikh Nizām-ud-Dīn Auliya—one of the greatest mediæval saints of India—lived in the time of 'Alā'ud-Dīn. According to Sir J. Marshall, 'Alā'ud-Dīn was "the author of buildings of unexampled grace and nobility." 'Alā'ud-Dīn's government, narrow though its basis was, was rich in character and ability, and that mainly explains why an illiterate mediæval despot succeeded in successfully tackling the difficult problem of price control, the complexity of which has almost baffled even the highly organised modern government of India.

DHARAM PAL.

THE MINSTRELS OF THE GOLDEN AGE OF ISLAM

(Continued from Issue No. 3, July 1943)

II

(P. 188) STORIES OF THE ['ABBASID] MUSICIANS

HĀRŪN ar-Rashīd [the Caliph, d. 809] had a company of musicians. Among them [of the first rank] were Ibrāhīm al-Mausīlī, and Ibn-Jāmi' as-Sahmī, and Mukhāriq, and another rank beneath them among whom were Zalzal, and 'Amr al-Ghazzāl,¹ and 'Alawaihi. And he [also] had a wind instrumentalist (zāmir) named Barṣaumā.² And Ibrāhīm [al-Mausīlī] was the greatest of them in versatility in singing (*ghinā'*), and Ibn-Jāmi' was the sweetest of them in note (*naghma*).

And [Hārūn] ar-Rashīd said to Barṣaumā one day, "What is your opinion of Ibn-Jāmi'?" Then he said, "O, Commander of the Faithful, what is my opinion about honey which, wherever I taste it, is good." He [Hārūn] said, "And what about Ibrāhīm al-Mausīlī?" He said, "He is a garden in which are gathered fruits and aromatic plants." He said, "And what about 'Amr al-Ghazzāl?" He said, "He is beautiful of countenance, O, Commander of the Faithful."³

And Ibrāhīm [al-Mausīlī, d. 804] was the first to beat rhythm (*iqā'*) with a wand (*qaḍīb*).⁴ And Yahyā ibn-Muhammad related, he said, "Whilst we were at the [palace] gate of [the Caliph Hārūn] ar-Rashīd, awaiting permission to enter, the porter came out and said to us, 'The Commander of the Faithful sends you Greeting.' . . . So we went away. Then Ibrāhīm [al-Mausīlī] said to us, 'You must come to my dwelling.' . . . So we set off with him. Then he entered a house. I had never seen a nobler [house] than it, nor a more spacious. And there were carpets of silk trimmed with ermine. Then he sat down and called for a great bowl of wine (*nabīdh*) and said :-

Let me quaff in the great: Verily I am great.
Only the small drink from the small.

1. That this musician is placed in the first rank here may be of some importance, because he is only casually mentioned in the *Aghānī*.

2. See Farmer, *History of Arabian Music*, 131.

3. See the story in the *Aghānī*, 12, 69, where the comparisons have a different colouring.

4. This is incorrect. The *qaḍīb* was used by several minstrels at a much earlier period. See *Aghānī*, I, 95: VII, 179.

Then he said :—

Let me drink coffee in a great cup,
And leave water, all of it, to asses.

So he drank of it. Then he gave orders, and it was filled again, and he said to us, 'Verily the horses do not drink unless with whistling.'¹ He then commanded slave-girls to surround the house, and their voices resembled birds in a thicket answering one another."

Ishāq ibn-Ibrāhīm al-Maūsili [d. 850] says : "When the Caliphate passed to al-Mā'mūn (818), he waited twenty months without hearing a particle of music (*ghinā*).² and the first who sang in his presence was Abū-'Isā [ibn-Hārūn].³ Then he continued listening to music, and [one day] he enquired concerning me.⁴ And someone who envied me [at court] slandered me and said, 'This is a man who is haughty towards the Caliph.' And al-Mā'mūn said, 'What a long time he retains his haughtiness.' And he [the Caliph] ceased to speak about me, and everyone who was associated with me treated me rudely by reason of what had appeared of his [al-Mā'mūn's] opinion [of me].

This [state of things] continued until one day there came to me 'Alawaihi.'⁵ And he said to me, 'Will you permit me to mention you [to the Caliph] today, for I shall be with him today?' I said, 'No, but sing to him this poetry, for it will induce him to ask you whence you obtained it. Then there will be opened to you what you desire, and the answer [which you will give] will be easier than the first suggestion [of yours].' So 'Alawaihi went away. Then, when the court had assembled, he sang him [the Caliph] the verses which I had authorized him, and they were :—

O thou watercourse, closed have been thy courses.
Is there no way to thee which is not closed

To a thirsty one, parched until there is no life in him,
Scared from the road to water, driven away?

Then, when al-Mā'mūn heard him he said, 'Woe be to thee, to whom [belong] these [verses]?' He ['Alawaihi] said, 'O Sir, to a slave of thy slaves: You have shunned him and rejected him.' He [al-Mā'mūn] said, '[Do you mean] Ishāq?' He said, 'Yes.' He said, 'Let him be brought immediately'. . . . Then the messenger came to me, and I went to him [the Caliph]. And when I entered he said, 'Draw near.'

1. See *Islamic Culture* (1943), p. 278.

2. The "twenty months" did not start from this date (813) apparently. It seems to have lasted from August 819, when he entered Baghdad, until April 821.

3. He was the favourite son of the Caliph Hārūn, and frequently took part in the court music. Al-Mā'mūn had great affection for him. Another musician, Muḥammad ibn-al-Hārith, is also claimed to have been the first to break the musical silence of al-Mā'mūn's court.

4. Although Ishāq had been famous at the court of Hārūn and al-Amin, and had probably served the usurper Ibrāhīm ibn-al-Mahdi, it was probably on account of his connection with the two latter, that he was out of favour with al-Mā'mūn.

5. See Farmer, *op. cit.*, 123 ('Allūyah).

Then I drew near, and he saluted me out of respect. Then I reclined with him [on a couch], and he patted me with his hand, and showed me honour and kindness which, had a familiar friend displayed it, would have rejoiced me."

He [the narrator] said :— There informed me Yūsuf ibn-'Umar al-Madīnī, he said, al-Hārith ibn-'Abdallāh informed me, he said, I heard Ishāq al-Mauṣilī saying [as follows],— " One night, 'Ath'ath al-Mughannī¹ was present at a night gathering of [Caliph Hārūn] ar-Rashīd. And he ['Ath'ath] was an eloquent man, well educated, and in addition was singing poetry with a beautiful voice.² And they [the assembly] talked about the delicacy of the poetry of the people of al-Madīna. Then one of his companions chanted (*anshada*) verses of Ibn-al-Dumaina, where he says³ :—

And I remember the days of the *Himā*, then I bend
Over my heart⁴ for fear that it should burst.

But the evenings of the *Himā* will not return
To thee. So let thine eyes shed tears.

My right eye⁵ wept when I scolded it
For being senseless. After sober-mindedness, they both poured.

And ar-Rashīd was excited to admiration by the delicacy of the verses. Then 'Ath'ath said to him, ' O, Commander of the Faithful, this is urban poetry. it has been softened by (p. 189) the water of the 'Aqīq⁶ until it has become soft and pure, and has become rarer than air. But, if the Commander of the Faithful wishes, I will chant to him what is more delicate than this, and sweeter, and firmer, and stronger, by a man of the people of the bedouin.' He [the Caliph] said, ' Verily I will it.' He ['Ath'ath] said, ' And shall I cantillate (*tarannum*) in it, O, Commander of the Faithful ? ' He said, ' You may.' Then he sang (*ghanna*) to [the verses of] Jarīr :—

Those who went out in the morning, with thy heart left
A trickle in thy eye, which is ever flowing.

They let their tears subside and said to me,
What hast thou met of love, and what have we met ?

They came back in the evening in a way disliked.

When they went astray, we went astray, and when they were on the right path,
we were on it.

Then they cast them⁷ on the breadth of the desert.

If they were to die, we should die, and if they live, we live.

1. The text has 'Abthar عثر but the correct reading is 'Ath'ath عثث. The latter is mentioned in the *Aghānī*, xiii, 28-31, [and also in Ibn-Abī Ṭāifūr, *Kitāb Baghdād*, 194.—Dr. Krenkow].

2. The text has على الشعر "lofty in poetry" but غنى الشعر "singing poetry" is more likely.—Dr. Krenkow].

3. The verses are not found in his *Diwān*. [Indeed, the author is al-Šimma ibn 'Abdallāh al-Qushairī, and the verses are to be found in the *Kitāb al-Amālī* of al-Qālī (I, 190-91).—Dr. Krenkow].

4. Lit. "my liver."

5. "My left eye" according to al-Qālī.

6. The 'Aqīq of al-Madīna. See *Islamic Culture* (1943), p. 279.

7. i.e., the camels.

He [the Caliph] said, 'You are right, O 'Ath'ath,' and he bestowed a robe of honour upon him and rewarded him."

And there was to Ibrāhīm al-Mauṣilī a black slave named Ziryāb [Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn-Nāfi'],¹ and he was predestined for singing" (*ghinā*). Ibrāhīm had taught him,² and sometimes he [Ziryāb] would be present with him at the court of ar-Rashīd, singing in it. Then he migrated to Qairawān to the Aghlabids, and entered into [the service of] Ziyādat Allāh [d. 837]. And [one day] he sang to him some verses of 'Antara al-Fawāris, where he says :—³

Because my mother is a raven [black] one

Of the people of Ḥām you reproach me.

But verily I am light-handed with the white points of the swords,

And the brown lances if you come at me.

And had it not been for thy flight on the day of battle,

I should have led thee in the war, or you would have led me.

Then Ziyādat Allāh was angry and commanded that the back of his neck be smacked, and he put him out. Then he said to him, "If I find you in any part of my dominions after three days, I shall cut off your head." So he [Ziryāb] crossed the sea [in the year 821] to Muslim Spain [al-Andalus], and he was with the Amīr 'Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn-al-Ḥakam [d. 852].⁵

[p. 190] And Ibrāhīm ibn-al-Mahdī [d. 839], and it is he who is called Ibn-Shakla,⁶ was clever, learned in the days of the people, a consummate poet, and he was composing [verses for music ?] excellently. And it was related concerning Ibrāhīm that he had opposed [the Caliph] al-Mā'mūn, and [in the year 813] had proclaimed himself [as Caliph]. Then [in 819] al-Mā'mūn defeated him, but [subsequently] forgave him [his perfidy]. After al-Mā'mūn vanquished him, he [Ibrāhīm.] said :—

I have gone out of the world, and it had departed from me.

Fate flung me away from it, and I fling it away from me.

Then if I weep over myself, I weep for a soul that is precious ;

And if I hold it back, I hold it back because I am covetous of it.

Then when the gates of favour were opened to him with al-Mā'mūn, he sang them before him.⁷ And al-Mā'mūn said to him, "Well done, by

1. Farmer, *Hist.*, 128.

2. According to al-Maqqarī (*Analectes*, ii, 83), his teacher was Iṣḥāq al-Mauṣilī, on account of whose jealousy Ziryāb was forced to leave Baghdād. This probably accounts for the silence of al-Iṣfahānī concerning Ziryāb.

3. The verses are not found in his *Diwān*, and I believe that they are not by him. [They may be by Nuṣaib.—Dr. Krenkow].

4. i.e., as a prisoner.

5. See Ibn-Khaldūn, *Prolegomena* (De Slane edit.), II, 361.

6. Shakla was his mother's name. It is vocalized thus in the *Qāmūs* and in the new edition of the *Aghānī*, x, 95. Cf. Tabarī. [Perhaps Shukla is more correct.—Dr. Krenkow].

7. The lines in the *Aghānī*, IX, 67, are slightly different.

Allāh, O Commander of the Faithful!" Then Ibrāhīm arose in fear at that [remark] and said, "You have slain me, by Allāh, O Commander of the Faithful. Nay, by Allāh, I shall not sit down again until you name me by my [proper] name." He [al-Mā'mūn] said, "Sit, O Ibrāhīm." And after this he was the most acceptable of men with al-Mā'mūn. He was making him his boon companion and night fellow, and he was singing to him.¹

And he [Ibrāhīm] related to him [al-Mā'mūn] one day [this story]: "O Commander of the Faithful, whilst I was with your father one day on the way to Mecca, I was separated from my companions and found myself alone. And I became thirsty, and began seeking my companions. Then I came to a well and, lo, there was an Abyssinian sleeping by it. Then I said to him, 'O sleeper arise and draw [water] for me.' Then he said, 'If you are thirsty, let down and draw for yourself.' Then a ditty (*ṣaut*) came into my head and I cantillated (*tarannum*) it, and it was:—

Shroud me if I die in the smock of 'urwā,
And draw water for me from the well of 'Urwa.²

Then, when he heard, he rose up pleased and delighted, and said, 'By Allāh, this is the well of 'Urwa and this is his grave.' Then I wondered, O Commander of the Faithful, at what had come into my mind in that place. Then he [the Abyssinian] said, 'I will draw for you if you will sing to me.' I said, 'Alright.' And I did not cease singing to him whilst he was drawing the rope until he gave me to drink and had watered my animal. Then he said, 'I will point out to you the place of the army on condition that you sing to me.' I said, 'Alright.' Then he did not cease running before me whilst I sang until we came upon the army. Then he departed. And I came to ar-Rashīd and told him all this. Then he laughed.

Then [when] we returned from our pilgrimage, he [the Abyssinian] met me whilst I was balancing ar-Rashīd on the camel. And when he saw me he said, 'A singer, by Allāh.' It was said to him, 'Do you say this to the brother of the Commander of the Faithful?' He said, 'Aye, by the life of Allāh, he has already sung to me, and he gave me cream, cheese and dates.' Then I ordered him a present and a robe, and ar-Rashīd ordered him a robe also." And al-Mā'mūn laughed and he said, 'Sing me the ditty (*ṣaut*).' So I sang it to him. And he was enchanted with it and [after this] would not ask for any other.

Mukhārīq [d.c. 845]³ and 'Alawaihi [d.c. 850] had altered the old [music] of the Arabs,⁴ all of it, and had introduced Persian notes (*nigham*)⁵

1. Cf. this scene as depicted in the *Alf-Laila-wa-Laila* (Calcutta edit.), II, 138: Burton, II, 512. Here Ibrāhīm al-Mauṣili who died in 804, is made responsible for the arrest of Ibrāhīm ibn-al-Mahdi in 825-26.

2. The Bi'r 'Urwa is in the 'Aqīq according to Yāqūt, [and the lines are by as-Sarī ibn-'Abd al Raḥmān, the grandson of Ḥassān ibn Thābit.—Dr. Krenkow].

3. See Farmer, *Music: the priceless Jewel* (1942), p. 8.

4. The scale of the Old Arabian School was the Pythagorean. See Farmer, *Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments*, II, 46.

5. This refers to the scale of the *ṭunbūr khurasānī*. See my article in the *Encyclopædia of Islām*, III, 753.

And when the Hijāzian came to them with the *thaqīl auwal* music (*ghinā*),¹ he said [to the 'Irāqians], "Your music requires bleeding."² And the name of 'Alawaihi was Yūnus. [He was] a freedman of the Umayyads.³

Zalzal [d. 791] was the best player among the people of [instruments of] strings. And there was not before him, nor after him, his equal.⁴ And he was not singing but was only playing [the lute] for Ibrāhīm [al-Mausilī], and Ibn-Jāmi', and Barṣaumā. And of his music (*ghinā*) concerning al-Mā'mūn is :-

O, only al-Mā'mūn is to the people a support,
Distinguishing between right and wrong.

Allāh has seen 'Abdallāh to be the best of His servants,
So He made him King, and Allāh knows best His servants.

Abū-Ja'far al-Baḡhdādī says, "There informed me 'Abdallāh-ibn Muḥammad, the secretary of [General] Bughā,⁵ on the authority of Abū-'Ikrama, he said, 'I went out one day to the principal mosque, and took with me some paper that I might write down on it some of what might be profitable from [the sayings of] the 'Ulamā'.⁶ And I passed by the gateway of (p. 191) Abū-'Isā ibn-al-Mutawakkil, and lo! al-Masdūd [the pandorist]⁷ was at the gate. And he was one of the ablest of men in singing (*ghinā*). Then he said, 'Whither are you going, O Abū-'Ikrama?' I said, 'To the principal mosque. Perhaps I shall profit in wisdom by it, which I shall write down.' Then he said, 'Come with us to Abū-'Isā.' Then I said, 'The like of Abū-'Isā, in his greatness and glory, does one go in to him without permission?' Then he said to the chamberlain, 'Tell the Prince that Abū-'Ikrama is here.' . . . Then it was no time before the pages came out, and they took me with them, and I entered into the palace. By Allāh, I had never seen a more handsome than it in construction, nor finer in carpeting, nor more beautiful in appearance.

Then when I entered, I looked at Abū-'Isā, and when he saw me he said to me, 'O hated one (*baghīd*), of what are you afraid? Sit down.' So I sat. Then he said, 'What is this paper in your hand?' I said, 'O

1. The *thaqīl auwal* was one of the slow rhythms (*iqā'āt*) to which much of the old classical music of the Arabs was set.

2. Meaning that it was too full [of notes]. In the Old Arabian school, the octave contained twelve notes, whereas in this Persian scale of the *ṭunbūr khusānī* there were eighteen.

3. See Farmer, *History of Arabian Music*, 123.

4. This is confirmed by the *Aghānī*, v, 54.

5. Bughā was the name of two Turkish generals at Baḡhdād at this period, one named al-Kabir (d. 862), and another named aṣḥ-Ṣharābī (d. 868). The latter was the murderer of al-Mutawakkil, the father of Abū-'Isā.

6. The Doctors of Theology. Abū-'Ikrama, the commentator of the *Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, was, however, not interested in theology.

7. The text has al-Mushdūd (as in one place in the *Aghānī*, VIII, 167). He was better known as a pandorist, and Jaḥṣat al-Barmakī (d. 938) says that he was the foremost performer on the *ṭunbūr* in his day. *Al-Fihrist*, 145.

Sir, I brought it in case I should find anything of profit to write, and I hope that I shall attain my aim in this assembly.' So I remained for a time. Then we were brought food, and I had never seen more in quantity, nor better [in quality]. So we ate until it was time to depart.

And lo there were Zunain [al-Makkī],¹ and Dubais.² And they were the cleverest of people in singing (*ghinā'*). Then I said, 'This is an assembly in which Allāh has gathered every good thing.' Then the meat was taken away and drink was served. And a slave-girl arose to help us to drink. I never saw finer than it [the wine] in any cup. I cannot describe it. Then I said, 'May Allāh magnify thee. How like is this [scene] to the saying of Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī describing a slave-girl in whose hand was wine (*khamr*):—

Red [wine], pure, in spotless cup,

There hastens to us a beautiful maid of the nymphs of Paradise :

Graceful, bearing two choice things in her hands,

The purest of wine in the rarest of flagons.

And al-Masdūd, and Zunain, and Dubais were sitting [in the assembly], and there were not at that time more capable [performers] than these three in singing (*ghinā'*). Then al-Masdūd began and sang :—

After that he rose, trailing his skirts.

With a dark moustache above the veil of pearls ;³

And he was perfect in beauty, and complete were his virtues ;

And his marvels were associated with invitation.

The rose glistened on the eglantine of his cheeks ;

And his torso was exulting, and his buttocks quivered.

I spoke to him with the eyelids, without articulation :

And his refusal was clear by what his eyebrows expressed.

Then he ceased, and Zunain sang :—

Love is sweet, but it is bitter in its results.

And a lover has a longing heart which is [ever] melting.

Ask Allāh to keep safely with his glances what he has given to my care.

On the day of departure, while the eyes were shedding tears

When I left, the impulse of passion was saying to me,

Be gentle with thine heart, what it is seeking is precious.

And he [then] said :—

I reproached it awhile, and when I saw

That my feeling grew in abjectness, his attitude became dignified,

I bonded in my breast an affection,

And left him in dumbness, not blaming him.

1. The text has زَيْن but in the *Aghānī* (See Guidi's *Index*) he is registered under ظَيْن and طَيْن.

2. Dubais is not mentioned in the *Aghānī*.

3. Meaning the lips covering the teeth.

Then he ceased, and Dubais sang :—

A full moon in human form, whom the stars encompass :
His forehead shining, and his moustache darkening.

If he promises one day, he will break it ;
Or if he were to speak with words one day, he will surely lie.

I offered him [wine], like blood from the jugular vein, pure :
Then he rose singing sweetly, his flanks swaying.

Abū-'Ikrama said, " Then I marvelled that they [all] sang to one melody (*lahn*) and one rhyme (*qāfiya*). Abū-'Isā said, ' Does any of this surprise you, O Abū-'Ikrama ? ' Then I said, ' O Sir, thanks are not commensurate to this.' Then the company sang according to this [plan] until the breaking up of the assembly. When al-Masdūd sang, the [other] two men sang with the like [melody and rhyme] of what he sang.¹

(194 Abū-'Ikrama says, " By Allāh, beside whom there is no other god than He, I have been present at more assemblies than I can count, but I never saw the like of that [contest] until this day. Then Abū-'Isā ordered a handsome present for everyone and we departed. And if it had not been that Abū-'Isā had stopped them [singing], they would not have broken up."

III.

CONCLUSION

ONLY those who have experienced what music means to the peoples of the Islamic East can pay requisite heed to, and fully appreciate, these stories of the influence of music. To hear and see a vast audience murmur in hushed tones, or shout in wild ecstasy, the blessed word *Allāh*, when they are moved by music serious or exciting, as the case may be, is an unforgettable experience, a something which the generality of the stolid Occident fails to grasp. It is true that in Spain the affected auditor still shouts *Olé, olé*, when the vocal or digital dexterities of the *cantaores* or *tocaors* in the *cante honde* arouse his admiration, but his cry, although he little suspects it, is but a survival of the days of the Moors of al-Andalus, when those who applauded *mughannī* or *ālātī* exclaimed in rapture the true and glorious word, *Allāh*.

That music is a constant cheer, is the invariable theme in Arabic literature. Motion (*haraka*) is one of the reasons. That is why the *'Iqd* says that " music flows in the veins," because of the motion of the pulse

1. At this point the narrator gives the verses of twenty-nine songs (pp. 191-94), in which other melodies and rhymes were used. These were sung, as stated, by al-Masdūd, Zunain, and Dubais in succession each trying to outdo his rivals. It may be interesting to note that the last song, quoted above, is in an uncommon rhyme, and there is not a single verse with this rhyme in the *baṣīṭ* metre in the *Aghānī*, [nor in the *Amālī* of al-Qālī, nor in the *Uyūn al-Aghbār* of Ibn-Qutaiba, nor in the *Diwān* of Abū-Nuwās, nor that of Ibn-al-Mu'tazz, nor that of Muslim ibn al-Walid.—Dr. Krenkow].

(*ḥarakat an-nabḍ*). "Yazīd ibn-'Abd al-Malik (d. 724) said one day, when the Persian lute (*barbat*) had been mentioned before him, 'Would that I knew what it is.' Then 'Ubaidallāh ibn-'Abdallāh ibn-'Utba ibn-Mas'ūd said to him, 'I will inform you what it is. It is hunchbacked,¹ lean of belly,² having four strings. If they [the strings] are moved (*ḥaraka*),³ no one can hear them save that his emotions are moved (*ḥaraka*) and he shakes his head [in *tempo*].'"⁴

Yet, besides solace, music can bring suffering. The beautiful story of the love-sick youth who died on hearing a *qaina* of the Caliph sing, may be read in the '*Iqd al-Farīd* in the section on *Those who Died or Fainted on Hearing a Song*.⁵ Similar stories are found in the *Alf-Laila-wa-Laila*, as in the tales of *The Three Unfortunates*, *The Lovers of al-Madīna*, and *The Ruined Man of Baghdād*.⁶

A physical explanation of the cause of this is given with naïveté in the '*Iqd* as follows. A man named Ṭarīfa came to a singer named Aiyūb and asked him to sing a verse of Imru'ul-Qais. The singer did so, and when it was finished Ṭarīfa fell prostrate on the ground. When questioned as to what happened he said: "By Allāh, there rose up from my foot something *hot*, and there went down from my head something *cold*. These met and collided, and I swooned."⁷

Another *qissa* from the same source speaks for itself. "Ishāq ibn-Ibrāhīm al-Mausilī passed by a man who was fashioning a lute ('ūd). Then he said, 'For whom are you whetting this sword?' "⁸ One can therefore understand why such expressions as "kills with delight"⁹ and "killing charm,"¹⁰ in relation to music, came to be accepted in the Islamic East.¹¹

HENRY GEORGE FARMER.

(Concluded).

1. A reference to the convex back of the lute.

2. The *Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā'* (10th cent.) says that the wood of the "belly" (lit. "face") of the lute should be "thin, hard, and light."

3. i.e., Struck with digits or plectrum.

4. '*Iqd*, III, 206.

5. *Ibid.*,

6. *Alf-Laila-wa-Laila* (Calcutta edit.), II, 439 : III, 412 : IV, 360. Burton's trans. III, 242 : IV, 344 : V, 375.

7. '*Iqd*, III, 199.

8. *Ibid.*, 206.

9. *Aghānī*, IX, 90.

10. Sa'dī, *Gulistan*, III, 28.

11. The text of the '*Iqd* used for the above translation is the Cairo edition, A.H. 1305.

THE CENTRAL STRUCTURE OF THE SULTANATE OF DELHI

ORIGIN AND THEORY OF KINGSHIP

IN spite of the fact that monarchy has had a long and varied existence in the Muslim State, to the Sharī'at it has always remained a non-legal institution. The Muslim State in Mediæval India has been popularly but inaccurately described as a theocracy. Nothing can be more misleading; the blunder arises from a misconception of the meaning of 'theocracy' and an utter ignorance of the true character of the empire of Delhi. In order to explain the degeneration from the theocratic 'Khilāfat' to the autocratic rule of the Muslim sovereigns, a reference to Islamic political theory and ideal is necessary.

Islam did not determine who should succeed the Prophet when he died, but successor was soon found to be an unavoidable necessity. After the Prophet, there sprang up the Caliphate, which was based upon election; but as the empire expanded, the system was changed to a mere ceremony of bai'at or submission. The circle of electors was gradually reduced from the leading men of the town to eleven, five, and even one, so much so that the sovereign could appoint his own successor. In order to reconcile the theory with the practice, Māwardī tried to justify this conclusion, and the relaxation in the principle of election led to the recognition of the right of the sovereign to inherit. However, the idea of the ultimate authority of the Muslim people did survive.

The first rulers were divine kings such as the Sassanians, who were regarded as "God among men." A full-fledged Sultanate, however, began with the Khwarazmian empire, and Maḥmūd of Ghazna was perhaps the first to assume the title of Sultān.¹ The non-recognition of the institution of monarchy bred curious but natural results. In the first place, all distinction between the king *de facto* and the king *de jure* was lost. Secondly, as there was no place for the Sultanate in Islamic political theory, there was consequently no provision for the devolution of the crown. The State could not be regarded as the property of the Sultān. The result was the interminable wars of succession, and an appeal to arms was in

1. *Siyāsat-Nāma* of Niẓām-ul-Mulk Ṭūsī, p. 108.

fact the only possible way of solving the riddle. It was customary for the Sultān to nominate his heir either in his lifetime or on his death-bed; but the king's nominee was almost always rejected.¹ A strong claimant, of course, could with little difficulty find his way to the throne, and the Khāns, Maliks and Amīrs perforce made their submission to him, while the weak successors fell into the hands of the so-called electors, only to be set up and pulled down with the inevitable result of losing their heads. A formal ceremony of bai'at was, however, followed in each case.

The division of the State between Ghiyāthuddīn and his brother Shihābuddīn was neither sanctioned by Islamic law nor supported by any precedent. However, it evolved a principle that the State was the private property of the ruler. Mu'izzuddīn died without leaving any son to rule over his empire, and his Turkish slaves were the only heirs. On the other hand, the ruler of Firōz Koh found himself unable to impose his sovereignty upon the powerful Turkish Maliks. The death of Shihābuddīn left the problem unsolved. Sovereigns were required to form new theories or to reaffirm the time-honoured ideas regarding the institution of kingship.

The ruler was looked upon with awe and reverence, and kingship was regarded as an indispensable institution. There was a choice between monarchy and anarchy, and the people wisely chose the former. Muslim society had undergone a great change, and it was a period of an "alluring materialistic civilisation and not of faith." The Muslim law or Shari'at came to be regarded as impracticable. With the fall of Madain, and the transfer of the seat of government to Baghdad, Persian ideas began to flow in, and in course of time completely changed the face of Islam. The conquerors fell an easy prey to the culture of the conquered, and the old doctrine of Persian Imperialism crept into the body-politic. Persian ideas and institutions were adopted wholesale; the government of the empire, the administration of the various departments, the personality of the ruler, the State ceremonials, dress, and the royal symbols were modelled upon Persian lines. These ideas spread from Baghdad to Ghaznin and other parts of the Muslim world, and likewise made their way into the Indian plains. Of all these ideas, the most significant was the theory of the Divine Right of the Persian kings. "The virtue of divinity² was associated with the office rather than with the person of the Sultān. Excluding the functions of a prophet, it was repeatedly asserted that "

1. Quṭbuddīn Aiybek nominated Iltutmish to the throne of Delhi, but the Maliks elevated Ārām Shāh. Sultān Iltutmish made Raḡiyya his heir-apparent, but the Maliks raised Ruknuddīn Firōz Shāh to the throne of Delhi. Again Balban nominated Kai-Khusro, but Kaiqubād succeeded him at the instigation of the Maliks.

2. It is related about Humāyūn that on the occasion of public assembly, a curtain was hung between him and the audience; and when it was drawn, the gathering exclaimed with one voice, "Behold the illumination of the Divine Being." Abu'l-Faḡl made Akbar *Insān-i-Kāmil*—"Perfect Man."

there is no work as great and noble as the task of government."¹ Kingship is a great blessing, and as the highest office is the creation of God, and is received from Him alone, a king is a representative of God on earth,² and the heart of the king reflects the glory of God. "The Creator displays his inner richness by raising at every stage a person from among the created, endows him with all the accomplishments befitting sovereigns and entrusts him with the task of government, so that the people may lead a happy and prosperous life under his just and equitable rule."³ A king must, therefore, feel the importance and significance of the glory and grandeur thus conferred upon him and must be grateful to God for this great honour.⁴ "He must seek God's pleasure by doing virtuous acts, which consist in administering absolute justice to the people—a means of the strengthening of the empire and a way for his own salvation."⁵

A king must be brave, enterprising, just and benevolent. He should be "true to his army, benevolent to the subjects, kind to the oppressed, courteous to the virtuous, and an abstainer from the evil-doers."⁶ He should be neither sweet-speaking nor very harsh. To retain his kingship he must maintain his prestige. Kingly dignity disappears on account of friendship and familiarity and the result is vice, immorality, and sinning throughout his kingdom.⁷ Kingly glory and the terror of authority contribute more than mere chastisement to the establishment of a strong and stable government. His society should be composed of the virtuous, faithful, wise, and sagacious people. He should never grant audience or give posts to the humble or low-born people.⁸ The primary duty of a king is to maintain peace and order in his dominion and to protect and patronize the faith.⁹

He must keep himself well informed of the condition of his provinces and the doings of his governors.¹⁰ But he should be still more particular about his personal security, and keep his guards and servants satisfied. "My first advice to you," said Bughrā Khān to his son, "is this, consider Empire as dear but your own life as dearer; for if life is in danger, what is the use of this world?"¹¹ Secondly, hesitate to kill Maliks and Amirs,

1. *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhi* of Diyā' Barnī, p. 27.

چون تو شدی سایه یزدان پاک سایه نشان باش برین مشت خاک

2. Amīr Khusrō in his *Qirān-us-Sa'dain*, p. 205, addresses the Sultān as "Shadow of God."

3. *Siyāsāt-Nāma*, p. 6.

4. *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhi* of Diyā' Barnī, pp. 70, 71.

5. *Siyāsāt-Nāma*, p. 8.

6. MSS. *Ādāb-ul-Harb*, p. 50a.

7. *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhi* of Diyā' Barnī, p. 34.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

دولت دنیا جو سلم ترا است جانب دین کوش که آنهم ترا است

9. *Qirān-us-Sa'dain*, p. 206.

10. Diyā' Barnī, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhi*, p. 97; and *Qirān-us-Sa'dain*, p. 205.

11. Diyā' Barnī, p. 152.

but convert your enemies into friends by means of liberality, sagacity, and kindness."¹ The three essentials of kingship are the army, the treasury, and the nobles ;² the means of success are justice, beneficence, pomp and show.

Such was the theory and practice during the mediæval period. The position was not acceptable to a number of true followers of Islam such as theologians and Šūfīs, who broke away from the monarchy and disassociated themselves from the corrupt condition of Muslim society. The Sultān of Delhi was an autocrat, bound by no laws and subject to no control ; the subjects had no rights but only obligations. The Hindu theories of Dharma and Karma, teaching contentment and the rule of the upper classes over the lower, in a way strengthened rather than weakened these ideals ; and, as a matter of fact, the Hindu political system gave way at the first approach of the Muslim arms.

The State was based on force ; the sovereign upheld his power in the face of grave dangers ; all land belonged to the crown ; and the imperial treasury was the personal property of the Sultān. Formally, the ruler showed respect for religion, and employed under his service some theologians (Dastār-bandān) as Qādis and Shaikh-ul-Islām. Institutions such as Bai'at, Khuṭba, Waqf (endowment) and Khairāt (charities) marked outward shows; mosques were built and Jihāds were waged. Yet the unfailing power of the Maliks, the force of local customs and traditions, and above all the powerful influence of mystics and divines kept the sovereign in alarm. The ambitions of the Sultāns of Delhi, like those of the Sassanian monarchs of Persia, were to build lofty and magnificent palaces, to hold grand assemblies, to conquer the world, to accumulate vast hoards of treasure, to bestow gifts upon their favourites, to carry on war to uphold their supremacy, and to maintain a large establishment of attendants and a harem. The position of the Sultān was sometimes so secure that 'Alā'uddīn and Muḥammad Tughlaq contemplated founding a religion, and Akbar actually created a new faith. Acts of cruelty, tortures, and even massacres were practised under dictates of policy, extravagant and wasteful expenditure became the rule, the Sharī'at was neglected, and the will of the sovereign became the law of the State. Such was the un-Islamic nature of the Sultānate of Delhi.

THE EMPEROR

THE safety of the empire rested upon the efficient management of the central government. The working of an autocracy mainly depended upon the personality of the autocrat. The personal character of the sovereign

1. *Qirān-us-Sa'dain*, p. 204.

باز طلب صحبت یزدان پاک صحبت آلوده رها کن عتاک

2. *Qirān-us-Sa'dain*, p. 208.

largely contributed to the success or failure not only of the administrative system but to the stability of the empire as a whole. He ruled only so long as he succeeded ; one little disaster, a chance defeat, an unexpected act of disloyalty on the part of his Amīrs, and the whole fabric of the State broke down. The royal throne was no bed of roses ; the iron hand alone could maintain its hold while the weak rulers were set up and pulled down at will. Such was the case with the successors of Sultān Shamsuddīn Iltutmish. The imperial throne was insecure. Dangers beset it on every side, and the emperor had to "live in an atmosphere of perpetual suspicion and distrust." The Assassin's dagger, palace intrigues, and the disloyalty of his officers and close relatives kept the king constantly alarmed. The heretic leader Nūr Turk conspired against Islam in the reign of Sultāna Rāḍiyya.¹ The Na'ib-i-Mulk Malik Ikhtiyāruddīn aspired to the throne, and was consequently put to death by Sultān Mu'izzuddīn Behrām Shāh.² The same sovereign had to face another conspiracy of State officials, and an attempt to subdue it resulted in an open revolt against the Sultān.³ The Vizier Mohaddhab-ud-dīn also entertained high ambitions by establishing the Naubat and stationing an elephant at the gate of his mansion, but his designs were doomed to failure.⁴

The position of a strong ruler was nevertheless impregnable. An autocrat of unbounded energies born with indomitable resolution could successfully hold in check the forces of anarchy and confusion. "The one great virtue the subjects admired in their ruler was strength ; the one fault, they could never forgive him was weakness."⁵

Immediately below the sovereign came his Maliks and Amīrs. They usually supported the Sultān in case he was powerful, but usurped his functions when he was weak, and played the role of "king-makers." A noble usually started his career as a slave of the Sultān or of any other noble, and on a graduated scale of promotion rose to the position of Amīr. His life, titles, and royal grants were at the mercy of the reigning monarch. The official status of a noble was determined by his Shughl (office) ; Khatīb (title), Aqṭā' (land), or Marātib (privileges at the court). The State could not tolerate his independence ; he could either remain as an ally of the Crown or else a rebel. The Turkish aristocracy were of great assistance in upholding the Turkish domination, yet when the sovereign was weak, they plotted one against the other.

The emperor⁶ was the fountain of all authority. The theory of the "Divine Right of Kings" was still in the making. He was regarded as the

1. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 190.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 193.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 194.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 198.

5. Professor Muḥammad Ḥabīb (the Third Oriental Conference of 1924, p. 311).

6. *Ḍiyā' Barnī, Tārīkh-i-Firḏz Shāhī*, p. 70, Mu'izzuddīn Behrām Shāh was styled ناصر امير المؤمنين "an ally of the lord of the faithful." Iltutmish "عين خليفة الله ناصر امير المؤمنين" the right hand of caliph of Allāh and an ally of the lord of the faithful." Nāṣiruddin: "ناصر امير المؤمنين" the sider with the lord of the faithful."

"Shadow of God on Earth" (Zill'ullāh),¹ or Lord's Deputy (Nā'ib-i-Aizad),² and was supposed to possess divine qualities and an "inspired mind."³ The emperor was, in actual practice, the supreme ruler of the State, the highest court of appeal, the supreme legislator, and the commander-in-chief of the royal forces. There was a wide gap between theory and practice; the Shari'at was to be his guide, but actually his word was law. The Sultān in his public life had to maintain at least an outward show of respect for the fundamentals of Islam. Balban impressed upon his subjects the duty of being "pious Muslims," which enhanced his prestige as a ruler.

The rulers of the "Early Sultanate Period" could not, as a matter of fact, depend upon the prestige of an imperial family, high birth, or noble lineage. They sprang from the people, all of them were men of humble origin; and, detached from their families at a tender age, they were even ignorant of their parentage. They rose to positions of power and sovereignty through sheer force of merit, strenuous efforts, or through the slow gradations of office; and their sole claim to the throne lay in their power to hold it in the face of clever rivals. To strengthen their position, attempts were made to secure patents of sovereignty from the 'Abbasid caliphs. The principle that the crown should be confined to the members of the royal family was applied to the Persian House of Sassan, but the case was different in Mediæval India. Sultān Iltutmish and Balban,⁴ however, made attempts to monopolise the imperial throne for their respective families; nevertheless, kingship remained a competitive and elective office. Ambitious and enterprising persons aspired to the throne, at the cost of their lives if they failed to achieve their end, and history provides numerous instances of this kind.

The people, however, regarded monarchy as a necessary and desirable institution for the solution of their social and political problems. Mediæval India knew no rules of succession. It was customary for the Sultān to appoint his Maliks and Amīrs, and they chose the new sovereign by means of a direct or indirect election or by an appeal to arms. The ceremony of vowing allegiance (Bai'at) had survived from the Omayyad caliphs, and the people played an important part at the time of succession. They approved the candidature and paid submission to the new ruler.

ADMINISTRATIVE DUTIES OF THE EMPEROR

THE Emperor was the centre of all authority; in him resided the supreme powers of the State, and consequently his administrative duties

1. *Tughlaq Nāma* of Amīr Khusro, p. 79.

2. *Khidr Khān Diwal Rani* of Amīr Khusro, p. 17.

ملاے دین و دنیا شاه والا بقدرت نائب ایزد تعالی

3. Amīr Khusro: *Khazā'in-ul-Futūh*, p. 196.

4. See *Ḍiyā' Barnī, Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhi*, pp. 120 to 123.

were multifarious. It was physically impossible for the Sultān to look after the business of government all by himself, and the burden of the State could only be lessened by delegating to his subordinate officers such powers as might conveniently be exercised by them on his behalf. The emperor, however, kept a vigilant watch over the affairs of the State, so much so that no important work could be done without his approval or knowledge. Out of necessity, he established an efficient system of spies to equip himself with all the information regarding the behaviour of his subjects, governors, Maliks, Amīrs and officials. It is interesting to recall how a slave of the Sultān served under every Amīr to watch his activities and to inform his master accordingly.¹ "Curious as it may seem, the fact is, nevertheless, true, that mediæval governments interfered more with the life of the people than any government is likely to do today."²

The Sultān was expected to be munificent, liberal, and enterprising, well-versed in horsemanship and archery; and also noted for his commanding presence and manly bearing. He was further supposed to be a patron of letters and a benefactor of his subjects. He conferred titles upon his Maliks and officials. The poets recited Qaṣīdas in his honour³ and received handsome rewards; and foreign travellers expected a hospitable reception at his court. The Sultān gave all possible assistance to the people in times of famine.

A strong and efficient Sultān was certainly an absolute despot. But the reigns of weak successors were marked by the rivalry of opposing Maliks, who desperately quarrelled for power and predominance, and introduced a régime of blood and terror.

THE IMPERIAL COUNCIL (MAJLIS-I-KHĀṢ)

A STRONG family likeness marks the administrative organization of all the autocratic States. The central government of India in those days was modelled on the lines of the "monarchies of Persia,"⁴ which were, in their turn, "deeply influenced by the Roman conceptions of government and law." Many resemblances are therefore to be noticed between the governments of the Roman emperors and those of the Sultāns of Delhi.

The Sultān was the final executive authority for all State affairs. Yet in obedience to the time-honoured custom, he summoned a council of the highest officers and allies⁵ (Majlis-i-Khāṣ), to discuss the more important problems, executive, legislative, and financial. The Council had no

1. See Ḍiyā Barnī, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhi*, pp. 120 to 123.

2. Professor Muḥammad Ḥabīb's article in the third Oriental Conference, Madras, 1924, p. 312.

3. See *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 64; *Firishta*, p. 67 and *Badayūnī*, p. 69.

4. Ḍiyā Barnī, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhi*, p. 26.

5. *وزیر صاحب تدبیر ملوک رائے زن را برائے زدن رائے حاضر گردانید*, *Khazā'in-ul-Futūḥ*, p. 99.

constitutional or legal powers but was merely a consultative body,¹ and its meetings were held in secret. Nevertheless, it was a thing of reality and indirectly held in check the great powers of the autocrat. The Sultān was bound to act according to its unanimous verdict on a certain question, and its joint advice went a great way towards moulding the policy of the emperor. A monarch, who kept matters confidential, was naturally looked upon with an eye of suspicion.

Side by side with this, there was another council called Majlis-i-Khilwat² (Privy Council), to which only the most trusted officials and servants were invited.³ The four ministers generally attended.

The Sultān frequently held a Majlis-i-'Aish (Convivial Assembly), to which persons of his taste were alone invited. The minor officers and servants attached to the Assembly were as follows :—

Khāṣa-dār⁴ (personal attendant); Sāqī-i-Khāṣ⁵ (personal cup-bearer); Tasht-dār⁶ (keeper of the royal basin); Sharab-dār⁷ (keeper of drinkables); Jāma-dār⁸ (keeper of the royal robe); Dawāt-dār⁹ (keeper of the writing-case); Chāshnīgīr¹⁰ (controller of the royal kitchen); Nā'ib-i-Chāshnīgīr¹¹ (assistant controller); Sho'la-dār¹² (keeper of the torch), he supervised the lighting arrangements of the palace; Yūzbān¹³ (keeper of the hunting leopards); Bāzdār¹⁴ (falconer); Sar-i-chatr-dār¹⁵ (head of the State canopy-bearers); Behla-dār¹⁶ (bearer of the royal purse); Mehtar-i-Farrāsh¹⁷ (chief of carpet-spreaders); and Muṣallidār (keeper of the royal carpet for saying prayers); Mohr-dār¹⁸ (keeper of the royal seal), he fixed seals upon food and drink.

The custom of holding courts or durbars is very ancient among the royal traditions of Persia, and it came to be established with the advent of

1. *ز ان همه کن و لیک* - *Amir Khusro's Nuh Sepahr*, p. 165.

2. It is different from the Majlis-i-Khāṣ as described above. *Journal of Indian History*, Madras, April, 1935, p. 97 confuses the Majlis-i-Khilwa with Majlis-i-Khāṣ.

3. سلطان جلال الدین فرمود تا مجلس خلوت سازند و در آن مجلس چند رای زان مایک و چند محرمان مایک را طلب شد. *Barni, Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 224.

4. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 282.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 250, 251.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 254.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 268.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 256, 257.

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.*, p. 242.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 261.

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 248, 249.

14. *Ibid.*

15. *Ibid.*, p. 251.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 254, 255.

17. *Ibid.*

18. *Ibn-Battūṭa* (Urdu translation by Mohd. Husain, p. 163).

Muslim rule in India. The Majlis-i-‘Ām¹ was radically different from the Imperial Council. It was a public court. It was the highest administrative body, where the Sultān transacted all the business of the State. The emperor sat upon the throne with an air of dignity and authority. The Chatr (royal parasol) and Dūrbāsh² (royal baton) were regarded as symbols of royal power. Red and black canopies were together regarded³ as insignia of royalty and elephants and naubat⁴ (beating of drums) were the exclusive privileges of the emperor.⁵ The name of the sovereign was read in the Khutba and inscribed on the coinage. Green or red canopies and robes of honour⁶ were bestowed upon the Malikis and Amīrs as a token of personal distinction.

The emperor sat upon the throne on a high-raised platform. Behind him stood a body-guard of slaves with drawn swords, a police-officer, the head-executioner, the royal purse-bearer, the commander of the forces, sergeants, head-swordsmen, wrestlers, and lastly horses and elephants, glorifying the right and left wings of the army.⁷ In front of the throne stood the Amīr-Hājib (Lord Chamberlain), who maintained law and order in the court. The Amīr-i-Hājib was assisted by the Nā’ib-i-Amīr-Hājib⁸ (Deputy Lord Chamberlain) and an army⁹ of Chamberlains called Hujjāb.

The ceremonies of the court were “humiliating and servile.” Sijdah (prostration), Nadhar (an offer to the Sultān), and Nithār (shower of

1. Dya’ Barni, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhi*, p. 30.

2. The Indian Dūrbāsh, like its Persian predecessor, was a wooden staff branching at the top and plated with gold. It was used to keep people at a distance.

3. Sultān Nāsiruddin had two canopies, one black and the other red. See *Tabāqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 318. The standards of Ilututnish were black and red—*Tabāqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 179. ‘Alā’uddin also had a black canopy. MSS. *Nuh Sepahr* of Amīr Khusrō, p. 49.

شود سایه گسترز چترسایه
Miftāh-ul-Futūh, p. 21. چو باچترسایه دیدش فلک جفت

4. ‘Naubat’ does not mean ‘music’ (see *Journal of Indian History*, April 35, p. 99).

5. روان کن سوئے حضرت بے کم و کاست
علامتہائی سلطانی کہ انجا است
ز چتر و دورباش و پیل و رایت
کہ حکم ما بران دادت ولایت

‘Alā’-ud-dīn, being displeased with his son Khidr Khān, demanded the return of all the insignia of royalty—canopy, Dūrbāsh, elephants, and standards: *Khidr Khān Diwāl Rāi* of Amīr Khusrō, p. 239.

6. Ruknuddin Firōz Shāh was granted the fief of Badaun along with a green canopy. Malik Tughril-i-Tughhān Khān was dignified with a canopy of State and a standard in the reign of Sultān Raḍiyya—See *Tabāqāt-i-Nāsirī*, pp. 182, and 243. Sultān ‘Alā’-ud-dīn Mas’ūd Shāh despatched a red canopy and a robe of honour to Malik Tughril-i-Tughhān Khān. (See *Tabāqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 199).

7. *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhi* of Barni, p. 30.

8. Malik Tajuddin Sanjar-i-Tēz Khān was Amīr-i-Hājib in the reign of Sultān Nāsiruddin. See *Tabāqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 260.

9. صفہاے حاجان کہ چو مزگان کشیدہ اند
ہر صف ہزار اختر و خورشید افسر است

Qasā'id of Badr Chāch, p. 52.

valuables) were regarded as essentials of etiquette. Access to the Sultān was generally granted and every one was allowed to lay his application in person before the Sultān through the Amīr-i-Hājib or Hājib-i-Khās, one of the greatest administrative officers.¹ When officers and fief-holders came to pay their homage to the Sultān, they brought with them beautiful slaves, dressed and ornamented in the most splendid style, priceless horses, fine elephants, valuable garments, vessels of gold and silver, arms, camels, and mules.² Foreign travellers when seeking an interview with the Sultān offered presents, and generally received three-fold from the court.³ The Amīr-i-Hājib read out the application to the Sultān for his verdict, and then the Mohar-dār (keeper of the royal seal) fixed the seal on the royal orders. Applications were ultimately handed over to the different Dabīrs (secretaries), such as Dabīr-i-Khās (general secretary),⁴ for final disposal. In criminal cases, the judgement was enforced then and there.

NĀ'IB-UL-MULK (REGENT)

AN extraordinary office of Nā'ib-ul-Mulk⁵ or Malik Nā'ib⁶ (Regent) was created on special occasions, either during the minority of the monarch or on account of his weakness. The regent stood in the Emperor's place, and carried on the government on behalf of the Sultān. When Sultān Muḥammad invaded Thatta, Malik Kabīr acted as his Nā'ib. He summoned Malik Mujīr, a feudatory, who came but paid no homage to the Nā'ib. Malik Kabīr grew hot and said, "I am in command of affairs for Sultān Muḥammad, and am empowered to issue orders in the royal absence."⁷ The Nā'ib was sometimes ordered to lead expeditions.⁸ Sultān 'Alā'uddin I's Nā'ib acted as commander-in-chief of the imperial forces. He was, in fact, above the ministers, and his position was greater than that of any other servant of the Crown. Being a representative of the Sultān, he stood for his royalty; while the highest civil officer was the vizier. Several Nā'ibs were appointed in different provinces.⁹ The office of regent, however, proved a great menace to the personal security of its holder as well as to the integrity of the empire. The regent always struggled for political supremacy, and his mismanagement and cruel administration

1. *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī* of Diyā Barnī, p. 202.

2. 'Afif's *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 268.

3. Ibn-Battūṭa (Urdu translation by Muḥammad Husain, p. 4.).

4. *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī* of 'Afif, p. 224.

5. گشت چو نائب ملک این بذات وین هم از آنهاست که در حادثات Nuh Sepahr of Amīr Khusrō, p. 70.

6. *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, of Diyā Barnī, p. 241 and *Khazā'in-ul-Futūḥ*, p. 70.

7. 'Afif's *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 453.

8. Barnī, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 326.

9. 'Afif's *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, pp. 454, 455.

was often responsible for the spread of a general revolt in the empire.

TRADITIONAL MINISTRY

IN accordance with a well-established principle borrowed from Persia, the Sultān was assisted in his executive work by a cabinet of four ministers. There were five principal departments under Maḥmūd of Ghazna—Dīwān-i-Wizārat (Finance Department); Dīwān-i-'Arḍ (Military); Dīwān-i-Risālat (Correspondence); Dīwān-i-Vikālat (Household Department);¹ and Dīwān-i-Shughl-i-Ishrāf-i-Mamlukat (Secret Service Department). The central government of India was divided into several departments, the heads of four of which enjoyed the status of ministers. Under the direct supervision of the emperor, the business of the State was carried on by the four traditional ministries—Dīwān-i-Wizārat (Revenue or Finance) Dīwān-i-'Arḍ (Military); Dīwān-i-Inshā'² (Local Government); and Dīwān-i-Risālat³ (Ministry of Appeals). Bughrā Khān, while advising his son said, "Do not fail to form a cabinet of four ministers, 'the Pillars of the State,' and discuss all the confidential secrets of the State in the presence of all the four. Though the rank of the vizier is higher, you should not allow any of them to predominate over the other." Each ministry was under the charge of a minister (Shāḥib-i-Dīwān)⁴ or a deputy minister (Nā'ib-i-Dīwān)⁵ or both.

DĪWĀN-I-WIZĀRAT (MINISTRY OF REVENUE)

THE 'Abbāsīd vizier was the prime minister and received the title of aṣ-Ṣadr-ul-A'zam or al-Vizier-ul-A'zam.⁶ The vizier of Delhi was not the chief minister and was styled Muayyid-ul-Mulk (helper of country);

1. *Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, by Dr. Nāzim, p. 130.

2. See *Journal of Indian History*, Madras, April, 1935, p. 101.

3. Not 'Dīwān-i-Riyāsāt' which does not seem to have possessed a high status and so should not be reckoned among the four ministries. See *Third Oriental Conference*, Madras, 1924, p. 313. Even in the reign of Sultān 'Alā'uddīn Khiljī, Dīwān-i-Riyāsāt (Ministry of Markets) is not mentioned among the four ministries; see Barni, pp. 153, 337, and 374.

4. *Strat-i-Firōz Shāhī*, Bankipore MSS, p. 72.

5. It is incorrect to say that a ministry was under the minister (Dīwān or Nā'ib-i-Dīwān) and that there was no deputy minister. Sultān Ghiyāthuddīn Tughlaq appointed Bahāuddīn as 'Arīḍ and Malik Tājuddīn as Nā'ib-i-'Arīḍ. See Barni's *Tarikh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 428. Again, when Khusrō Khān was the vizier of Mubārak Khiljī, Faḍlullāh and Mughithuddīn acted as his Nā'ib-i-Vizier (Barni—*Tarikh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 379). In some reigns such as that of 'Alā'uddīn, the ministries were entrusted to the charge of Nā'ib-i-dār, Dabir-i-Mumālīk, Nā'ib-i-Vizier, and Nā'ib-i-'Arḍ. The old system was, however, revived by Firōz Shāh; see Barni, p. 237. It may be concluded that ministries were sometimes under the charge of the Dīwān or Shāḥib and the Nā'ib-i-Dīwān, and sometimes both.

6. *A Short History of Saracens*, by Ameer Ali, p. 412.

'Ain-ul-Mulk (the Eye of the State);¹ Nizām-ul-Mulk² (Administrator of the Realm); Fakhr-ul-Mulk (Pride of the Land); Ṣadr-ul-Mulk (Chief of the Kingdom); Diyā-ul-Mulk (Light of the Empire); Wazīr-i-Mulk (Vizier of the Kingdom);³ Qawām-ul-Mulk,⁴ Khwājah Jahān,⁵ Tāj-ul-Mulk,⁶ and Khān-i-Jahān.⁷ The vizier or Dastūr⁸ was the minister of revenue and enjoyed precedence over his colleagues, but the latter were not his subordinates in any way. The principle of joint responsibility did not exist in those days, and each minister was directly responsible to the Sultān.

The vizier occupied the highest office⁹ that a man of letters (Ahl-i-Qalam) could hold,¹⁰ and held the supreme status that a civilian could enjoy. The vizier Khān-i-Jahān Maqbūl of Sultān Firōz Tughlaq was illiterate,¹¹ while Qutluḡ Khān, vizier of Sultān Husain, was the most learned man of the time.¹² The vizier was the chief adviser of the Sultān who often held secret consultations with him. The *Ādāb-ul-Harb-wa-Shujā'at* of Fakhruddīn Mubārak Shāh regards the vizier as an ideal man well-versed in the art of government, and notes a number of qualifications befitting a vizier. According to Nizām-ul-Mulk Ṭūsī, the vizier should in addition be "the protector of subjects and strong-handed."¹³

The vizier was the head of the Revenue Department. He collected revenue, checked the accounts of provincial governors, and realised balances. The accounts of all the departments were audited by the ministry,¹⁴ and the vizier himself examined all the schedules of receipts and disbursements every day.¹⁵ He exercised considerable jurisdiction over the Military Department. The early Muslim rulers made no distinction between civil and military duties, and the viziers of Iltutmish and 'Alā'ud-

1. See *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, pp. 135, 173.

2. *Firishṭa*, p. 67.

3. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 183.

4. 'Afīf, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 395.

5. *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, p. 142.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 147.

7. The title of Khān-i-Jahān was for the first time bestowed upon the vizier—MSS. *Sirat-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 17.

8. *Khanzād'in-ul-Futūḡ* of Amīr Khusrō, p. 84.

9. وزیردوم بادشاه است و کار او در وزارت زافار-نامہ، edited by Ch. Schefer, Paris, 1883.

10. MSS. *Ādāb-ul-Harb*, 60b. Asiatic Society of Bengal Manuscript.

وزیرے چون حسن شد پیش محمود وزارت را قلم برکارش آسود

Tughlaq Nāmā, p. 18.

11. 'Afīf, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 395.

12. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 157.

13. *Siyāsat Nāmā*, p. 21.

14. 'Afīf's *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 339.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 397.

dīn conducted military campaigns as well.¹ The vizier of Muhammad Shāh acted as Nā'ib during the Sultān's absence from the capital.² When the Sultān is weak, the vizier must necessarily be strong, otherwise the affairs of the State are bound to fall into disorder. The fall of the vizier meant the domination of military leaders. However, in the struggle for supremacy between the king and the vizier, public opinion generally supported the former. The weakness of the vizier, on the other hand, resulted in the predominance of the military leaders.

The vizier paid the army and all the other servants of the State, and granted allowances to holy persons, widows and orphans.³ The mint;⁴ the building department;⁵ the horse, camels and stables;⁶ intelligence and post departments;⁷ agriculture and charitable institutions⁸ and Kārkhānas (factories) were all under the charge of the vizier. The Nā'ib-i-Vizier-i-Mumālīk (the deputy vizier) did not enjoy a high status, and, unlike the vizier, was not allowed to sit in the Sultān's court.

The vizier was assisted by a number of high officials—Mushrif-i-Mumālīk⁹ (Accountant-General of Income), Mustaufī¹⁰ (Auditor-General of Expenditure),¹¹ and Majmū'adār¹² (Keeper of the Record of Balances). The controversy that arose between Khān-i-Jahān Vizier and 'Ain-ul-Mulk, Mushrif-i-Mumalīk, at the time of Sultān Firōz Tughlaq explains the duties of the three great officers. Sultān Firōz finally decided the matter thus: "A detailed account of income and total expenditure was to be given to the Dīwān-i-Ashrāf, and a detailed account of expenditure plus total income to the Dīwān-i-Istifā', and a detailed account of both income and expenditure to the Dīwān-i-Wizārat."¹³ Thus the three branches of accounts, i.e., income (Jam'a) expenditure (Kharch), and balance (Bāqī) were under the charge of three responsible officers. The treasurer was called the Khāzin.¹⁴ Apart from these officers, there was an army of clerks and minor officials attached to the department. The vizier occupied the ministerial chair, the Nā'ib-i-Vizier sat on his left

1. Barnī, *Tārikh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 252.

2. *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, p. 152.

3. MSS. *Ādāb-ul-Ḥarb*, p. 56a.

4. 'Afīf's *Tārikh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, pp. 346, 347.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 333.

6. MSS. *Ādāb-ul-Ḥarb*, p. 56a.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 55b.

8. *Ibid.*, 56b.

9. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, pp. 183, 193.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 192. 'Afīf's *Tārikh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 308.

11. *Tārikh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, of 'Afīf, p. 458. وظیفہ مستوفی چیست تادر خر چہائی ملکوت . . . احتیاط کند . باقسم جمع و باقی کاری ندارد

12. *Ibid.*, p. 92.

13. *Ibid.*

14. See *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 248; Hindu Khān, the Treasurer.— هندو خان مبارک الخازن السلطانی

below him sat the Mushrif-i-Mumālik (Accountant-General of Income), who checked the income of the empire, examined the records, and saw that the public money was not misappropriated. Next came the Barīd-i-Mumālik (Commissioner of Intelligence), Mustaufī (In-charge of Expenditure), and Wuqūf¹ (who verified items of expenditure) and Nā'ib-i-Wuqūf. The Mushrif-i-Mumālik was assisted in his work by the Nā'ib-i-Mushrif (Deputy to the Accountant-General), the Nāzir or the Examiner of Receipts,² and the Nā'ib-i-Nāzir.

In addition to his duties as the emperor's chief adviser, the vizier, as has been stated above, supervised the working of the Dīwān-i-Wizārat (Revenue Department). The vizier was the head of this Department, and could recommend to the king the appointment or dismissal of any officer.³ The Sultān's orders were sent to the vizier for execution, and the Qāḍī Shahr and Khaṭīb accordingly inflicted punishments upon the criminals.⁴ It was the duty of the vizier to provide money for the expenses of the administration; he therefore had to keep a vigilant eye upon the local governors and their accounts. The land-tax was the principal source of revenue. Land revenue assessed from the Khālṣa, Iqtā', and other classes of lands, Khirāj from subordinate Hindu chiefs, Khums or 1/5 of the war booty, and other revenues derived from Zakāt and Abwāb were the chief sources of revenue.

Qutbuddin abolished all taxes except those of the Sharī'at, which meant 1/10 or 1/5,⁵ i.e., the tithe land and the Ṣadaqaḥ. However, the system prevailing in the country and most akin to the Muslim law must have been adopted. Iltutmish made no changes, and Balban, too, could effect no change in the Iqtā' system. The "Early Turkish Sultanate" was too weak to establish anything like a regular and systematic organization for the assessment of revenue. These rulers followed the Muslim theories of finance and the policy of the Ghaznavides. Under the Ghaznavides, the Ṣahīb-i-Dīwān (Provincial Revenue Minister), the 'Āmil (or collector) and the Ra'īs were all appointed by the Sultān. The provincial officers were bound to deposit the revenue in the royal treasury, and in case of delay an agent or Rāsūl was appointed by the central government to exact payment. It all depended on the strength of the central government. With the establishment of an independent Muslim State in India the state of affairs naturally changed. Sultān Mu'izzuddin entrusted the charge of different territories to his slaves, while his successors distributed tracts of land (Iqtā's) to their own trustworthy and loyal officials, known as Maqṭa's. But the system had no permanent basis, nor did the Maqṭa's possess hereditary rights of succession. The Iqtā' holder collected the

1. 'Afif, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 419.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 320.

ناظر در جمع نظر می کند . و فوف در خر چهای ملکت و اخف گر دد

3. 'Afif, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 414.

4. Ibn-Baṭṭūṭa (Urdu translation by Muḥammad Husain, p. 166).

5. *Tārīkh-i-Fakhrudīn Mubārak Shāh*, edited by Sir Denison Ross, pp. 33, 34.

revenue and deducted from it the amount granted to him ; and the balance went to the central government. Besides the *Iqtā'*, there existed another grant known as *Khālṣa* or *Mumlakat*, which was the property of the State, and was probably managed through the agency of 'Āmils. Another class of land was that which was entirely left in the hand of the original owners on condition of payment of revenue. The revenue officers, perforce, entered into contracts with the *Rājas*, *Rawāts*,¹ *Chaudhris*, and *Muqaddams*² or any other pre-existing authority, who were permitted to collect the land-tax on behalf of the State on submitting a deed called the *Khaṭ* to the local officers. Free lands, Milk or *In'ām*, also existed. The plan proved an utter failure.

DĪWĀN-I-'ARĪḌ-I-MUMĀLIK (THE MINISTRY OF WAR)³

The *Ṣāhib-i-Diwan-i-'Arīḍ-i-Mumālik*⁴ (the Minister of War), styled 'Imād-ul-Mulk⁵ (the Pillar of the State), was the head of the Military Department. In Balban's time, the 'Arīḍ was known as *Rawāt-i-'Arḍ*⁶. The 'Arīḍ had nothing to do with the direction of war-operations and policy, which were exclusively dealt with by the Sultān himself. In some reigns, however, the 'Arīḍ was called upon to lead expeditions.⁷ There was no commander-in-chief in those days, for such an office would have been too dangerous for the monarchy. In practice, the commander, 'Sar-i-Lashkar',⁸ of every campaign was appointed for the occasion, and governors of different provinces were ordered to despatch their troops to join the imperial forces at the appointed places.⁹ The Sultān personally led all military operations, or else he directed them from the capital ; but the commander (*Sar-i-Lashkar*) alone conducted all negotiations with the enemy.

The 'Arīḍ was a distinguished officer of the State, and was responsible for the administration of the army. He was the most influential member of the war council, which advised the commander in matters affecting military operations.¹⁰ He held reviews¹¹ once a year, recruited men for

1. *Miftāḥ-ul-Futūḥ*, p. 59.

2. *Khazā'in-ul-Futūḥ* of Amīr Khusrō, p. 88.

3. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 224, *Khazā'in-ul-Futūḥ*, p. 127.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 317, and *Sirat-i-Firōz Shāhī*, (MSS.), p. 72.

5. *Barnī*, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 153. 'Afīf's *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 302.

6. *Ḍiyā' Barnī*, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 153.

7. *Khazā'in-ul-Futūḥ*, p. 50 ; MSS. *Miftāḥ-ul-Futūḥ*, p. 56 ; and MSS. *Nuh-Sepahr*, p. 58.

8. *Ḍiyā' Barnī*, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 231.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 489.

10. *Khazā'in-ul-Futūḥ*, pp. 118, 119, 120.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 120.

the army,¹ and examined soldiers, horses, and arms. The highest qualifications for a soldier were to possess a good physique,² to be a good archer and an excellent rider. An efficient horseman had two horses, the price of which along with that of arms was paid by the government. Those who fled from the field were killed by the Sultān's order.³ The 'Arīd formally did not enjoy the power of dismissing or promoting his subordinates; but, in fact, he made recommendations to the Sultān. Balban, however, expressly conferred all powers upon his 'Arīd.⁴ The whole army, whether stationed at the capital or in the provinces, was under the direct control of the central government, and was paid in cash; revenues and lands were rarely assigned for military services before the reign of Sultān Firōz Shāh.⁵ In time of war, the 'Arīd had to fulfil some extra duties, viz., the organisation of the commissariat and the collection of spoils.⁶ The Sharī'at had allotted 4/5 of the spoils to the army and 1/5 to the State, but the rule was intentionally broken, for the army received regular salaries.

Mediæval India was not feudal as is generally believed.⁷ The blunder arises from a misconception of the word "feudalism" and an ignorance of the true character of government during the Sultānate period. The Sultānate of Delhi was a territorial State of the modern type; the sovereign was supreme over all causes—military, administrative, and judicial. All land was the property of the State. The country was divided into provinces, capitals, and cities, the governors of which were known as Ḥākim, Amīr-ul-Umarā' and Amīr respectively. The rural areas were entrusted to the care of Muslim officers, who worked under the 'Āmils.⁸ The governors were not feudatories but servants of the Crown, appointed and dismissed at the pleasure of the Sultān, and their offices, too, were never hereditary. Sultān Firōz Tughlaq, for the first time, ordered that when a servant grew old, he was to be succeeded by his son, son-in-law, and slave in order of preference.⁹ The army, too, was not feudalized; the soldiers were directly recruited and enrolled in the registers of the

1. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 146, Barnī, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 326.

خواجہ حاجی نائب عرض مالک را براے کار فرمای چشم و گرد آوردن اموال و پیلان و غنائم روان کردند

2. Ibn-Baṭṭūṭa (Urdu translation by Muḥammad Husain, p. 145).

3. It is interesting to note how Bakhtiyār Khilji, the conqueror of eastern Bengal, was refused military employment for the simple reason that his personality was not striking and imposing—*Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 146.

4. *Ḍiyā'* Barnī, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 115.

5. 'Afīf, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 300.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 298.

7. See *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 45, which describes the organization of the central government as feudal.

8. Ibn-Baṭṭūṭa (Urdu translation by Muḥammad Husain, p. 33).

9. 'Afīf, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 303.

State by the 'Arid or by governors on behalf of the Sultān, and were paid out of the royal treasury.¹ The Hākim (governor) of Multan was also Bakhshī (Pay-master) of the army.² The regents (Nā'ibs), Wālī (governors), revenue officers (Mutaṣarrif), and assistants (Karkunān) had to submit a statement of income and expenditure to the Dīwān-i-Wizārat regularly.³

The court and palace of the emperor were modelled on Persian lines, while the administration of the army followed the Turkish system of military classification. Bureaucratic grades were based upon the decimal system. Ten soldiers, footmen or horsemen, were placed under the charge of a Sar-i-Lashkar or Sar-Khil; ten Sar-Khil were commanded by one Khān, and it was expedient to have ten Khāns in the kingdom.⁴ Thus a Khān or Amīr-i-Tūmān was the commander of a body of 10,000; a Malik or Amīr Hazārah⁵ the commander of 1,000; an Amīr or Amīr-i-Ṣadah⁶ the Commander of 100; Amīr-i-Panjāh (Commander of Fifty)⁷ and a Sar Khil or Amīr-i-Dah, (Commander of Ten). With the conquest of Northern India in the thirteenth century, military officers were burdened with civil duties, so much so that administrative work became a moral duty of most of the military officers.

DĪWĀN-I-INSHĀ' (MINISTRY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT)

THE Ṣāhib-i-Dīwān-i-Inshā' was the Minister of Local Government variously called Dabīr-i-Mamālik,⁸ Dabīr Khān or Sar-i-Dabīr (all meaning Chief Secretary of the State), and styled 'Umdat-ul-Mulk (Pillar of the State) or Tāj-ul Mulk⁹ (Crown of the State). The minister was the proper channel of correspondence between the central and local governments, in other words, between the king and provincial governors,¹⁰ and as such he was expected to be a man of letters. Sultān Ghiyāthuddin Tughlaq called for the Dabīr-i-Khāsh¹¹ and dictated messages to the governors of various provinces intimating the murder of Sultān Mubārak Shāh.¹² It

1. *Masālik-ul-Absār* (Elliot, Vol. III), pp. 576 and 577.

2. Ibn-Baṭṭūṭa (Urdu translation by Muḥammad Husain, p. 1).

3. Ḍiyā' Barnī, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 468.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 83.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 219.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 219. یکدو امیران هزاره و چند امیر صدہ

7. *Ibid.*, p. 376.

8. Malik 'Izzuddin was appointed *Dabir-i-Mamālik* in the reign of Sultān 'Alā'uddin, and held the charge of *Dīwān-i-Inshā'*.

9. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 183.

10. Ḍiyā' Barnī, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 153.

11. *Qasā'id of Badr Chāch*, p. 14. دیبر خاص خسرو را و اہاب این خطاب آمد کہ زلف عارض مہ باد بحریرات از نامش

12. Barnī, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 337.

was this minister's duty to lay before the Sultān petitions of governors and local officers for his orders, and to convey the same to the applicants. Matters which directly concerned the particular ministries were referred to them for opinion and disposal. The minister himself drafted all Fir-māns in a "pliable and courtly style," and observed all legal forms. The various records and documents were carefully kept for future reference by his subordinate officers. He was assisted in his work by a large staff of Dabīrs¹ or Secretaries.

DĪWĀN-I-RISĀLAT (MINISTRY OF APPEALS)

DĪWĀN-I-RISĀLAT was the highest court of appeal. It was like the Dīwān-ul-Mazālim of the 'Abbasids (Board for the Redress of Grievances). The ministry received complaints from the subjects, and either granted redress in the capacity of the king's agent (Rasūl)² or else submitted the matter to the Sultān for his final orders. "Every day," says Shams Siraj 'Afif, "a number of applications were submitted to the Dīwān-i-Risālat, asking for money, allowances, and stipends."³ The Šāhib-i-Dīwān, entitled Wakīl-i-dār⁴ and Bahā'-ul-Mulk,⁵ entertained all complaints against governors, ministers, government officials, and even members of the royal family, and decided such cases as fell within his jurisdiction.

An appeal from the Qāḍī's court lay to the Sultān, who presided over the ministry.

Ḍiyā' Barnī describes the four ministries as follows. Malik Hamīdud-dīn Nā'ib-i-Wakīl-i-Dār, Malik 'Izzuddin Dabīr-i-Mumālīk, Malik Ashraf Qanīnī Nā'ib-i-Vizier, and Khawjah Hājī Nā'ib-i-'Arḍ were each in charge of one department during the reign of Sultān 'Alā'uddīn. The four traditional ministries were Dīwān-i-Wizārat, Dīwān-i-'Arḍ-i-Mumālīk, Dīwān-i-Inshā' and Dīwān-i-Risālat. Barnī further notes that by the removal of Malik Hamīduddīn and 'Izzuddīn and the murder of Sharf Qanīnī the glory of Dīwān-i-Risālat, Dīwān-i-Inshā', and Dīwān-i-Wizārat withered away.⁶ It is clear, therefore, that the Wakīl-i-Dār was in charge of the department of appeals (Dīwān-i-Risālat).

1. Malik Qawāmuddīn was Ilāqah-Dabīr in Kaiqubād's time—See Ḍiyā' Barnī, p. 131. Shamsuddīn the Dabīr, was sent to Sultān Mu'izzuddīn Kaiqubād by Sultān Naṣīruddīn with a letter of message—See *Qirān-us-Sa'dain*, p. 102.

2. 'Afif, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, pp. 512-13.

3. Barnī, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 558.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 337.

5. ملك حميد الدين نائب وكيلدار و ملك عز الدين دبیر ممالك ملك شرف قرین نائب وزیر و خواجه حاجی نائب عرض از چهار بزرگ مذکور . . . آراسته و پیراسته شده بود .

5. Ibn-Battūṭa (Urdu translation by Muḥd. Ḥusain, p. 218).

6. Barnī, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 337.

The Wakīl-i-Dār, variously designated as Rasūl-i-dār or Ḥājib-ul-Irsāl¹ was appointed to perform the secretarial functions of the court,² and was in charge of the Dīwān-i-Risālat. He received a pay of 24,000 Dinārs or a Jāgīr yielding an equivalent income.³ The practice was like this : the Ḥājib introduced the visitor to the hall of audience and handed over his petition to the Barbak (a title conferred upon the Amīr-i-Ḥājib), who took it to the throne. After the Sultān retired from the court, the Ḥājib handed over the papers to the Wakīl-i-Dār, who disposed of them according to the Sultān's orders.

IMĀRATS (DEPARTMENTS OF THE STATE)

BESIDES the ministries, there were certain other departments (Masnads or Imārats), which, however, occupied a lower status. The most important of these was the Department of Justice (Dīwān-i-Qādī-i-Mamālīk or Dīwān-i-Sharā⁴ or Dīwān-i-Qadā').⁵ The Department has been defined by Qādī Minhāj-Sirāj in his introduction to the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, as Dīwān-i-Mazāhir-wa-Maqām-i-Faṣl-i-Khuṣūmāt-wa-Qaṭ'-i-Da'āwī.⁶ (Board for the Redress of the Oppressed, Decision of Disputes, and Settlement of Claims). It was presided over by the Chief Qādī variously known as the Qādī-i-Mamālīk⁷ (Chief Justice of the State), or Qādī-ul-Qudāt⁸ (Judge of the Judges), and styled Ṣadr-ul-Mulk⁹ (Chief Ṣadr or Judge), Ṣadr-uṣ-Ṣudūr¹⁰ (Judge of the Judges), Ṣadr-i-Jahān¹¹ (Judge of the Realm), Ṣadr-uṣ-Ṣudūr-i-Islām¹² (Chief Ṣadr of Islam), Ṣadr-uṣ-Ṣudūr-i-Jahān (Judge of the Judges of the World),¹³ and Qādī-i-Ṣadr-i-Jahān¹⁴ (Chief Judge of the Realm). He was expected to be a man of learning and piety. He was the highest judicial authority below the king, and exercised both civil and criminal jurisdiction. He was assisted in his judicial work by the Nā'ib-i-Qādī-i-Mamālīk and a number of Qādis. Every city and almost all the bigger towns had their separate Amīr-i-Dād¹⁵ (Judges) entitled

1. Ibn-Battūṭa (Urdu translation by Muḥd. Ḥusain, p. 218).

2. Barnī, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 576.

3. Ibn-Battūṭa (Urdu translation by Muḥd. Ḥusain, p. 218).

4. *Sirāt-i-Firōz Shāhī*, Bankipore MSS. p. 123.

5. *Khaṣṣat-ul-Futūḥ*, p. 7.

6. Introduction : *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 3.

7. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 193.

8. Ibn-Battūṭa (Urdu translation by Muḥd. Ḥusain, p. 40, and *Masālik-ul-Aḥṣār*, (Elliot, Vol. III, p. 478).

9. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 193.

10. MSS. *Tāj-ul-Ma'āthir*, p. 178.

11. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, pp. 167 and 218.

12. *Masālik-ul-Aḥṣār* (Elliot and Dowson, p. 578).

13. Barnī, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, pp. 247, 248.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 24 and 126.

15. Diyā'uddin Junaidī was the Amīr-i-Dād of Gwalior—See *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 188.

Majd-ul-Umarā' (Most Glorious Amīr),¹ while special Qādis were appointed for the army under the direct control of the Qādi-i-Lashkar (the Qādi of the Army). Unlike other officers, Qādis were generally appointed for life.

Criminal law in the middle ages was very strict, and punishments were severe. It is related in the *Futūhāt-i-Firōz Shāhi* that in former reigns the Sultāns shed the blood of Musalmans, and employed an infinite variety of tortures such as cutting off hands and feet, ears and noses, putting out the eyes, pouring molten lead into the throat, crushing the bones of hands and feet, burning the body with fire, driving iron bars into hands, feet, and chest, flaying alive, inflicting lashes with iron nails, and sawing the criminal in two.

The Qādis acted as justices of the peace, and their primary duty was to settle disputes according to rules of the Shari'at. Appeals were allowed from the court of the local Qādi to that of the Chief Judge, and from him to the Dīwān-i-Risālat (Ministry of Appeals) and the emperor. The emperor was assisted in the discharge of his judicial duties by a board of divines 'Ālims, Shaikhs, and Muftīs.

The government of the capital, Haḍrat-i-Delhi, was entrusted to the charge of the Kōtwāl-i-Mumālīk: (Superintendent of the Metropolitan Police) and his staff. The Kōtwāl of Delhi was like the Šāhib-ush-Shurṭa of the 'Abbasids.³ His rank was a little inferior to that of a minister but he was regarded as one of the highest officials of the realm. He was entitled Mālīk-ul-Umarā or 'Alā-ul-Mulk.⁴ When Balban invaded the territory of Lakhnauti, he appointed Malik-ul-Umara Fakhr-ud-Dīn Kōtwāl as his Regent in preference to the vizier.⁶ The Kōtwāl was in charge of the royal harem, the treasury, and the capital city; and kept the keys of the city gates, royal palaces, and the treasury. The duty of the Kōtwāl was to maintain peace and order in the city, and to apprehend thieves. The task of parading the prisoners was also entrusted to the city Kōtwāl.⁷

The Barīd-i-Mumālīk, or Commissioner of Intelligence and Posts, and his deputy the Nā'ib-i Barīd-i-Mumālīk supplied the Sultān with all necessary information regarding the current events of the realm. The capital was connected with the distant parts of the empire by numerous chains of post offices, where carriers, both horsemen (Aulaq) and footmen (Piyāda), were stationed to carry on the messages and letters. To communicate events, which happened in distant provinces post-relays were

1. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 188.

2. *Futūhāt-i-Firōz Shāhi*, p. 3.

3. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 194.

4. *Tārīkh-i-Tamaddun-Islami*, of Jurji Zaidan, Vol. I, Muḥd. Ḥalīm's Urdu translation, p. 258.

5. Barni, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhi*, p. 269.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 85.

7. *Miftāḥ-ul-Futūḥ*, p. 45.

established between the capital and the chief towns of the country.¹ Barīds or official reporters (Akhhbār Navīs) and secret service officials were posted everywhere in market and towns to inform the Sultān of the behaviour of State-servants, transactions in markets, and all other events.

The Amīr-i-Akhur or Akhur Bek² was the lord of the imperial stable the Shahn-i-Pīl of the elephants stable, and the Shahn-i-Nafar of the camel stable. The Amīr-i-Akhur was one of the most important officers of the empire. His duties were to make excursions in quest of fodder and to manage the affairs of the stables. It was not necessary for him to remain at the capital³ and the work was carried on by his Nā'ib.

The Sar-i-Jandar (Chief of the Royal Bodyguards) was another important officer. Balban had several Sar-i-Jandars.⁴ It was not essential for the Sar-i-Jandar to remain at the capital,⁵ for he was assisted in his work by his deputy (Nā'ib-i-Sari-Jandar),⁶ and Shahn-i-Zarrāt Khana⁷ (Superintendent of the Armoury). He was often made commander of the right or left wing of the army.⁸ As the disloyalty of his officers kept the king uneasy, the central contingents of the royal bodyguards looked after the personal security of the sovereign. The Amīr-i-Shikār⁹ (Chief Huntsman) organised the hunting campaigns. There was another officer known as Sar-i-Silahdār (Head of the Imperial Armour-Bearers), who secured the personal safety of the emperor.

The religious dignitaries attached to the court were the Shaikh-ul-Islam, (Chief Ecclesiastic of the State) like the Shaikh-ush-Shuyūkh of Egypt, the Sayyid-i-Ajall or Sayyid-i-Dargah (Head of the Sayyids of the Empire), and the Khatīb,¹⁰ who preached sermons and led prayers. The office of Shaikh-ul-Islam,¹¹ was conferred upon Jāmāl-ud-Dīn Bustāmī during the reign of Sultān Nāsiruddīn. There was a government university at the Capital, known as Nāsiriyah College,¹² where professors of eminence and renown delivered lectures to students. Dīwān-i-Istihqāq (the Department of Pensions) granted allowances and pensions to 'Ālims and Hāfizēs. The head of the department was probably subordinate to

1. *Masālik-ul-Aḥsār* (Elliot, Vol. III, p. 581).

2. *Miftāḥ-ul-Futūḥ*, p. 28.

3. Barnī, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 323.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

5. The governorship of Samana was transferred to Malik Sirāj the Sar-i-Jandar. Diyā' Barnī, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, pp. 86.

6. Malik Saifuddin Ibaik-Kashlu Khān was Nā'ib-i-Sar-i-Jandar in the reign of Sultān Nāsiruddīn—*Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, pp. 278, 279.

7. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, pp. 254, 255.

8. *Miftāḥ-ul-Futūḥ*, p. 57.

9. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, pp. 169.

10. Ibn-Baṭṭūṭa, Vol. II (Urdu translation by Muḥammad Ḥusain, pp. 212, 213).

11. Barnī, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 247, and MSS. *Sīrat-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 34.

12. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 200.

the Qāḍī-i Mumalik (Chief Qāḍī of the State). The other department of charities or Dīwān-i-Khairāt¹ came into vogue only in the reign of Sulṭān Fīrōz Shāh.

The Mīr-i-‘Imārat² (Controller of Constructions), the head of the ‘Imārat Khāna (the Building Department) was assisted in his work by several Shāhnas or Superintendents of various departments under his charge.³ The two smaller departments of admiralty and agriculture were placed in charge of the Amīr-ul-Baḥr and the Amīr-i-Koh respectively. The first officer was in charge of the numerous flotillas maintained on the Jumna, Ganges, and other rivers for the use of travellers and armies. The other department looked after the improvement of agriculture⁴ reclaimed waste lands, and devised means for the welfare of cultivators. The Amīr-i-Koh supervised the construction of canals, the distribution of water, and the clearing of jungles.

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1. ‘Afif, *Tārīkh-i-Fīrōz Shāhī*, p. 351.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 331.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 331.

4. Ibn-Battūṭa (Urdu translation by Muḥammad Husain, p. 17).

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

HYDERABAD

Extra-mural Lectures.

UNDER the auspices of the Osmania University, extra-mural lectures of the University staff received a further extension this year by the arrangement of lectures in districts, outside the metropolis. So Warangal and Aurangabad were selected this year for the purpose.

Among the lectures in the city of Hyderabad-Deccan, Dr. M. Ḥamīdulla spoke on Muslim Law. He said, it was a very vast and complex subject to speak about, some of its features alone could be dealt with in a short lecture.

Muslim law, as we possess it, is the relic of the heydays of the empire of Islam which extended over three continents. And this law served their purpose so well that it was considered more lenient and liberal than any other contemporary law.

A very small portion of the Muslim law may be considered as officially promulgated, referring to the Qur'ān and the tradition of the deeds and utterances of the Prophet. The traditions of the toleration (تقريب) consist of nothing but unabrogated customs of the country. Apart from this, practically the whole Muslim law owes its existence to the enterprise of scholars, unhindered and uninfluenced by Court whims and exigencies. In other words, not only judiciary was free in Islam from the executive and could summon and try even the Caliphs,—but even the legislature was purely and completely a private concern outside the control of the Government. Even the codification of Muslim Law was a private affair, first undertaken by Imām Abū Ḥanīfah and his Academy of law.

Muslim Law controls every aspect of the life of a Muslim, material as well as spiritual. The devotional acts like prayer, fasting, pilgrimage, etc., are as much part of Muslim law as contracts, marriage, inheritance, as also penal law, international law and constitutional law. Further it lays down rules for the mode of eating, slaughtering and even combing. This vastness of the subject would have been unworkable and impracticable, had the Muslim lawyers not solved the difficulty by dividing all rules into five categories, based on the grades of good and evil. The absolute good

is obligatory (فرض), the absolute evil is forbidden (حرام), the greater element of good is praiseworthy (مستحب) although its negligence is not punishable, the greater mixture of evil is disliked (مكروه) although its observance is not chastised; and the rest is permissible (مباح). The limited and small number of the obligatory or prohibited things is determined by the Qur'ān and the Hadīth, and cannot be abrogated. Circumstances may require temporary readjustment in things praiseworthy or disliked. These too are limited in number. The unlimited rest is left to the discretion of everybody's common-sense.

Again, the sanctions of law in different civilisations are different. But in Islam the divine origin, the prophetic connection and beliefs in resurrection give it a sanctity for which even a lonely bedouin in the desert does not neglect his devotional service at the appointed time. And at the same time the Governmental enforcement through Judicial Courts and administrative censor of public morality (احتساب) bring into function the naked material sanction of modern type. This two-fold character of the means of enforcement has gone far to leave Muslim law as a practical as well as practicable institution.

Ninetieth Anniversary of Dārul-'Ulūm.

It was in 1372 H./1856 A.D. that Dārul-'Ulūm (house of sciences) was opened in Hyderabad and the earliest British Indian Universities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay had to wait for one more year to be incorporated. During the last 90 years of its existence, Dārul-'Ulūm has seen many vicissitudes of fortune. After some years of independent and useful life, it was degraded to the position of an insignificant school; then it was affiliated as a college to the Panjab University. After the promulgation of the British Indian Universities Act, Dārul-'Ulūm was forced to regain its independence. First there was a movement for an Islamic University but later it was decided to evolve out of Dārul-'Ulūm a non-Communal Osmania University. Dārul-'Ulūm served as the nucleus of the proposed university and was reshaped in the form of the theology faculty of the Osmania University.

Ninety years have passed over the establishment of Dārul-'Ulūm and twenty-five years over its conversion into the Osmania University—more particularly into its faculty of theology—and the occasion was a scene of great intellectual festival in Hyderabad in the second week of December last.

An exhibition of Islamic History and Culture; a series of lectures; a session of Arabic speeches and dissertations; a demonstration of the art of reciting of the Qur'ān; a poet's gathering with a given head

line این چنین دارالعلومی کی دکن پیدا کنند and a set of lantern lectures ; —such was the outline of the programme.

His Royal Highness Prince Basalat Jah Bahadur performed the opening ceremony of the celebration. In the course of his reception address, Dr. Nāzır Yar Jung, the Dean of Faculty of Theology, Osmania University, remarked that nothing would be better than the reminding of the pacific elements of our glorious past during these days of culture-burning armageddon. In his inaugural speech His Royal Highness observed :

“ The country was in need of such an exhibition for a long time. Islamic Culture, and more especially the culture of Indian Islam was suffering for lack of enthusiasm, to the extent of criminal neglect, on the part of those who had inherited it. Hyderabad is the cradle and centre of Islamic movements nowadays, and in the auspicious reign of the present Nizām foundations of a very praiseworthy work are being laid. It is gratifying to note that this is the celebration of the Jubilee of our oldest educational institution whose services can never be forgotten.”

Exhibition.—The Exhibition was housed in the big air-raïd shelter of Nawab Salar Jung Bahadur, and four additional big tents were pitched to accommodate the Exhibition, main features of which were as follows :—

a. Publications of the Dā'irat-ul-Ma'ārif, the Ihya-ul-Ma'ārif, etc., consisting of several hundred rare Arabic classics, and publications of the *Islamic Culture Journal* of Hyderabad.

b. Social life of nineteenth century nobility in Hyderabad, with silver furniture, profusely embroidered carpets, etc.

c. Painting, portraits, drawing of old and new masters including excellent collection of miniatures depicting Deccan history, lent by Nawab Salar Jung Bahadur.

d. Arms and weapons of different types and times.

e. Collection of photographs to show the monuments of Islamic architecture especially in India.

f. Coins of Islamic countries from the time of Umayyads down to this day ; and exhaustive collection of Indian dynasties.

g. Postage stamps of 42 Islamic countries.

h. Masterpieces of calligraphy, old and new.

i. Rare MSS. in Arabic, Persian, Urdu, etc.

j. Translations of the Qur'ān in different languages of the world, —Burmese, Polish, German, Malayalam, etc.

k. Persian translation of the Gospel done by a Muslim orthodox savant several hundred years ago.

l. Illuminated copies of the Qur'ān.

m. Photographs showing the first phase evolution of the Arabic script from the time of the Prophet downwards.

n. Astronomy section with oriental telescopes, astrolabes, charts showing discoveries of Muslim savants in astronomy.

o. Historic copies of the Qur'ān calligraphed by Emperor Aurang-zēb, Dārāshikoh, Yāqūt, etc.

p. Mecca Room with a model of the mosque of Ka'ba surrounded by photographs depicting the ceremonies of the pilgrimage.

q. Madīnā Room with a model of the mosque of the Prophet surrounded by several dozens of photographs tracing the whole life of the Prophet from his birth to his death, his sorrows, his achievements, social life, his time, etc.

r. History Room, containing multicoloured maps to show the limits of the conquests of the Prophet and the Orthodox Caliphs, conquests of Islam during the last 13 centuries embracing as far as Switzerland, Southern Italy, 3/4 of France, Volga region, etc., maps showing various phases of the epoch-making battles of Yarmuk and Matazgird ; present Muslim population in different countries of the world, rolling maps chronologically arranged showing important events of each year with appropriate illustrations.

s. Arab Room showing a furnished parlour in modern Madīnā houses, with dummies clad in Arab dress, etc.

t. Historical records, autographs of Tīpū Sultān, Clive, Warren Hastings, Cornawallis, Nizām 'Alī Khān, etc.

u. Relics of Rābi'a Dawrāni Mausoleum, Aurangabad, carpets, etc.

v. Old China.

w. Bronze and other metallic utensils.

x. Five old games of Fārūqī dynasty of the tenth century of Hijra, Marble models of architectural monuments like the Tāj, etc.

Telugu Translation of the Qur'ān.

We had occasion of mentioning the appearance of the first part of a new translation of the Holy Qur'ān by M. Qāsim Khān, M.A. We have pleasure in announcing the publication of the second part, by the same author, as No. 4 of the Hyderabad Telugu Academy Series. The same high standard has been maintained and the translation has been followed by erudite notes on different topics. This part contains a lengthy discussion on interest and usury and from the quotations it seems that reference has been made practically to all the cultures of the world, Indian, Roman, Greek, etc. We expect that the remaining portions will follow soon.

M. H.

DECCAN

Dārā Shikoh.

MR. P. K. GODE, Curator of the Bhandarkar Institute, Poona, has written a paper on *Samudra-Sangama: a Philosophical Work by Dārā Shikoh, son of Shāh Jahān in A.D. 1655*, which is published in the *Bharata Itihasa Samshodaka Mandal Quarterly*, Oct. 1943. He has discovered a Sanskrit MS. entitled *Samudra Sangama* from the Government MSS. deposited at the Bhandarkar Institute. It is the Sanskrit adaptation, as he has proved in this paper, of the *Majma'-ul-Bahrain* of Dārā Shikoh. It was almost concurrently completed in 1065 A.H., which was the date of the completion of the *Majma'-ul-Bahrain*. This was the 42nd year of his life. *Majma'-ul-Bahrain* has already been published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, under the editorship of Prof. M. Mahfūzūl Haq with English translation and useful introduction. This mentions one Hindu saint Baba Lal Bairagi to whom Dārā Shikoh also refers in one of his works *Hasanāt-ul-Ārifīn* composed in 1064 A.H. This Hindu saint was a Kathri of Qasur living at Asthan at Dhianpur near Batala. Mr. Gode concludes his paper on the *Samudra-Sangama* of Dārā Shikoh with an appeal to Sanskrit scholars and the students of the Mughal history to reconstruct the history of Dārā's accounts with Benares Pandits which yet needs careful exploration and reconstruction on the basis of contemporary sources both in Sanskrit and Persian.

In 1940, Dr. C. Kunhan Raja had published in the *Adyar Library Bulletin*, the text of a Sanskrit Letter of Dārā Shikoh written to Goswami Narsimha Saraswati. This is more like an address than a letter. This MS. of this letter of Dārā Shikoh is deposited in the Adyar Library, Madras. The same scholar has now published an English translation of the Sanskrit letter of Dārā Shikoh in the *Adyar Library Bulletin*, Madras, (Pts. 2 and 3, May and Oct. 43). According to Mr. Gode, this Sanyasi, whom Dārā addressed this Sanskrit letter was the same as Brahmendra Saraswati, who was a signatory to a *Nirnayapatra*, drawn up at Benares in 1657 A.D. (vide *Adyar Library Bulletin*, vol. vi, 1942) *Yogavāsīṣṭha* of Valmiki is referred to by Mr. Gode in his above article among the Persian translations made under the auspices of Dārā Shikoh. Akbar first got it translated at his court and it was illustrated by his court artists. This illustrated edition is in the library of Mr. Chester A. Beatty, London. Its introduction shows that it was translated by one Faramuli, a native of Faramul near Kadul. The signatures of the court artists on some of the illustrations read thus : Tiriyya, Bishen Das, Kesu and others. But the MSS. of the translation of the *Yogavāsīṣṭha* made under the auspices of Dārā Shikoh are not rare. Its introduction shows that this abridged translation was made in 1066 A.H. by his order and he himself is expressed as شاه قدسی منقبت گیتی پناه ولایت مرتبت سلاله می خواهم که این کتاب مستطاب را در حضور سلاطین والا قدر خلف خلفای اولی الامر

Sujan Rai used this translation of the *Yogavāsīṣṭha*,

made under Dārā Shikoh's directions, as one of the source books for his *Khulāṣat-ut-Tawārīkh* in his account of ancient India. He says that this translation of the جوگ باشت *Yogavāsiṣṭha* was made by Shaiikh Aḥmad and others by the order of Dārā Shikoh (*Khulāṣat-ut-Tawārīkh*, Delhi, 1918, p. 6).

A Linguistic Survey of Hindustani.

Principal A. A. A. Fyzee has recently published an interesting paper on *A Linguistic Survey of Hindustani* in the Annual Number of the *Social Welfare*, Bombay, 1943. Mr. Fyzee, animated by an interesting lecture by Dr. I. J. Taraporewala on the *Linguistic Problems in India* before P.E.N. has made a few suggestions for the consideration of all those nationalists who earnestly desire our country to possess one *lingua franca* in India. He suggests that a basic vocabulary of at least 1,000 words should be selected, and a linguistic survey should be undertaken by a commission consisting of three experts. One of these may be a philologist, pure and simple; the second may be a Sanskritist, knowing Avesta and Pehlavi; the third should be a well-equipped student of Arabic, Persian and Urdu. Each one should have a competent knowledge of Hindustani. This commission should be asked to report on three different areas in India: (a) predominantly Hindu, (b) predominantly Muslim, and (c) Hindu-Muslim equally mixed. Such a systematic linguistic survey will tell us whether water is *jal* or *pani* and whether we speak of land as *zamīn* or *bhūm*. Mr. Fyzee's aim is that a chance be given to a simpler Hindustani, written in a simple and scientific script.

* * *

A few Arabic and Persian manuscripts belonging to the Satara Historical Museum are at present preserved at the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona. Though they are not of any great importance, yet the following points from them will interest the scholars:—

Khulāṣat-ut-Tawārīkh, a general history of India, was composed by Munshi Sujan Rai. Dr. Rieu (*Persian MSS. Catalogue*, BM. pp. 230-231), Elliot-Dowson (Vol. VIII, p. 5) and others have committed errors about his name, native place, etc. Its Persian text has already been published in Delhi, 1918, under the editorship of Zafar Hasan. The author Munshi al-Manashi Sujan Rai Bhandari was a native of Batala (Punjab) which he had clearly mentioned in the text under the account of Batal (MS. fol. 52b, printed ed. p. 71). He devoted two years to the composition of this work, completing it in the fortieth year of Aurangzēb's reign, corresponding to 1107 A.H./1695 A.D. (MS. fol. 7b). The same Munshi Sujan Rai had composed another work under the name of *Khulāṣat-ul-Makātīb* in the forty-second year of Aurangzēb's reign corresponding to 1110 A.H. In its introduction he shows that his son Rai Singh had requested him to compose a book on *Inshā*, which he had so far been avoiding, but later on,

his friend Maulānā Amānullah of Sohdrah (Wazirabad-Gujaranwala-Punjab) compelled him to undertake, (*vide* a note by K. B. Maulvī Muḥammad Shafī', *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, August, 1934, pp. 66-67, on its manuscript in the Panjab University Library). One manuscript of the *Mir'at-i-Sikandari* in the same collection is thought defective, though its last leaf is intact. It bears two seals—one of them which is clear can be read thus :—

محمد اصغر "قول" عالم گیر بادشاہ ۳۲

"Muḥammad Asghar, slave (servant) of 'Ālamgīr Bādshāh, 42 regnal year." It shows that this Turkish word قول "Qūl—slave" was also used in seals instead of *Khānazād* or *Murīd* or *Banda* which represented the same meaning.

Medium of Instruction at the Proposed Maharashtra University.

Recently the Report of the Maharashtra University Committee appointed by the Government has been published. The chapter IX is mainly devoted to the medium of instruction. Its one paragraph 228 is the sub-heading *Muslim Apprehensions*. It runs as :—"They apprehend that their interests might be adversely affected in two directions : (i) that the new University might neglect some of the studies that concern or interest them, and (ii) that the progress of Marathi as the medium of Instruction might materially diminish the educational facilities open to them at present. However, in view of the definite opinion, that have been expressed before us, it becomes necessary to assure these sections in advance that the proposed University will look after their interests also." Khan Bahadur Prof. Shaikh A.K. Sarfarāz says, as one of the members of the Committee, in his note of dissent particularly on this point of medium of instruction from the Muslim point of view, "To understand the Muslim opposition on linguistic grounds, we have to go back to their history in Maharashtra before the advent of the British. History informs us that they came as conquerors and settled down in different parts of Maharashtra. Their cultural language was Persian, but they habitually spoke Urdu among themselves. The extent of the importance of Persian can be judged from the fact that it was in Persian that treaties between the Peshwas and the British were drawn up and all correspondence between the Peshwas and their agent at the court of the Governor-General at Calcutta was carried on in the same language. After the downfall of the Peshwas, the Poona Sanskrit College was established in 1821 for 'the encouragement and improvement of the useful parts of Hindu learning' and 'to preserve the attachment of the learned Brahmans.' While adequate provision was made for the education of Brahmans and the study of Sanskrit and Marathi, Arabic, Persian and Urdu were left to shift as best they could.

With the abolition of Persian as the court language, the Muslims employed in courts were all thrown out of employment and local vernaculars were substituted for Persian, which was mother-tongue of the Muslims. After discussing the history, Prof. Shaikh says, "If now in the proposed University Marathi is established as the sole medium of instruction 'the effect of this measure,' to quote Khan Sahib S. Baqir Ali 'will be simply disastrous. Most of these Urdu schools and Urdu high and middle schools will have to be closed. You will put back the hands of the clock seventy years.'" Prof. Shaikh demands from the government at this future University :—(i) that in a high school or a college connected with the University, the facilities and provisions for teaching, through English, of Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Muslim History, and Islamic Culture, should in no way be reduced below *the present level* and that the facilities available to Muslim students desiring to receive, through English, other subjects should not be denied owing to any restriction of numbers on the institution teaching through that medium : (ii) that in the graduate and post-graduate work conducted by the University, the facilities provided through English, for the study of Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Muslim History, Islamic Culture, etc., should not be reduced below their present level. These, in the opinion of Prof. K.B. Shaikh, are irreducible minimum requirements for which statutory provisions should be made in the Act. As to the medium of instruction at the proposed University, only this can be said that owing to political tension in this country, Urdu language has begun to be counted as the language of the Muslims only, although Urdu is the common heritage of both Hindus and Muslims.

M. A.

DELHI

Nadwat-ul-Muṣannifīn.

THIS society has been carrying on its activities in spite of the difficulties created by the war. The *Burhān*, which is the monthly journal of the society has maintained its usual standard. The following articles deserve notice :

Shāh Walī-ullāh aur unki ba'd 'Ilmī Khuṣūṣiyāt (Shah Walī'ullāh and the characteristics of his erudition) by M. Saiyid Abu'n-Nazar Ridwī. This article deals with Shāh Walī-ullāh's researches into the solution of a number of knotty problems in Islamic theology, mysticism and philosophy. The discussion of the saint's views on the nature of soul, *Waḥdat-ul-Wujūd* and matter is particularly illuminating.

Musalmān aur Ṭibb (Muslims and Medicine) by Khwājah 'Abd-ul-Wahīd.—This article discusses the contributions made by a number of most famous Muslim physicians to the science of pathology.

Mustashriqīn-i-Europe aur Islām men Muṣawwirī (European Orientalists and Painting in Islam) by S. Jamāl Hasan Shīrāzī.—This article criticises the attitude and views of European orientalists who think that Islam is not hostile to painting and sculpture.

Islāmi Tamaddun (the Civilization of Islam) by M. Ḥifẓ-ur-Raḥmān Siyohārwi. The author has a theologian's orthodox views regarding the nature of Islamic society in support of which he cites authorities profusely. There is a great deal of material of sociological interest in this article.

Ma'ānī-ul-Athār wa Mushkil-ul-Athār lil-Imām Taḥāwī by Saiyid 'Abd-ur-Razzāq Qādirī Ja'far.—The *Burhān* published an article on the life of the Imām some time ago; this article discusses his works in some detail and assesses their value.

Mīr Qamr-ud-Dīn Minnat by Dr. S. Azhar 'Alī.—This article discusses the life and works of Minnat, a famous scholar of the 18th century.

Ladhḍhat: 'Arab Falāsifah ki Naẓar mēn by Ṣadr-ud-Dīn 'Azīm.—The author discusses the views of Arab philosophers on hedonism.

Yaman kā Qadīm Tamaddun by M. Zāhid-u'r-Ridwī Qaiṣar.—This article describes the main characteristics of ancient Yamanite civilization.

New Publications.

The Nadwat-ul-Muṣannifīn has continued publication of new books. The following deserve mention:

Lughāt-ul-Qur'ān by Maulānā 'Abd-ur-Rashīd Nu'mānī.—This is a full dictionary of all the words used in the Qur'ān. Unlike other works of a similar nature, it treats every derivation as a separate word and discusses it as such. The meanings are in Urdu. Along with every word is given a full reference to verses and chapters where it has been used. The first volume has recently been published.

Tārīkh-i-Millat—The third volume of this book on Islamic history has now been published which deals with the Umayyads.

Sarmāyah is a redaction of Karl Marx's *Das Kapital* in Urdu.

Qaṣaṣ-ul-Qur'ān, Vol. III. This book deals with the references in the Qur'ān to various Prophets.

Culture Society.

A discussion group organized under this name holds meetings and *conversazioni* regularly. It is run by some litterati who believe in the propagation of new tendencies in Urdu literature.

Bazm-i-Urdu.

Another group, more conservative in outlook, has been working regularly for the last five or six years under the able and enthusiastic leadership of Khawājah Muḥammad Shafī'. Papers are read in the weekly meetings of the Bazm which are followed by discussions.

Aiwān-i-Urdu.

An interesting debate was held under the auspices of this body in the Town Hall on the comparative merits of modernism and classicism in Urdu literature. Modernism was represented by the well-known Punjab poet Captain Faiḍ Aḥmad Faiḍ, and Mr. Sajjād Zahir, and classicism was supported by Khawājah Muḥammad Shafī' and Maulawī Sa'īd Aḥmad of St. Stephen's College, Delhi. The attitude of the house showed that Delhi was still a lover of classicism.

Some Valuable Manuscripts.

Dr. S. Azhar 'Alī, Head of the Department of Arabic, Persian and Urdu in the University of Delhi, has some valuable manuscripts in his possession, a few of which are described below :

Tahdhib-i-Kalām:—This is a treatise in Persian by Qamr-ud-Dīn Minnat (d. 1208 A.H.) who was born at Sonapat, a small town near Delhi. He lived mostly in Delhi where he was brought up in the family of Hadrat Shāh 'Abd-ul-'Azīz, son of the famous divine, mystic and scholar, Hadrat Shāh Wali-ullāh. Minnat grew up to be a famous writer receiving the title of Malik-u'-sh-shu'arā from Warren Hastings and later also from Nawab Nizām 'Alī Khān, the Nizām of Deccan. This treatise was compiled in 1208 A.H., shortly before the author's death. Mamnūn, Minnat's son, added a short epilogue (*khātimah*) with two chronograms. One of these which reads as قمر دین بخسوف آمده آه gives 1208 A.H. as the date of the death of Minnat. The other gives the same year as the date of the compilation of this book and runs as : جواب آمد کتہ تذیب کلام است ز روح اقدس جنت خرامش :

۵۱۲۰۸

This manuscript contains 185 pages and is written in a clean Nasta'liq hand. It does not bear either the date of transcription or the name of the copyist. In the end, however, occur the words : تمام شد نسخہ بموجب فرمایش : میر صاحب میر نظام الدین فخر الشعراء which suggest that this manuscript was the property of Minnat's son, Nizām-ud-Dīn, who was given the title of Fakhr-u'-sh-shu'arā by the Mughal court at Delhi. Having been

transcribed so near the death of the author, this manuscript is very useful; besides, I am not aware of any catalogue which contains a notice of this treatise.

The *Tahdhīb-ul-Kalām* deals with such subjects as simile, metaphor, tajnīs, etc.

Shakaristān—Minnat was a versatile author. Like Jāmī and others, he emulated Sa'dī by writing *Shakaristān* on the style of the world famous *Gulistān*. This work was dedicated to Mr. Richard Johnson, a servant of the East India Company, to whom the author refers in the following words :

متکفل امور جمهور ، مناظم اعوام و شهور ، مزین هامع نوال ، برق لامع جلال ، مستخدم
السيف و القلم ، امير الايادی و النعم ، برج رفعت پناهی را کوکب دری و درج والاجاهی را ، گران
بها در ، امیر اعظم نواب ممتاز الدوله فخرالملك حسام جنگ مستر رچارد جان جانسن صاحب بهادر
دامت ظلال افضاله فی الاطراف و الاقطار ، ما لاح نجم الغسق و طلعت شمس النهار .

This was an age when British officials accepted Mughul titles and were proud to display them.

The book is divided into seven chapters, each one of which is called a *naql* :

نقل اول در تهذیب اخلاق ، نقل دوم در آداب صحبت ، نقل سوم در سخن و خاموشی
نقل چهارم در جمع و بذل مال ، نقل پنجم در عشق ، نقل ششم در حکایات ملوک و امراء و صوفیه
و حکماء و علماء و شعراء و غیره ، نقل هفتم در مطائبات .

The sixth *naql* incidentally provides some meagre details about some of the forefathers of Minnat who would otherwise have remained unnoticed. Some of them were great dervishes. For instance, one of them, Saiyid 'Abd-ul-Ghanī was of such spiritual eminence that *Shaiikh* 'Abd-ul-Aḥad, father of Ḥaḍrat Mujaddid Alf-i-thānī, conceived a longing to meet him.

The manuscript has 184 pages; it is written in legible nasta'liq; the calligraphy is somewhat inferior to that of the *Tahdhīb-i-Kalām*. This book is the most famous of Minnat's works, though its manuscripts are not common. I have not seen any notice of this book in any of the famous catalogues of Persian MSS.

Sharh-i-Qirān-us-Sa'dain.—This manuscript of 114 quarto folios is the work of Nūr-ul-Ḥaqq of Delhi, son of 'Abd-ul-Ḥaqq. The former is the famous author of the *Zubdat-ut-Tawārikh*, (not to be confused with Ḥāfiẓ Ābrū's book of the same name). Nūr-ul-Ḥaqq's history is based mostly on Nizām-ud-Dīn's *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, though the *Zubdat-ut-Tawārikh* gives us a few facts based on the author's own observations. 'Abd-u'l-Ḥaqq, the author's father, is famous for his

Tārīkh-i-Haqqī and his *Risālah dar Taṣānīf-i-Khud* has been noticed in the present writer's book *The Administration of the Sultānate of Delhi*. The manuscript under discussion is closely written in running nasta'liq and is transcribed by several persons as is borne out by the colophon which runs as follows :

تمام شد کتاب شرح قرآن السعیدین تصنیف بندگی نورالحق دهلوی پسر عبدالحق . بید بندہ
فقیر حقیر سعدالله وغیره عزیزان چنانچه اهل صحبت از خط خواهند شناخت واقعه بتاریخ ۶ شهر
رجب المرجب سنہ ۱۱۰۲ مطابق سنہ ۳۴ (جلوس) اورنگ زیب بہادر دریلدہ فاخرہ سہرند در ہنگامہ
غلبہ وبہ کہ واقعہ شہر جہادی الثانی دوست جانی ودو جہانی میان رحمت اللہ ولد شیخ عبدالباق
بہدارالملک جنت شافت قلمی شد .

I have not come across any notice of this work in the catalogues of the more leading collections.

Mir'at-i-Iṣṭilāh :—This is a lexicon compiled by Anand Rām Mukhlīṣ of Sodhrā which is a small town in the modern districts of Sialkot (Panjab). He was educated in Delhi and came into close contact with famous scholars like Sirāj-u'd-Dīn, 'Alī Khān Ārzū and Mīr Ghulām 'Alī Āzād of Bilgrām. Mukhlīṣ belonged to a distinguished family; we know that his father and uncle both bore the title of Rajah and Azād Bilgrāmī mentions in his *Khazānah-i-Āmirah* that Anand Rām enjoyed the distinction of the title of Ra'ī-rayān. Mukhlīṣ is also mentioned in Mīr Qudrat-ullāh Qāsim's *Majmū'un-Naghẓ*. The *Mir'at-i-Iṣṭilāh* explains various terms used in official correspondence both in India and Persia and thus is a valuable guide to the study of later Mughal administration. For instance, it throws welcome light on the manṣabdāri system. Mukhlīṣ was eminently competent to compile such a work because his family was closely connected with the Mughal court; his uncle Rājah Dayā Rām, for example, was a trusted servant of the Emperor Muhammad Shāh. Mukhlīṣ died in 1164 A.H. at the age of fifty. In his lexicon, the author paid special attention to such terms as had come into vogue at the time. Apart from his close study of lexicons, historical works and contemporary literature, he took help from such Persian words as had recently come to India. The author also studied, for this purpose, a large number of official letters and dispatches. The manuscripts of this work are not very common though some leading libraries possess copies. For instance, the India Office Library and the British Museum both possess a copy of the work. Dr. Azhar 'Alī's manuscript is not complete; it has no colophon and ends abruptly after the idiom *Yār Bāqī wa Ṣuḥbatash Bāqī*. Still this manuscript possesses some noteworthy feature which make it highly valuable :—

(i) the first page has nine squares and the subsequent fifteen pages have twelve squares each. The squares contain brief details pertaining

to some important person, topic or fact : it seems that it was the intention of the author to have some sort of an index to make the book easy for use ;

(ii) the fly-leaf of the manuscript has an endorsement in the hand of Āzād Bilgrāmī saying it had come to him for correction and revision only three months after the death of the author. It seems that this manuscript was the property of the author himself and was handed over to his friend Āzād for revision by Anand Rām's heirs for final revision. There are lacunæ where the writing has been wiped off and nothing has been inserted for them, showing that the author was revising the work and died before finishing the revision.

(iii) there are corrections and additions, in the hand of Anand Rām as well as of Āzād.

This manuscript is a fine specimen of nasta'liq calligraphy. The first page has floral decorations in gold with the customary *بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم*.

As has been said before, this book is invaluable for students of Indian Muslim history and administration, and needs a much closer study by historians than it has hitherto received.

I. H. Q.

NORTH-WESTERN INDIA

The Literary Career of Professor Moḥammad Shafi'.

THE recent retirement of Professor Moḥammad Shafi' from the Professorship of Arabic in the Panjab University and the Principalship of the University Oriental College, Lahore, furnishes us with a suitable occasion to pass under brief review the literary career of this *doyen* of Indian Arabists. Professor M. Shafi' joined the Panjab University as the first permanent Professor of Arabic in 1919. Before his appointment, he had had an uncommonly distinguished career as a student. After taking the degree of M. A. in English in 1905, he took after a few years a second M.A. in Arabic, beating all previous records in the subject. In 1915, the Government of India awarded him a scholarship for the advanced study of oriental languages in Europe. He joined the University of Cambridge, where he had the privilege of working with Professor E. G. Browne, an orientalist scholar of rare personal charm, who not only enjoyed an international reputation as an orientalist of great distinction, but was also held in great esteem and affection in the Muslim East for his deep and

sincere sympathy with the Muslim countries in general and Persia in particular. It was the good fortune of the Panjab University that it was able to secure the services of two of the most distinguished pupils of Professor Browne, viz., Professor Muḥammad Shafī' and Professor Muḥammad Iqbāl. All those who have read Professor Browne's Preface to the 3rd volume of his monumental *Literary History of Persia* will recall the high opinion he had formed of the exceptional learning, ability, and industry of these two scholars. The high opinion entertained by Professor Browne regarding their ability and his estimate of their merits have been fully justified by their subsequent achievements in the field of oriental research. While at Cambridge, Professor M. Shafī' also derived much benefit from his close association with Professor A. A. Bevan and Dr. R. A. Nicholson.

When Professor M. Shafī' returned to India and took up his appointment at Lahore, he combined in his person a profound knowledge of oriental languages with a sound training in modern methods of critical research. First of all, he organized the Honours School in Arabic, and revised the syllabuses and programmes for the various University examinations, introducing new text-books and thus making the courses of study more comprehensive and more up to date in character than they had been before. Besides doing the usual teaching work, he also found time to edit a number of important oriental texts, such as 'مطلع سعدین ، تتمه صوان الحکمه' ، میخانه عبدالنبی and other works. By the painstaking collation of manuscripts, the minute attention to details and the sound judgment he has displayed in fixing the text in doubtful cases, he has set up a new standard of critical editing and exact scholarship in this country. His work as an editor can compare favourably with the best work of its kind done by European scholars ; and future workers in India would do well to adopt it as their model. A casual reader of the texts edited by him can have no idea of the patient industry and infinite labour which have gone into the preparation of those illuminating annotations on books and personal and place names, which greatly enhance the value of the texts. A single correction or a single note on some less known author or book has sometimes necessitated reference to a score of books and expenditure of much time and energy on his part. Again, by preparing Analytical Indices to *al-'Iqd al-Farid* of Ibn-'Abd-Rabbiḥī, he has placed in the hands of students a useful aid to Arabic studies, the value of which cannot be over-estimated. Indices of bulky works like the *'Iqd* have been usually prepared in the West by the collaboration of a number of scholars ; but it is the singular merit and rare distinction of Professor M. Shafī' that he has achieved this colossal task single-handed.

In 1925, Professor M. Shafī' began the publication of the *Oriental College Magazine*, a quarterly journal, which has made its appearance regularly ever since. When he recently relinquished its charge, eighteen volumes comprising seventy issues had already appeared. The 69th issue

contains an exhaustive index to the foregoing volumes ; and among its contributors we find many well-known writers on oriental literature and history, including pupils of the editor himself. Undoubtedly, it was the inspiring example of the editor which had gathered around him a band of zealous workers. The *Magazine* is a learned journal that has never thought of pandering to the vitiated taste of the common man ; but on the contrary, it has always sought to maintain throughout a uniformly high standard of scholarship. In these eighteen volumes, Professor M. Shafi' has raised an imperishable monument to his patient industry and profound learning, which will always reflect great credit on his erudition.

Professor M. Shafi' has also proved a conscientious and inspiring teacher and has exercised a tremendous influence in this capacity. During the last 23 years, scores of students have passed through his lecture-room, so that his pupils are now found not only in numerous educational institutions of the Panjab but also in many seats of learning throughout India. Several advanced students have also written doctoral dissertations under his expert guidance ; while several others are now engaged on similar work under his supervision ; and it is hoped that the results of their labours too will see the light of day in due course of time.

Besides carrying on his teaching and research work, Professor M. Shafi' has also rendered highly meritorious services to the Panjab University as a member of the Syndicate, Dean of the Oriental Faculty, Chairman of the Library Committee and in several other capacities. The multifarious duties thus entailed have naturally made a heavy demand on his time and attention.

In his private life, Professor Shafi' is a man of simple and retired habits ; and there is nothing farther from his thoughts than to seek cheap publicity or worldly fame in any form or guise. He has a stern sense of duty ; but his sternness is combined with an innate sense of justice and strict impartiality in all his dealings. His whole life has been characterized by a fearless adherence to principles and an utter disregard of personal considerations—a mode of conduct, which was little calculated to endear him to corrupt or base minds, but which has nevertheless won him the sincere respect and genuine esteem of all those worthy and discriminating persons who have come into contact with him.

We on our part have no hesitation in saying that the career of Professor M. Shafi' as an inspiring teacher, as an erudite scholar, as an able administrator and as a doughty champion of oriental studies, constitutes a creditable record of service, of which any man may be justly proud.

A Critical Study of M. Muḥammad Ḥusain Āzād.

The University of the Panjab has recently conferred the degree of Ph.D. on Professor Muḥammad Ṣādiq of the Government College, Lahore,

for his critical study of the life and works of Maulvī Muḥammad Ḥusain Āzād. An authoritative biography of Āzād had long been overdue ; and the omission has now been admirably supplied by Dr. Muḥammad Ṣādiq in his doctoral dissertation : *Āzād, his Life, Work and Influence*. There is no other writer of the nineteenth century Islamic Renaissance in India whose life bristles with so many thorny problems, critical and biographical as that of Āzād. He is numbered among historians as Saul was among the Prophets. His great biographical and critical work, *Āb-i Hayāt*, is generally dismissed as a collection of cock and bull stories, most of them being the inventions of the author himself. This charge of historical inaccuracy is complicated by the charge of sectarian bias, which is held responsible for his disparagement and neglect of the Sunnite poets. Besides, he has alienated the sympathy of the Ghālib-fans by his somewhat immoderate and indiscreet admiration for Dḥauq and the comparatively curt and cold manner in which he has dismissed his contemporary, Ghālib. There are numerous other questions to be investigated. What was, for instance, the nature of his mission to Central Asia ? Was it literary or political in character ? Who completed the *Darbār-i-Akbarī* ? Was it completed by Āzād himself, as claimed by his grandson, or by Maulvī Mumtāz 'Alī, who published the work during the period of the author's mental derangement and professes to have edited and written certain parts of it in the author's own style. Then, there are interesting questions connected with the famous controversy between Āzād's father, Maulvī Muḥammad Bāqir and Maulvī Muḥammad Ja'far, which had serious repercussions on Āzād's life and views ; and last but not least, the reasons for the execution of M. Muḥammad Bāqir after the Mutiny. All these questions, which have been much complicated by the passage of time and the absence of reliable data, have been discussed with firmness and balance by Dr. M. Ṣādiq. His verdict is favourable to Āzād, and should go a long way to rehabilitate him. Besides vindicating his freedom from religious bias, Dr. Ṣādiq has fully established by documentary evidence that *Āb-i Hayāt* is entirely based on earlier works and on the information supplied by the relatives and friends of the various poets, although the author did not take care to mention his sources in each case.

On the other hand, Dr. Ṣādiq has felt constrained to bring to light certain facts, which probably will not reflect much credit on the literary honesty of Āzād. He has discovered, for instance, that *Nairang-i Khayāl* is a collection of free translations from the writings of some of the English essayists of the 18th century, and that in editing Dḥauq's *Diwān* he took the liberty of rewriting some of his ghazals and qasīdas in their entirety. All this is supported by strong documentary evidence. One of the most interesting chapters of the dissertation is the one which deals with the "Mind of Āzād." Dr. Ṣādiq is of the opinion that Āzād's glorification of the past, which has been regarded as wilful exaggeration by some critics, is in reality the reaction of his emotional temperament to the arid intellectualism of the new age. Āzād was in fact an uprooted romantic soul, and

despite his strong affiliations with the new age he was not at home in it.

It will be seen from the above brief analysis that Dr. M. Šādiq has performed a solid piece of research work, for which he deserves our warmest congratulations. We would strongly urge upon him to take the necessary steps for an early publication of his valuable thesis, which constitutes an important contribution to the history of Urdu literature, and which should therefore be made available to the reading public as soon as feasible.

The Panjab University Arabic and Persian Society.

The Panjab University Arabic and Persian Society was started in 1937, on the initiative of Principal Muḥammad Shafi' with the object of stimulating research work in Arabic and Persian studies among the students of the Panjab University. The Society has a journal of its own, which is published quarterly as a supplement to the *Oriental College Magazine* and contains literary contributions of a high standard. The Society also arranges lectures by competent persons on various subjects of scholarly interest. They are generally well received and draw large audiences. As usual, the Society has a crowded programme for the current winter session, and several interesting papers have already been read under its auspices. In one of these, Professor Muḥammad Iqbāl threw some more light on Farrukhī. The way in which the Society is serving the cause of oriental learning reflects great credit on the devoted labours and unremitting efforts of its learned Secretary, Dr. S. M. 'Abdullāh and his energetic Assistant Secretary, Mr. Šādiq 'Alī Dilāwari.

Bazm-i Adab, Oriental College, Lahore.

Under the auspices of the Bazm-i Adab, recently instituted at the Oriental College, Lahore, with Professor Dr. Muḥammad Iqbāl as its President, Dr. S. M. 'Abdullāh read an interesting paper on "Khān Ārzū's Contribution to Urdu Language and Literature," in the course of which the learned lecturer pointed out that whereas Khān Ārzū is generally recognized as an authority on Persian language and literature and a prominent critic of Persian poetry, the services that he rendered to the Urdu language are usually ignored. In his day, *rēkhta* had not yet attained the dignity of a literary medium, and yet all the first-rate Urdu poets such as Mīr and Saudā acknowledged him as the doyen of *rēkhta* poets. This is explained by the fact that Khān Ārzū patronized and encouraged the *rēkhta* poets, and thus raised the status of *rēkhta* poetry and removed the generally prevailing notion that to compose poetry in the *rēkhta* was below the dignity of real talent. Besides, Khān Ārzū is

probably the compiler of the first Urdu dictionary, entitled *Nawādir ul-Alfāz*, which he wrote to rectify the unscientific compilation of Hānswī. Last but not least, he was the first Indian writer of modern times who interested himself in the comparative study of languages and discussed the points of similarity between Persian and Indian languages, including Sanskrit, particularly in his work named *Muthmir*. All these considerations entitle him to an honourable place among those who have served the cause of Urdu language and literature.

New Publications.

A few years ago, the University of the Panjab conferred the degree of D.Lit. on Syed M. 'Abdullāh, M.A., for his dissertation on the *Hindu Contributions to Persian Literature*. The English original of this thesis has not been published yet ; but an Urdu version has been brought out by the Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu, Delhi, as No. 187 of their series of publications. The work is an original contribution to the subject of study, and is based on hundreds of sources, which have been utilized with great critical acumen, and the results have been presented with a praiseworthy literary skill. The learned author has made a critical and historical survey of the various kinds of contributions, which Hindu writers have made to Persian literature from the Ghaznawid period down to the present day. Hundreds of poets, writers and stylists receive suitable notice in the course of the work, which is fully documented. It comprises six chapters and three appendices. Each chapter begins with a brief account of literary patronage accorded by the royal court, which gives a clue to the educational policy and general literary tendencies of each period. The interest and value of the book are enhanced by the photographic reproductions of the original writings of a number of writers. The book is also furnished with a detailed Table of Contents and an Index, which greatly add to the usefulness of the work. Unfortunately, the general get-up of the book is not in keeping with the literary status of its learned author or the intrinsic importance of its subject-matter. Among other things, the paper used is inferior in quality. The interest and importance of the subject demand that the book should be published in the English original as well ; and we hope that some publisher or literary institute will soon come forward to undertake its publication.

Sh. Muḥammad Ashraf, the well-known publisher of Lahore, has brought out a reprint of *The Arabic Civilization*, which is an English translation by the late S. Khudā Bakhsh of the German Professor, Joseph Hell's *Die Kultur der Araber* (2nd ed., Leipzig, 1919). The translation was originally published some years back by Messrs. Heffer & Sons of Cambridge. The book gives a useful summary of Islamic history and culture to the fall of Baghdād (1258 A.C.) in the East and that of Granada

(1492 A.C.) in the West ; and is therefore not without utility for the beginners. Unfortunately, the translation is not as accurate as it should have been ; and we hope to review the book critically in a future issue of this Journal.

SH. I.

FOREIGN

THE following Note on Building of Mosques in England is received from Jamī'at-ul-Muslimīn, London.

"The Jamī'at-ul-Muslimīn in the United Kingdom, with headquarters in London (36, White Church Lane) have allocated the sum of £ 3,000 for building the first mosque in Glasgow (Scotland). It is pointed out that this magnificent contribution does not include any money which Muslims outside the United Kingdom may contribute. H.R.H. Prince Muḥammad 'Alī, Heir-apparent of Egypt, has sent his generous donation of £ 100 for a mosque in Glasgow. Seven prominent Muslims (all Indians) resident in Glasgow have offered to bear all the cost of purchase of the site in Glasgow. This offer makes these seven donors liable to between £ 1800 and £ 2000. Other residents in Glasgow (all Muslims and members of the Glasgow branch of the Jamī'at-ul-Muslimīn) gave £ 1,142-10-0 on that day for the purpose. This will be the first mosque in Scotland and it is the intention of the Executive Council of the Jamī'at to build this mosque entirely from the resources of the members of the Jamī'at-ul-Muslimīn in United Kingdom. The mosque will have an Islamic Culture Centre containing a Madrasah, Library of Islamic Books and Assembly Hall for social purposes.

The Jamī'at-ul-Muslimīn in the United Kingdom was established in 1934. Its members are Muslims, resident in the British Isles and come originally from all Muslim countries of the world. The Jamī'at-ul-Muslimīn has headquarters in London, and branches in Birmingham, Cardiff, Glasgow, Manchester, and Newcastle-on-Tyne. The present strength of membership is 1,060. This total does not include members who have not paid their yearly subscription of 2/6. We do not accept life or honorary members. All members must pay yearly. Prayer Rooms are established at all the Branch Centres. After Glasgow, it is proposed to build a mosque in Newcastle-on-Tyne. In considering the necessity of a mosque in any town, full regard is paid to the permanent Muslim population of the town. I am happy to inform you that in all the Branch Centres of the Jamī'at, *Islamic Culture* is eagerly read. The Jamī'at publishes its own paper *Muslim News* every month. It is in English, Urdu and Arabic. It goes free to all members and others interested. The contributors include 'Allāma Yūsuf 'Alī, Mr. Aḥmad Bennet, Mr. Bashyr Pickard, Prof. Hob(?) Allah of Cairo, S. A. K. Dehlawī, Mr. Ṣaḥīb Dād Khān (General Secretary of the Jamī'at-ul-Muslimīn). It has issued 5 numbers."

ED., I.C.

NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

THE HOLY QUR'ĀN, ENGLISH TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY (with Arabic text) by Maulānā 'Abdul-Mājid Daryābādī; part I, ALIF LĀM MIM; published by the Taj Company Ltd., Lahore; price Rs. 2.

THE Taj company deserves our congratulation for publishing the long-awaited translation of the Holy Qur'ān by Maulānā 'Abdul-Mājid Daryābādī. It is published together with the Arabic text on glazed paper. The Maulānā had utilized the opportunity of having a number of learned translations before him. He has largely drawn upon the translations of Sale, Lane, Pickthall and on the unpublished translation of Nawab 'Imādul-Mulk Bilgrami. The Maulānā in this translation has endeavoured to produce an accurate version and has considerably used biblical phraseology. The Maulānā in his preface not only admits but also enumerates a number of difficulties one comes across in translating the Holy Qur'ān. It was owing to these difficulties that the Late M. Pickthall translated not the Glorious Qur'ān, "the very sounds of which moved men to tears and ecstasy," but presented the meaning of the Qur'ān; and 'Abdullāh Yūsuf 'Alī in his translation attempted to bring out the literary elegance of the Qur'ān. Both M. Pickthall and 'Abdullāh Yūsuf 'Alī have avoided the use of excessive foot-notes as they marred the flow and fluency of the language. But the translation of Maulānā 'Abdul-Mājid is distinguished from the above-mentioned translations in the fact

that it contains profuse explanatory foot-notes. These foot-notes are not simply elucidations of certain verses, but they also furnish full information regarding lexical, grammatical, historical, geographical, eschatological comments, and comparative explanation of Qur'ānic and Biblical versions. It is, indeed, in the foot-notes that the importance of this translation lies. It can be conveniently called a translation of the Commentary of the Qur'ān. But as M. Pickthall and A. Yūsuf 'Alī in their desire to stick to the elegant style have not been at times true to the accurate rendering of the Qur'ānic sense, the Maulānā's translation has become too literal and in translating the original word for word, it is not too easily comprehensible. The following specimens are given below in the hope that they will be revised in the next edition:

5. These are on guidance from their Lord, and these they are the blissful ones. ٥-اولئك على هدى من ربهم واولئك هم المفلحون

7. and unto them shall be a torment mighty. ٧-... ولهم عذاب عظيم

27. These are the losers. ٢٧-اولئك هم الخاسرون

48. And fear a Day whereon not a soul is satisfied for a soul. ٤٨-واقفوا يوم لا ينجى نفس عن نفس شيئا

54. Verily He is the Relentant, the Merciful. ٥٤-انه هو التواب الرحيم

61. And stuck upon them were abjection and poverty. ٦١-وضربت عليهم الذلة والمسكنة

89. And when ^{٨٩- ولا جاءهم كتاب من} there came unto ^{عند الله مصدق لا منهم} them a Book from ^{before} Allāh confirming that which was with them.

90. Vile is that for ^{٩٠- بشئ اشتروا به انفسهم} which they have ^{ان يكفروا بما انزل الله} bartered their souls, ^{بقيا ان ينزل الله من فضله} that they should ^{على من يشاء من عباده فباءوا} disbelieve that ^{بغضب على غضب وللکفر ين} which Allāh hath ^{عذاب مهين} sent down, out of ^{His grace, unto whosoever of his bond-} envy that Allāh ^{men He listeth. Wherefore they have} should reveal, out of ^{drawn upon themselves Wrath upon} His grace, unto whosoever of his bond- ^{Wrath and unto the infidels shall be a} men He listeth. Wherefore they have ^{torment ignominious.} drawn upon themselves Wrath upon Wrath and unto the infidels shall be a torment ignominious.

Besides the above quotations there are certain passages and words like ^{لا تجزى نفس عن نفس شيئا والمصلحون المفلحون} لا تجزى نفس عن نفس شيئا and المصلحون المفلحون whose translations are not properly understood unless they are read together with the foot-notes. It is advisable that the text of translation should be complete in itself as far as possible and should not be wholly dependent upon the foot-notes. Finally, a word with regard to the transliteration will not be out of place here. As the translation of the Qur'ān is a work of universal interest, it should adopt an international system of transliteration. According to the method of the Royal Asiatic Society which is recognised almost all over the world, *dh* for the letter ذ and *d* for د are used. It is, therefore, advisable that the diacritical marks should be accordingly changed in the next edition.

M. A. M.

SA'ADYA GAON ON THE INFLUENCE OF MUSIC by Henry George Farmer, Ph.D., D.Litt., London, 1943; Arthur Probsthain, 4 to 109 pages; price, 21 sh.

THIS Jewish philosopher, known in Arabic literature by the name of Sa'id ibn Yūsuf, was born in

the Fayyūm in Egypt and died in Baghdād some time after the year 330 A.H., according to Mas'ūdī, who called him Sa'id ibn Ya'qūb (*Tanbih*, p. 113) while the author of the present work fixed the date of his death in the year 942 of the Christian era, that is just over a thousand years ago. His philosophical ideas caused a stir in the Jewish community in Baghdād and the disputes with the head of that congregation were attended to by the Wazīr 'Alī ibn 'Isā and other Muslim dignitaries. His principal work on philosophy, written in Arabic, has the title *Kitāb al-Amānāt*. This work has come down to us in Arabic language, (written in Hebrew characters), and several translations and commentaries in the Hebrew language. I do not think that this and his other philosophical works have had any influence upon Muslim thought, on the contrary the reverse is the case. The Arabic translations of Greek philosophers by Hunain ibn Ishāq and others as well as the works of al-Fārābī have no doubt influenced the trend of thought of Sa'adya and brought about the polemics between him and Dā'ūd ibn Zakkay, head of the Jewish congregation at Baghdād. His works concern us here only in so far as in his chief work, the *Kitāb al-Amānāt*, he devotes a short article on music and its probable use in sacred song. There is no trace that the work of Sa'adya has had any influence upon Arabic music, but there cannot be any question about his thoughts having been influenced by the works of Arabic authors and as the editor and translator has, I believe, proved that it is from the works of al-Kindī that he derived his ideas. The short chapter in the *Kitāb al-Amānāt* had so far baffled all previous authors who had attempted to cast light upon the real meaning of the text of Sa'adya and it appears that even the epitomisers and translators, carefully analysed by the author, had not grasped its meaning. It seems that the introduction of rhythm in sacred music was the cause for the antagonism of the orthodox school of Rabbis and perhaps also that it was borrowed from foreign sources. That Sa'adya was not the inventor of the

novelty is quite clear and, as already stated, his teachers must be sought among Muslim authors, and it is under this aspect that that work comes under the scope of interest of readers of *Islamic Culture*. Unfortunately we have so little preserved of the earliest literature on the subject. We must, however, agree with Dr. Farmer that most likely Sa'adya drew upon the works of al-Kindi and probably it was the latter's lost work on rhythm, the *Kitāb al-'Iqā*, which was his source. From this point of view, accepting it as being correct, we also get an insight into the work of al-Kindi.

A strange phenomenon to us, is that, as with precious stones, stars, etc., music is brought into an ethical relationship with the various moods of the human soul. The author has in the translation and commentary of the text compared the exposition of Sa'adya with the schemes of other authors, and again with al-Kindi, who have drawn up similar tables of the influences believed to be exercised by the various modes of rhythm. I must confess, though it is quite obscure, that I lack the necessary theoretical knowledge of music and was no doubt so to the Hebrew translators of the work, and those better fitted for a just appreciation of this side of the science will no doubt find much to excite further investigation.

One thing is even clear to me that Dr. Farmer for the first time has been able to lift the veil from the obscurities of the ideas expressed by Sa'adya which have baffled all previous scholars who have tried to tackle this delicate subject.

Unfortunately neither here nor with Muslim authors do we get a glimpse of melody and the theoreticians of music appear to have laid stress always on the rhythm or tempo of music and perhaps melodies were left to be perpetuated by professional singers.

Unfortunately, I am unable to say whether the recently discovered codices of works by al-Kindi contain those works on music which up to now have been considered lost. Prof. Guidi of Rome together with Dr. Walzer were to publish

all these works but the war made a sudden stop to the publication.

F. K.

TADHKIRAT AL-MULŪK, translated and edited by V. Minorsky, Professor of Persian in the University of London, with the Persian text in fac-simile (E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Series, No. XVI of the New Series; published by Messrs. Luzac & Co., 46, Great Russel Street, London, W.C.; price 20 sh.

IT is to be regretted that the Šafavī emperors have left no monument of their administrative achievements like the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* of Abul-Faḍl; even Persian manuals of procedure, like our *Dastūr-ul-'Amāl*, are scarce; and, in the absence of administrative records, students of Persian mediæval administrative system have had to resort to the indirect method of picking out stray references from the general histories and other literature of the period in order to reconstruct the organisation of the Šafavid empire. A special importance, therefore, attaches to the discovery and publication of the *Tadhkirat-al-Mulūk*.

On March 6, 1722, Sulṭān Husain, the last of the Šafavid rulers (of whom the Russian ambassador had remarked: "Seldom can one find such a fool among commoners, to say nothing of crowned heads,") was defeated by *Shah Maḥmūd Ghilza'ī* in the neighbourhood of Isfahān and forced to capitulate after standing a siege of seven months. The Šafavī dynasty was extinguished. The Afghan conqueror naturally knew very little about the administration of the country; on the other hand, there would be a desire on the part of the Persian officers to continue the system to which they were accustomed, (i.e., retaining their perquisites), with merely a change of dynasty. Professor Minorsky concludes from the internal evidence of the text that the *Tadhkirat-al-Mulūk* was prepared for the consideration of *Shah Maḥmūd*;

but the *Shāh* died before it could be completed, as it refers to him as the "late *Shāh Maḥmūd*." The manuscript of the *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*—the sole copy existing—was acquired by the British Museum (Or. 9496) from the private library of the late Sultān 'Abdul-Ḥamīd II. It may, in the troublous years that followed, have been obtained by a Turkish ambassador for political reasons.

The manuscript, printed by Professor Minorsky in facsimile, seems to indicate that it had been prepared for the perusal of a crowned head. It covers 259 small size pages ($3\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$) and is written in large beautiful naskh; and, apart from the difficulty caused by the technical terms, it is not difficult to read. "The MS. is beautifully written," says Professor Minorsky, "but the scribe did his work mechanically; he was negligent in his spelling and hardly concerned with the meaning of the original. In places the text is disturbed and the particularly important tables of the budget look at first sight like a puzzle." The *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk* does not give the name of its author. The author may have belonged to the Department of the Mint (as Professor Minorsky seems to think); mint and finance are certainly described in greater detail than other departments. The style of the book is dull and heavy but lucid, like the usual style of good blue-books, and it is quite possible that we have here like an official administrative manual to which every department had contributed its information and which a finance expert had put into proper shape.

"The *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*," says Professor Minorsky, "belongs to the interesting class of political manuals which is poorly represented in Persian literature. It forms a welcome accession to our materials, for it deals with the more permanent and solid facts of State organisation, in contradistinction to our narrative sources which pay too much attention to the kaleidoscopic succession of battles, appointments and intrigues." Nevertheless, as a government manual, the *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk* suffers from serious shortcomings. We do not find in it those discussions on the religion, philosophy and

arts of the day—things from discovering the specific gravity of metals and the casting of cannon to the art of pigeon-flying—that have made the *Ā'in-i-Akbari* so deservedly famous. It tells us nothing about the country as a whole. The provincial and local administrations are entirely ignored apart from a paragraph in Chapter II on the Frontier Amirs and a list in the Conclusion specifying their income and expenditure. We learn nothing about the peasantry of the provinces, the procedure for collecting State-dues, the officers of the local government, and their duties, functions and perquisites. It could hardly be otherwise, for the *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk* was compiled when the Ṣafavī government over the provinces had disappeared and no stable government worth mentioning had taken its place.

The scope of the *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk* is confined exclusively to the institutions of the central government, i.e., the royal palace, the *Dīwān* and other offices at the centre, the mint, the workshops (*Kārkhānājāt*) maintained by the central government, and the administration of the city of Isfahān. The functions of all central officers (including, of course, the *Mujtahids*), are carefully defined. They are intentionally made to overlap; there must have been a lot of administrative friction to which the *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk* does not refer. The chief feature of the work is its exposition of office-procedure—the preparation of documents, description of the work of the senior officers (*Sufid Rīshān*) and clerks in charge, and the rules for the sealing and counter-sealing of petitions, documents and orders. There was an amount of bureaucratic red-tapism which must have been self-impairing; and almost every officer, who sealed, signed or passed a document on to another officer, exacted a fee from the person concerned. So far as office procedure is concerned—and this is the main theme of this *Tadhkira*—no work like it has yet come to light in the historical records of India.

It would not be right to conclude that an official handbook like this would fail to give an account of the income of the

officers under an apprehension, perhaps, that if recorded, they might be kept in record. As a rule, the regular salaries did not count; in case of some of the highest officers there were no salaries. But all made a decent living by charging a fee from petitioners, from officers appointed by the king and by levying a percentage for themselves on the income and expenditure of the State. The Conclusion of the work specifies the fees and salaries in detail. A few entries will give an idea of the rest:—

(1) *The Vakīl*.—No special salary was provided for the Vakīl of the Supreme Diwān, and his fees as levied per tūmān are such as shown under each item:—

- (a) from *Ikhrajāt*, 126 dirhams, 1½ dang;
- (b) from cash paid to the Amīrs, Muqarrabs and Eunuchs, 192 dirhams;
- (c) from Tiyūl, etc., granted to the Amīrs—

- (i) from Tiyūl, 357 dirhams;

- (ii) from Hamasāla, 238 dirhams;

- (d) from the In'āms given to the Amīrs and the persons not being on the staff; from the *suyurghāls*, *mu'āfis*, salaries, Musallamī and Haqqas-Sa'y of the 'Āmils, 714 dirhams.

(2) *The Grand Vizier*.—The Vizier of the Supreme Diwān had no salary. The following *Rasmal-Vizāra*, etc., grants and fees were allotted to him:—

(a) *Rasmal-Vizāra* fixed from the Mahāl.....803 tūmāns, 3,000 dirhams;

(b) annual grants

Cash.....20 tūmāns;
the rest is kind: a moiety of 7 tūmāns 70 dirhams;

(c) (also) fees per tūmān:—

- (i) from leases by way of Haqqal Qarar, 500 dirhams;

- (ii) from Tiyūl, 330 dirhams;

- (iii) from Hamasāla, 220 dirhams;

- (iv) from grants to the Amīrs and persons not belonging to the staff, from *Suyurghāls*, *Mu'āfis*, Musallamī, Haqqas-Sa'y of the 'Āmils, 714 dirhams.

But it was not only the highest officers who mulcted the government, the servants of the State and the public of their legitimate income. A swarm of smaller fry also claimed their shares, which have been recorded in full for seventy-nine officers thus—

(3) “*The Keeper of the August Seal*—once a year he received 30 tūmāns as “a cash for the cord of the seal;” he also had fees, per tūmān:—

- (a) from the Tiyūl of the Amīrs, 260 dirhams;

- (b) from the grants to the Amīrs, and to the persons not being on the staff, as well as from the *Suyurghāls*, *Mu'āfis*, *Iqtā's*, salaries and Haqqas-Sa'y of the 'Āmils, 520 dirhams;

- (c) from the Amīrs' Hamasāla . . 133 dirhams, 2 dangs;

- (d) from the cash of the Amīrs' salaries, 66 dirhams, 2 dangs.

The Keeper of the “Sharaf-i-Nafādh” Seal.—He received fees per tūmān:—

- (a) from the Tiyūl of the Amīrs, from the salaries and Haqqas-Sa'y of the 'Āmils, from the fixed salary of the Amīrs, 315 dirhams;

- (b) from the Hamasāla salary of the Amīrs, 157 dirhams, 2 dangs.

The Mughal and the Šafavī administrations were organised on different but parallel lines and students of mediæval Indian history have much to learn from a work like this. Unfortunately the *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk* portrays the Šafavī system when it was on its last legs. It was not possible for the author of the work to express any personal regrets at the change of regime, but a bare statement of facts, i.e., of offices not filled up, of colleagues who had died during the siege, gives us some idea of what he had been feeling.

Of Professor Minorsky's work as translator and editor it is impossible to speak except with the greatest admiration and respect. So far as was humanly possible, he had made up for the shortcomings of the *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk* by culling all relevant information from the Persian histories of the Šafavids and the

accounts of European travellers. Sixty pages of the translation have been supplemented up with 133 pages of Introduction, Commentary and Appendices, covering every imaginable item concerning Persian administration and the economic and social condition of the country. Taken as a whole, Professor Minorsky has given us an excellent manual on Safavid Persia, which will remain an outstanding achievement for some generations to come.

M. Hab.

LIFE OF MUHAMMAD by *Ṣūfī Muṭī'ur-Rahmān Bengalee*; published by the *Muslim Sun Rise Press*, 220, South State Street, Chicago; pp. 286, with a map of Arabia and several illustrations; price not given.

THIS is a small volume, neatly printed during the period of war, 1941, on the life and teachings of the founder of Islam. It is a successful piece of work written by a Qādiyāni missionary and intended originally for American Christians, and is readable. It also shows on the part of the author considerable reading and original thinking. The quotations from the history of the Bible, etc., are interesting.

We could have recommended it to be put in the hands of even Orthodox Muslims had not the author intentionally or unintentionally inserted now and then expressions like "Hazrat Ahmad, the Promised Messiah, gives a vivid description"..... (p. 220).

Again, the author seems to have access directly to the original Arabic sources.

It is inexplicable, therefore, why he some times refers to the works of *Mirzā Ghulām Ahmad* or his son and successor, *Bashir Ahmad* (p. 77), for facts regarding the life of the Holy Prophet. This neither enhances the standard of the work nor satisfies the reader who wants to know the authority from whom the facts are quoted.

Apart from a few misprints, there are some errors due either to Indian or provincial education, like the following:—

Tirmudhi (p. 226) for the correct Tirmidhi.

Imraul Qais (p. 27) for the correct Imru'-ul-Qais.

Mawahib Ladunniya (p. 281) for the correct Mawāhib Ladunniyya.

Faqaym (p. 19) for the correct Fuqaym.

The small map of Arabia, facing p. 281 is not of much help to the reader. There are several mistakes in it. For instance, Banū-Khuzā'a given in the extreme north should read Qudā'ah; the Khuzā'a lived south of Mecca. By Zul Koza, north of Madīna, is apparently meant Dhul-Qusṣah.

Unfortunately, none of the photographs is genuine. In the picture of Mecca the wall-less Maqām Ibrāhīm, in the Mosque of Madīna the rooflessness even in the main portion of the building, the legible "جرمن باؤٹ" p. 74, and the snow-clad appearance of the fantastic peaks and plains of the cave Ḥirā and the Mount of Light can scarcely gratify even the casual reader.

We hope these defects will be removed in subsequent editions.

M. H.

BOOKS RECEIVED

1. *The Crescent*, organ of the Surat City Muslim Students Union. It is an attractive magazine containing some very interesting articles by the pen of well-known scholars. It is published in three languages : English, Urdu and Gujrati.
2. *The Arab Civilization* by Joseph Hell (2nd edition, published by Sh. Md. Ashraf).
3. *Mujaddid's Conception of Tauḥīd* by Dr. Burhan Ahmad Farūqī; 2nd edition published by Sh. Md. Ashraf.
4. *Complaint and Answer*, translation of Iqbāl's *Shikwah* into English by Altaf Husain; published by Sh. Md. Ashraf.
5. *Muslim University Journal*, Volume I, New Series, March 1943.
6. *The Way Out* by C. Rajagopalachari, published by Oxford University Press.
7. *Kesava Pandita's Dandaniti*, (Criminal Jurisprudence) edited by V. S. Bendrey.
8. *The Adyar Library Bulletin*, Volume VII, Part 2.
9. *Deccan College, Postgraduate and Research Institute Calendar for Fifth Session, 1943-44.*
10. *University of Ceylon Review*, April 1943.

NOTICE.

All manuscripts, letters, etc., meant for the Editor, should be addressed to the Secretary, Editorial Board, and business correspondence to the Manager, ISLAMIC CULTURE, Hyderabad, Deccan.

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[*And say : My Lord ! Increase me in knowledge.—Qur'ân*]

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SAMĀ' AND RAQṢ OF THE DARWISHES

SYNOPSIS

[SAMĀ' and Raḡṣ were two important topics in the list of the innovations to the eradication of which Ibn al-Jawzī and Ibn-Taimiyya directed their attention. According to the latter, Samā' may be divided into three classes: the lawful, the unlawful, and the permissible. The lawful Samā' may, again, be classified as follows: Samā' an-Nabiyyin, Samā' al-Mu'minin, and Samā' Ahl-al-Ma'rifa. The unlawful Samā' is the music of the Darwishes, including Mukā' and Taṣḍiya, whistling and clapping. Traditions in favour of the music and dance of the Darwishes narrated by al-Maqdisī and Suhrawardī are unauthentic. Women may beat Duff at marriages and on other happy occasions. Men singing with Duff were known as Mukhannithūn. A tradition regarding the permissibility of listening to songs narrated by 'Ā'isha. Some Ṣūfīs of later generations never attended Samā'. Samā' actually originated at Baghdād by the last part of the second century A.H. in the hands of the Zindīqs, irreligious persons. The leaders of the four schools of thought and the renowned Ṣūfīs were against Samā'. Junaid's abandonment of Samā' and his remark about listening to it. A saying of the Prophet about the Ḥudā song. Is Samā', without the accompaniment of musical instruments, permissible? Did Mālik permit his countrymen to sing? Three fundamental principles to decide whether Samā' is lawful in Islām. Evil influences of Samā'. Arguments in favour of Samā' and their refutation. Raḡṣ. Ibn-Taimiyya's reply to a Fatwā regarding Raḡṣ. Conclusion].

SAMĀ' and Raḡṣ (music and dance of the Darwishes) had already begun to play an important role as an aid to the devotional aspect of Islamic ritual by the time when renowned scholars and reformers like Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200)¹ and Ibn-Taimiyya (d. 728/1238)² engaged themselves in refuting the innovations in Islām. The great theologian al-Ghazzālī (d. 505/1111) who, scientifically analysed the emotional side of the human mind, encouraged the music and dance of the Darwishes within limits, and proved their legality by the help of the Qur'ān and the Sunna.³ But the above two scholars, and also those who followed their

1. Jamāl ad-Dīn Abu'l-Faraj 'Abd ar-Raḡmān b. 'Alī, known as Ibn al-Jawzī, b. 510/1116. He left a vast number of books. One of his famous books, namely *Talbīs-Iblīs*, has partly been translated into English by Margoliouth in *Islamic Culture*, 1935-37. See *Enc. of Isl.*, s.v. Ibn al-Djawzī.

2. B. 661/1263. For biographical references to Ibn-Taimiyya, see *Islamic Culture*, January, 1943, footnote 1 on p. 77.

3. See al-Ghazzālī, the Chapter on *Ādab as-Samā' war'-Raḡṣ in Ihya'*, II, 236-69, Cairo, 1348. It has been translated into English with commentary by D. B. Macdonald in *J. R. A. S.*, 1901-2.

views, disapproved of the practice of music and dance of the Darwishes, and occasionally wrote books and issued pamphlets against the practice.

In the following pages an attempt will be made to present a critical exposition of the views of Ibn-Taimiyya and Ibn al-Jawzi and others of their school of thought on the music and dance of the Darwishes, as found in the treatise, *Risāla fi's-Samā' wa'r-Raqṣ*,¹ collected by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Munbiji al-Ḥanbalī.²

The treatise begins with a Fatwā given by Ibn-Taimiyya. "What is the description of Samā' in the estimation of the pious people? Is listening to poems sung to musical instruments a means of nearness to God? Is it a thing unlawful or permissible in Islam?" These were the questions that were once put to Ibn-Taimiyya, in answer to which he says in his usual homiletic manner that Samā' of the pious people means listening to the verses of the Holy Qur'ān only.

On analysing the discourse which he delivered in this connection, we understand that, according to him, Samā' may be classified into three broad divisions: the lawful Samā', the unlawful Samā', and the permissible Samā'.

THE LAWFUL SAMĀ'

THIS kind of Samā', which was sanctioned by God, and for which the Ṣaḥāba, (Companions), the Tabi'ūn, (Followers of the Companions), and the Tabā'-at Tabi'in, (Followers of the Followers,) used to assemble together for the purification of their hearts, meant the practice of listening to the verses of the Qur'ān. This practice was both approved and acted upon by the Prophets, the faithful, the learned ('Ulemā), and the knowers of truth ('Ārifūn). In favour of the Samā' of the Prophets, he cites the verse of the Qur'ān: "These are they among the Prophets of the posterity of Adam, and among those whom we bare with Noah, and among the posterity of Abraham and Israel, and among those whom we have guided and chosen, to whom God hath shewed favour. When the verses of the Beneficent were rehearsed to them, they bowed them down worshipping and weeping."³ About the Samā' of the Faithful, he quotes another verse: "Believers are they only whose hearts thrill with fear when God is named, and whose faith increases at each recital of His signs, and put their trust in their Lord."⁴ In support of the Samā' of the learned Ibn-Taimiyya cites the verse: "They verily to whom knowledge had been given previously, fall on their faces worshipping when it is recited to them."⁵ Then in favour

1. See M. R. K., (*Majmū'at- ar-Rasā'il al-Kubra* by Ibn-Taimiyya, Cairo, 1323 A.H.) Vol. II, 277-315. A mere perusal of the treatise will show that Ibn-Taimiyya was not its author. Al-Munbiji compiled it from the views of different scholars of his school of thought on music and dance.

2. Brockelmann, *Geschichte*, II, 76.

3. Sūra XIX, 59.

4. Sūra VIII, 2.

5. Sūra XVII, 108 sq.

of Samā' of the 'Ārifūn, he quotes: "And when they hear that which hath been sent to the Apostle, thou seest their eyes overflow with tears at the truth they recognise therein."¹ So it was these kinds of Samā', he adds, that God ordered the people to listen to. God says: "When the Qur'ān is recited, then listen to it and remain silent that mercy may be shown to you."² Moreover, God praises those who listen to this sort of Samā'. He says: "Cheer then with good tidings those my servants who hearken to my words and follow the best of it."³ "Will they not then meditate on the Qur'ān? Are locks upon their hearts?"⁴ Here meditation means Samā', for no one can meditate upon a thing without listening to it. Further, there are several other verses which censure those who do not listen to this kind of Samā'. "Then what hath come to them that they turn aside from the admonishment, as if they were affrighted asses fleeing from a lion?"⁵ "When thou recitest the Qur'ān, we place between thee and those who believe not in the life to come a dark veil; and we put coverings over their hearts lest they should understand it, and in their ears a heaviness; and when in the Qur'ān thou namest thy one Lord, they turn their backs in flight."⁶ So in the opinion of Ibn-Taimiyya this was the Samā' that was sanctioned by God in prayers⁷ and admonitions. Moreover, this had been the practice of the Prophet and his Companions. During the lifetime of the Prophet, his followers used to assemble with him in order to listen to his recitations from the Qur'ān, and after he died they held similar gatherings in order to listen to each other's recitation. Both Bukhārī and Muslim narrate, on the authority of 'Abd-Allāh b. Mas'ūd, that once the Prophet asked 'Abd-Allāh to recite the Qur'ān to him, whereupon he replied, "Shall I recite it to you when it has been revealed to you?" "Certainly, I should like to hear it from others," was the reply. So 'Abd-Allāh began to recite to the Prophet the chapter of *an-Nisā'* but when he reached the verse: "How, when we shall bring up against them witnesses from all peoples, and when we shall bring thee up as a witness against these?"⁸ the Prophet uttered, "Good, it is enough," while tears rolled down his cheeks.⁹ In the opinion of Ibn-Taimiyya this sort of Samā' is *Aṣl al-Īmān*, (fundamental faith), because God delegated to the Prophet a mission to the people, who, if they listen to it, will find salvation, and if they turn away from it will be misguided and rendered unfortunate. The Qur'ān bears testimony to this. God says: "Hereafter shall guidance come unto you from me; and whoso followeth my guidance

1. Sūra V, 86.

2. Sūra VII, 203.

3. Sūra XXXIX, 59.

4. Sūra XLVII, 26.

5. Sūra LXXIV, 51 sq.

6. Sūra XVII, 47 sq.

7. Such as in *Fajr*, *Maghrib* and *'Ishā'*.

8. Sūra IV, 45.

9. Bukhārī, *Kit. Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, b. 32; Muslim, *Kit. Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, p. 56.

shall not err, and shall not be wretched ; but whoso turneth away from my admonition, his truly shall be a life of misery ; and we will assemble him with others, on the day of Resurrection, blind.”¹

THE UNLAWFUL SAMĀ‘

Now Samā‘ meaning music of the Darwishes including Mukā‘ and Taṣḍiyā (whistling and clapping) comes under this head. To Ibn-Taimiyya all these are the Samā‘ of the heathens and are not permitted to Muslims. The Tradition in favour of the Samā‘ of the Darwishes, narrated by al-Maḳḍisī (d. 507/1113)² and Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234) is false. They narrate that once a bedouin recited two lines³ of a poem in the presence of the Prophet, who was so charmed with it that his cloak dropped down from his shoulders on account of ecstasy, whereupon Mu‘āwiya said, *ماحسن لهوكم* “How excellent is your entertainment !” “O Mu‘āwiya,” replied the Prophet, “he who does not show love at the remembrance of his beloved is not a noble man.” Another Tradition that reveals the same kind of falsehood, is related by Muḥammad b. Tāhir al-Maḳḍisī.⁴ Once when the poor were told the good news that they would enter heaven before the rich, they became mad with ecstasy and tore their clothes to pieces. Gabriel came down at once and said : *يا محمد ان ربك يطلب* *نصيبه من هذه الخروق*, “O Muḥammad, your Lord wants His share of these torn pieces.” He then took a rag from those torn pieces and suspended it from the throne of God.⁵

The Prophet of Islam never allowed his disciples to assemble in order to listen to songs accompanied by claps or beatings of the Qaḍīb, (wand)⁶ or Duff (tambourine).⁷ Nevertheless, he allowed women to beat the Duff

1. Sūra XX, 123 seq.

2. Muḥammad b. Tāhir al-Maḳḍisī, *‘Awārif al-Ma‘ārif* (on the margin of *al-Ghazzālī’s Iḥyā’*, Cairo, 1348 A.H.) Vol. II, 253-55.

3. The lines are :

فلا طيب لها ولا راق
فلا طيب لها ولا راق
فلا طيب لها ولا راق
فلا طيب لها ولا راق

“The viper of love stung my liver (heart) and no physician nor charmer can cure it, except the beloved with whom I am deeply in love. For with him is my charm and theriac.” *‘Awārif*, II, 254. *M R K*, II, 282.

4. He is also known as Ibn al-Kaisarānī. See *Enc. of Islām*, s.v. Ibn al-Kaisarānī.

5. *M R K*, II, 282. Cf. *‘Awārif* l.c., II, 255. There cannot be any allegation against Suhrawardī that he accepted such an absurd Tradition as correct. It will be seen from the *‘Awārif*, quoted above, that though Suhrawardī narrates both these Traditions through al-Maḳḍisī, he frankly admits that these reports are unauthentic.

6. Qaḍīb or wand is a primitive instrument for determining the measure. See Farmer, *History of Arabian Music*, p. 16 and 74.

7. Duff, tambourine. See Salvador Daniel, *The Music and Musical Instruments of the Arabs*, p. 221 sq.

on happy occasions like marriages, etc. They were further allowed to clap during prayers in order to warn the Imām when he committed mistakes.¹ So beating the Duff and clapping of hands were permitted to women, but whenever a male attempted to sing with the Duff etc., he was scornfully given the title of Mukhannath, effeminate, and the male musicians were known as Makhānith.²

The Prophet and the early Muslims never attended any musical performance. Nowhere in the Hijāz, Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Khurāsān, and Spain was there any one among these people who ever encouraged it.³

Ibn-Taimiyya, however, quotes the Tradition narrated by 'Ā'isha that on the occasion of an 'Id festival her father (Abū-Bakr) came to see her. He found her listening to the song of two Anṣārī girls who were singing to her the events of Yaum al-Bu'āth.⁴ He did not like it and said to 'Ā'isha : “ Art thou with the flute of Satan in the house of the Prophet of God.?” The Prophet, who had his face turned to the wall of the house, uttered : دعها يا أبا بكر فإن لكل قوم عيده وهذا عيدنا أهل الإسلام “ Let them sing, O Abū-Bakr, for every community has a festival and this is our Muslim festival.”⁵

1. Women are forbidden to utter *Subhān Allāh*, *Allāh Akbar*, etc. like men as it may inspire sex-instinct in the hearts of men on account of their tender voices. But the clapping that has been recommended must not be done by the palms of the two hands. It is to be done by the palm of the right hand on the back of the left. If a woman does it with the two palms, by way of sports, her prayer will be null and void. For the *Ḥadīth* see Bukhārī, *Kit. aṣ-Ṣalāt*, b. 22 ; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Co. No.* 33.

2. *M R K*, II, 284. Farmer quotes this story in his *History of Arabian Music*, p. 45 sq. He says, “ The first male professional musician in al-Hijāz belonged to a class known as Mukhannathūn, (sing. Mukhannath) who were evidently unknown in pagan times. These people were an effeminate class who dyed their hands and affected the habits of women. The first male professional musician in the days of Islam is generally acknowledged to have been Tuwais, the Mukhannath, and, indeed, it is said that in al-Madina music had its origin among the Mukhannathūn,” But Farmer adds, “This is probably a canard of the legists.”

3. *M R M*, II, 282 ; *M R M* (*Majmū'āt ar-Rasā'il wa'l-Masā'il* by Ibn-Taimiyya, ed. by Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā in 5 Vols., Cairo, 1341-49 A.H.) Vol. I, 38.

4. The Day of Bu'āth is famous for the battle between two tribes, Aws and Khazraj, in the pre-Islamic age. Bu'āth was a place two miles away from Madina or a place in the district of Banī-Quraiza. *Enc. of Isl. s.v.* Bu'āth. Aghāni, XV, 163, 164 ; XIV, 95. *Mu'jamal-Buldān*, I, 670.

5. *M R K*, II, 285. Nasā'i narrates this *Ḥadīth* (*Kit. al-'Idain*) and tells us that the two girls were singing with the Duff, tambourine. Bukhārī, (*Kit. al-'Idain*, b. 2 and *Kit. al-Manād*, b. 14) and Muslim (*Kit. al-'Idain*, faṣl 4) report that, at the time when 'Ā'isha was listening to the songs of the two girls, the Prophet entered the house and lay down on his bed, turning his face away. There is no mention of his being displeased with them. Ibn al-Jawzī quotes this Tradition in his *Talbīs Iblīs*, (p. 224 sq., Cairo, 1938, and comments that the two girls were minors and that they used to play in company with 'Ā'isha. He further informs us that once Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal was asked about the song that was sung by these two Anṣār girls and he replied that it was a caravan song, Ghinā ar-Rakb) : اتيناكم اتيناكم etc.

Ibn-Taimiyya's explanation of this Ḥadīth is that to listen to a song was not the habit of the Prophet or his disciples, and this is why Abū-Bakr called it *Mazmūr ash-Shaitān*, (flute of the devil), but that a man commits no sin if he hears a song accidentally. Similarly, a man does not commit sin in applying his other senses, such as seeing, smelling, tasting, and touching of unlawful things, as long as it is not done intentionally. This is corroborated by the action of the Prophet once when he was going somewhere with Ibn-'Umar. They heard the sound of the flute of a shepherd, and the Prophet hurried away towards another direction saying, "Do you listen to it O, Ibn-'Umar?" But he did not ask Ibn-'Umar to shut his ears so that one could conjecture that the hearing too was unlawful. It is listening (to the flute) that was forbidden and not an incidental hearing.¹

Of the Ṣūfis of later generations, says Ibn-Taimiyya, some were of opinion that *Samā'* (of the *Darwishes*) was permitted in Islam for a special class of people, nay for them it was even better than listening to the *Qur'ān* in many respects—it was nourishment for the heart, a kind of food for the soul, and a sort of guide to spiritual elevation. In consequence of this, it so happened that these people neglected the *Qur'ān* and preferred *Samā'* to it, but as a matter of fact, there was no trace of *Samā'* during the first three generations (*al-Qurūn ath-Thalātha*) of the early Muslims. It had only originated by the last part of the second century A.H. Imām Shāfi'i is of opinion that the *Zindīqs*, irreligious persons,² first invented *Taghbīr*, (reading of poems with harmony) at Baghdad to distract the people from the *Qur'ān*.³ Among the *Zindīqs* Ibn-Rāwandī,⁴ al-Fārābī,⁵ Ibn-Sīna,⁶ and others practised *Samā'* and spread the custom of listening to it. Abū-'Abd-ar-Rahmān as-Sulamī⁷ reports that Ibn ar-Rāwandī⁸ considered *Samā'* to be *Wājib*, obligatory. Al-Fārābī himself was a renowned musician. His treatment of Ibn-Hamadān (Saif ad-Dawla)⁹ whom he made weep, laugh, and then sleep by means of his music, is known to people.¹⁰

1. *M R K*, II, 285.

2. See Huart, *Les Zindīqs en droit Musulman*, 11th Congress of Orientalists, Part III, pp. 69 ff.; see also *Enc. of Isl.*, Vol. IV, p. 1228 sq.

3. *M R K*, II, 287; cf. Suhrawardī, 'Awārif, l.c. Vol. II, 213.

4. Abū'l-Ḥusain Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Ishāq d. 245/859. *Wafayāt al-A'yān* by Ibn-Khallikān, Cairo, 1299 A.H., Vol. I, 27.

5. Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Uzalagh b. Tarkhān, the greatest philosopher of Islam before Avicenna, d. 339/950. Some of his treatises have been published in Hyderabad, Deccan. See *Enc. of Islām*, s.v. al-Fārābī.

6. Abū-'Alī al-Ḥusain b. 'Abd-Allāh b. Sīna, b. 4370/980 in Isfahān d. 420/1029. *Wafayāt*, I, 152. *Enc. of Isl.*, s.v. Ibn-Sīna.

7. Adh-Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, III, 233 sq.

8. Ibn ar-Rāwandī or Rewandī, Abū'l-Ḥusain b. Yaḥyā b. Ishāq al-Mu'tazalī and heretic, born at the beginning of the 3rd century A.H., *Enc. of Isl.* s.v. (Supplement).

9. Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. Hamdān, ruler of Aleppo, b. 303/915 d. 356/1063. *Wafayāt*, I, 364 Nicholson, *Lit. Hist.*, pp. 269 seq. and 303-7.

10. *M R K*, II, 286-88.

Ibn-Taimiyya now strengthens his position by quoting the opinions of the jurists and Šūfi Shaikhs. Abū-Hanīfa, Mālik, Thawrī, etc. disapproved of Samā' more strongly than did Shāfi'ī and Ahmad.¹ Imām Ahmad and sages like Ibrāhīm b. Adham,² Fuḍail b. 'Iyād,³ Ma'rūf al-Karkhī,⁴ Abū Sulaimān ad-Dārānī⁵ and Sarī' as-Saqaṭī⁶ did not attend Samā'. Those who attended Samā' and spread the custom of listening to it were all originally men suspected of Zandaqa, irreligiousness,⁷ about whom we have seen the opinion of Imām Shāfi'ī. Two other great saints, namely Shaikh 'Abd al-Qādir and Shaikh 'Adī, after whom the Qādirī and the 'Adawiyya orders were established respectively, did not attend Samā'.⁸ Junaid Baghdādī who used to attend Samā' in his early years abandoned it in his old age.⁹ Again, the Sūfis who attended it, did so under certain conditions and restrictions. Junaid used to say: *من تكلف السماع فتن به و من صادف السماع استراح به* "He who uses Samā' as an artificial aid, is liable to fall into sin, but he who meets it accidentally finds relief in it."¹⁰

PERMISSIBLE SAMĀ'

REGARDING the third kind of Samā' both Ibn-Taimiyya and his predecessor Ibn al-Jawzī are of the same opinion.¹¹ They say that before passing judgment on the question of Samā' we must first look to Māhiyat ash-Shaiy, (the essence of a thing) and then call it Ḥarām, Makrūh, etc. The word Samā', they add, may bear several meanings, such as Ghinā'

1. M R K, II, 296.

2. A famous Šūfi of Balkh, d. 161/777. *Fawāt*, I, 3. *Enc. of Isl.* s.v. Ibrāhīm b. Adham.

3. A Šūfi contemporary of Hārūn ar-Rashīd. He started his life as a member of a robber band, but then turned a perfect Šūfi after he had heard a man reciting the verse of the Qur'ān, *Sūra*, Lvii, 15 :—

"Hath not the time come, for those who believe, to humble their hearts at the warning of God and at the truth which He hath sent down? And that they be not as those to whom the Scriptures were given heretofore, whose lifetime was prolonged, but whose hearts were hardened, and many of them were perverse? He died in 187/802. *Wafayāt*, I, 415. *Enc. of Isl.* s.v. al-Fuḍail b. 'Iyād.

4. Abū-Mahfūz Ma'rūf b. Firūz, (d. 200/815 or 201/816, or 204/819) a Šūfi of Christian origin who accepted Islām at the hands of 'Alī b. Mūsā ar-Riḍā. He was a teacher of Sarī' as-Saqa I. *Wafayāt*, II/104., Nicholson, *Lit. Hist.*, pp. 385-86 and 388.

5. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad b. 'Atiyya al-Anasī, d. 225/839. *Wafayāt* I, 276. *Fawāt*, (*Fawāt al-Wafayāt* by Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, Būlāq, 1299 A.H.), I, 251.

6. Abū'l-Ḥasan Sarī' b. al-Mughallīs as-Saqaṭī, maternal uncle of Abū'l-Qāsim al-Junaid, a student of al-Karkhī, d. 256/869 or 257/870 at Baghdād; *Wafayāt*, I, 200.

7. M R K, II, 287 sq.

8. M R K, 296. 'Abd al-Qādir b. 'Alī b. Zangī Dost, a preacher and Šūfi. See *Fawāt*, II, 2. 'Adī b. Musāfir, d. 557/1162 or 555/1160.

9. M R K, II, 296.

10. *Ibid.*

11. M R K, II, 293; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Talbīs Iblīs* (Cairo, 1928) p. 223. Here Ibn-Taimiyya quotes the view of Ibn al-Jawzī almost word for word.

Now, a question may arise whether Samā' without the accompaniment of musical instruments should be considered as permissible. On this question Ibn-Taimiyya declares that the jurists differ in their views whether it should be considered as *Ḥarām*, *Makrūh*, or *Mubāḥ*. The followers of Imām Aḥmad, he adds, are of three different opinions, whereas there are two views from Imām Shāfi'ī. Ibn-Taimiyya further tells us that Imām Abū-Ḥanīfa and Imām Mālik do not disagree, and that one of the early Imāms, namely, Zakariyya b. Yahyā as-Sājī,¹ who was biased towards Shāfi'ī, expressed that the early jurists were unanimous in its being *Ḥarām*, forbidden, except Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd of Madīna and 'Uбайд-Allāh b. al-Ḥasan of Baṣra. The report made by Abū-'Abd ar-Raḥmān as-Sulamī and Abū'l-Qāsim al-Qushairī that such a kind of music was lawful to Imām Mālik and the Madinites is, according to Ibn-Taimiyya, false. The real point, he suggests, is that some of the Madinites attended such a sort of Samā', but their Imāms or jurists never encouraged it.² Ibn-Taimiyya himself maintains that when Samā' has become a controversial problem about which we cannot definitely say if it is lawful or unlawful, or whether it is a *Tā'at*, (obedience to God) or *Qurbat-ila-Allāh*, (means of nearness to Him), we have to take recourse to some *Dalil Shar'ī*, (religious document), for there is nothing forbidden but what God has forbidden and there is no true religion but what has been prescribed by Him. And since there is nothing in the *Qur'ān* or in the *Sunna* that warrants the legality of this sort of Samā', it should be regarded as an innovation, pure and simple, and as such it should be discarded.³

Ibn-Taimiyya then lays down three fundamental principles to decide whether Samā' (in general, inclusive of music) is lawful or unlawful.⁴

Firstly, the ecstasy of a *Ṣūfī* must not be accepted as a proof to validate Samā' as the *Ṣūfīs* would have us believe. It is only the *Qur'ān* and the *Sunna* that are the real authorities to decide as to the validity or otherwise of Samā'.

1. d. 307/919. See Ibn-Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, II, 488.

2. *M R K*, II, 294.

3. *M R K*, II, 289, sq. In support of this view, he quotes the verse of the Holy *Qur'ān*, (*Sūra XLII*, 20). "Or have they associates who have prescribed for them any religion that Allāh does not sanction?", and also the verse (*Sūra VII*, 27), "And when they commit indecency they say, 'We found our fathers doing this, and Allāh has enjoined it on us.' " Ibn-Taimiyya further adds that God has declared in the *Qur'ān*, (*Sūra V*, 5). "This day have I perfected your religion, and have filled up the measure of my favours upon you, and it is my pleasure that Islām be your religion." Again, (*Sūra VI*, 154); "And this is my right way, follow it then; and follow not other paths lest ye be scattered from His path." Moreover, 'Abd-Allāh b. Mas'ūd reports that once Prophet drew a straight line, on the right and left of which he drew other lines and said, "This is the path of Allāh, and these (on the right and left) are the paths on every one of which there is a Satan who called men towards it." Then the Prophet repeated the verse: "And this is my right way." So, had Samā' been of any importance in Islām, then God or His Apostle would certainly have mentioned it before the announcement: *اليوم اكملت لكم دينكم*. "To-day have I perfected the religion for you." *Sūra V*, 5.

4. *M R K*, II, 292 sq.

Secondly, when there is a dispute with respect to the lawfulness or unlawfulness of a thing, one must consult the Qur'ān and the Sunna, and this Samā', which is a controversial thing, and is not also found in either of them, should be discarded and considered illegal.

Thirdly, when it becomes difficult for a Nāzir or a Sālik (observer or pious devotee) to decide whether something is allowed or forbidden, he must watch its result—if it leads people to grave corruptions, the Shāri', law-maker, cannot then be expected to sanction it, especially when it leads one to the anger of God and His Apostle *بغض الله ورسوله*. So how can one imagine the Divine decision, that considers the slightest intoxication to be Ḥarām, unlawful, lest it should excite the mind to a greater intoxication, to have made music Mubāḥ, permissible—music that excites one's mind more than intoxication does towards committing sin? Ibn-Mas'ūd is related to have said : *الغناء هو رقية الزنا* "Music is a spell for adultery." Ibn-Taimiyya is also of opinion that whenever a boy practised Ghinā', (music) it spoiled him, whenever a woman took to it, she committed adultery, and whenever a young man or an old man practised it, he plunged himself into foul deeds."¹

In connection with this evil influence of Samā', Ibn al-Jawzī remarks that music goads one to corrupt tendencies. One leads astray the heart from the divine thoughts and the other makes a man inclined towards worldly pleasures. The latter incites him to attain mundane pleasures in full, the greatest of which is the pleasures of the flesh. But when this cannot be attained completely except in 'fresh woods and pastures new' which have to be reached through unlawful means, he is forced to commit adultery. Evidently Ghinā', (music) and Zinā, (adultery) resemble each other. Ghinā' pleases the soul and Zinā gratifies one's passion most.² Imām Ibn-Taimiyya is almost of the same opinion. He says that music contains the description of love, union, separation, forsaking, yearning, etc., all of which may allude to God, devils, friends, women, etc. Therefore a man when he sits down intentionally to listen to music is apt to be misguided.³

Now, al-Munbijī,⁴ one of the exponents of the Hanbalite thoughts, enumerates a few arguments in favour of music, and himself repudiates them with his own arguments as also with those of Ibn-Taimiyya and others:⁵

i. Music is sweet and pleasing. By it souls are delighted and appeased. By its sweet sound babies are lulled to sleep, and sometimes

1. M R K, II, 293.

2. M R K, II, 295. See also *Talbīs* l.c., p. 222.

3. M R K, II, 296.

4. The compiler of the *Risāla as-Samā' wa'r-Raqṣ* which we are discussing here.

5. M R K, II, 298-312.

they are not likely to go to bed without it. It makes the camels endure the troubles of a journey and bear the burden of loads.¹

ii. Sweet tone is God's blessing, and it is an additional faculty endowed to his creatures, (Ziyādatun-fi-Khalqih). God says in the Qur'an: "He addeth to His creature what He wills."² God dislikes the braying of asses as He says: "... and lower thy voice: for the least pleasing of voices is surely the voice of asses."³

iii. God speaks about the people of Heaven that "... they shall enjoy themselves in a flowery mead,"⁴ by listening to good music. So how can it be unlawful in this world when it is lawful in the world hereafter?

iv. It has been asserted that God did not listen to anything (so earnestly) as He listened to the Samā' of a Prophet when he recited the scripture with a sweet tone.⁵

v. The Prophet listened to the sweet voice of Abū-Mūsa al-Ash'arī⁶ and praised him for it, saying, "Surely this man has been given a flute of the flutes of David."⁷ "If I could have known," replied Abū-Mūsa, addressing the Prophet, "that you would listen to me, I would certainly have recited it more beautifully."⁸

vi. The Prophet said, "Adorn the Qur'an with your sweet voice. He is not of us who does not recite the Qur'an with a clear voice."⁹

vii. The Prophet allowed his wife 'Ā'isha to listen to the song of two songstresses on an 'Īd festival.¹⁰

1. Al-Ghazzālī says in his *Ihyā*, (I, 242 sq.) that there is harmony between sounds and rhythmical sounds; the sounds affect the souls immensely—some sounds are pleasing, some are displeasing, some excite laughter, some produce a thrill of sensation in the mind, and some actuate the limbs of the body to move according to their rhythms. But these movements are not produced as a result of the understanding of the meaning of the poems, rather they are present in the very chords of musical instruments. It is said, "He who is not moved by the spring and its blossoms and by Ūd, (lute) and its chords, is a man of incurably wrong temperament." For similar sayings and proverbs, both for and against music, see *Rawḍ al-Akhyār*, pp. 172-79 (Cairo, 1307) by Shaikh Muḥammad b. Qāsim.

2. Sūra, XXXV, 1.

3. Sūra, XXXI, 18.

4. Sūra XXX, 14.

5. Bukhārī, Kit. *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, bāb 19. Muslim, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, bāb 2. By Taghanni bi'l-Qur'ān Bukhārī means either Jihri bi'l-Qur'ān, recitation of the Qur'an with distinct voice or Istighnā' bi'l-Qur'ān, satisfaction after reading the Qur'an, and not the recitation of the Qur'an with sweet voice. Of course Bukhārī quotes the Ḥadīth in which the Prophet praised Abū-Mūsa for his lucid voice, but this does not mean that he has permitted his followers to sing the Qur'an with rhythms.

6. Abū-Mūsa 'Abd-Allāh b. Qais, a Yemenian convert to Islām, was the governor of Basra. He died probably in 42/662. See Ibn-Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, IV, 178, sq., VI, 9. *Enc. of Islam*, s.v. al-Ash'arī.

7. Bukhārī, Kit. *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, bāb 31. Muslim, (*Nawāwī*), Vol. I, 268.

8. *M R K*, II, 299/9.

9. *Nasā'i*, bāb 96.

10. Muslim (Kit. *al-'Idain*, Faṣl 4) clearly states that the two girls were not songstresses, and that 'Ā'isha and the two girls were immature. Cf. al-Ghazzālī, *Ihyā*, II, 245.

viii. The Prophet permitted his disciples to sing in wedding celebrations, and named it *Lahw*, entertainment.

ix. The Prophet listened to the *Hudā* song, and he approved of it.

x. The Prophet used to listen to the recitations of his disciples, and on the day of *Khandaq*, (Battle of the Trench), they recited a verse in front of him.¹ When the Prophet entered Mecca, a man recited to him a poem, composed by 'Abd-Allāh b. Rawāḥa,² and while returning from Khaibar his camel driver recited the same poem, and the Prophet was pleased with it.³

xi. The Prophet listened with approval to the poem, *Bānat Su'ād*,⁴ of Ka'b b. Zuhair.

xii. The Prophet asked Aswad b. Surai' to recite to him the poems in which he praised God. He (Aswad) was, moreover, asked to recite to him a hundred verses from the poem of Umayya b. Abi's-Ṣalt.⁵ The Prophet is also said to have listened to the poem of 'Ā'ishā.

xiii. The Prophet acclaimed Labīd as trustworthy on listening to one of his verses.⁶ He also appreciated the poem of Hassān b. Thābit and prayed to God to assist him with Ruḥ al-Qudus, Gabriel. Once 'Ā'ishā recited a beautiful verse⁷ of Abū-Kabīr al-Hudhalī⁸ to the Prophet, and said, "You are the most worthy of this verse." The Prophet was pleased with her words.

xiv. The Prophet permitted 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Umar, 'Abd-Allāh b. Ja'far and also the people of Madina to listen to Samā'. Moreover, some particular saints attended Samā' and listened to it. Therefore, anybody who considers Samā' as Ḥarām, (forbidden) surely speaks ill of those sages.

xv. The general consensus of the 'Ulemā approved of listening to the songs of birds, so to listen to the sweet sounds of human beings would preferably or equally be permissible. Samā' is the means of attraction of the mind and the thought to the beloved. If the beloved be an unlawful one, Samā' would be declared unlawful, but in case the beloved

1. M R K, II, 300. The verse is:

نحن الذين بايعوا محمدا على الجهاد ما بقينا ابدًا

2. A Khazrajite belonging to Banū-Hāriṭh, and one of the most trustworthy Companions of the Prophet. *Enc. of Isl.*, s.v. 'Abd-Allāh b. Rawāḥa; *Agāhnī*, XV, 29.

3. M R K, II, 300.

4. It has been translated by M. Hidayat Husain in *Islamic Culture*, 1927, Vol. I, pp. 67-84.

5. An Arab poet of the tribe of Thaqif who lived in Ṭā'if. His mother was Ruqiyya bint 'Abd ash-Shams b. 'Abd-Manāf. He died in 8 or 9 A.H. *Enc. of Islām*, s.v. Umayya b. Abi's-Ṣalt.

6. M R K, II, 300. The verse is:

الاكل شئ ما خلا الله باطل وكل نعيم لا محالة زائل

7. The verse is:

واذا نظرت الى امرة وجهه برقت كبرق امارض المتهلل

8. Al-Hudhalī's *Diwān* has been published by Bajnakhtarani, *Journal Asiatique*, Vol. 211 (1927), pp. 1-93. also in Vol. 623 (1923) pp. 59-115. M R K, II, 300 read Abū-Kabir in place of Abū-Kathir.

be God, Samā' should be treated as Qurbat, means of nearness to Him. Again, the delight of the ear in a good voice is like the delight of the eyes with beautiful scenery, of the nose with a good smell, and of the tongue with a good taste. Now, if Samā', which is a source of delight to the ear, be treated as unlawful, then all the aforesaid pleasures must be considered as unlawful.

Under the above circumstances Samā' should be considered as lawful in Islam.

In refutation of the above arguments al-Munbiji says that the view of Ibn-Taimiyya and others that have already been expressed are sufficient to disprove them. As for the first argument, it is no argument at all. "For, a thing by reason of its being relishable to senses does not prove its Ibāhat, Tahrim, Karāhat, or Istihbāb, because such pleasures are due to the functional activities of the five organs. How can one who knows the rules of inference and occasions thereof deduce from these arguments that Samā' is Mubāḥ? He who thinks so is like the man who proves the Ibāhat of Zinā on account of the undeniable pleasure derived by the person who commits it. No one can infer that all agreeable pleasures are lawful, or that all forbidden things are void of pleasure.¹

The sound of Ma'āzif² cannot be deemed lawful though it is sweet to the ear, for the Prophet forbade it. No doubt, a camel or a baby finds pleasure in music, but that cannot be the reason why music should be lawful to the followers of Islam.³

If on the strength of the second argument it is held that a good voice is a blessing of God upon mankind and can be enjoyed by all and sundry without any restriction, it may then be argued that beautiful appearance is also a blessing and as such can be enjoyed indiscriminately. But, as a matter of fact, the Shari'a has not been and can never be a party to its unrestricted sanction. True, 'the braying of asses is the most disagreeable sound,' but that does not imply that all sweet sounds must be lawful.⁴

The third argument is a curious one, because it makes a thing lawful in this world by virtue of its being lawful in the next world. But the fact remains that the Shari'a does not permit the taking of wine or the use of silver, gold, or silk on the ground that the dwellers of Paradise will be using them there. If it is argued that there are definite injunctions of the Shari'a regarding the prohibition of wine, silk, etc. here, whereas there is no such prohibition against Samā' so as to make it unlawful, the reply would be that this very argument again goes to prove the permissibility of music by reason of its Ibāhat in Heaven—a nargument in a circle, and as such untenable.⁵

1. *M R K*, II, 301.

2. Sing. *Mi'zafa*, a musical instrument giving open notes like a harp, psaltery, or barbiton. See Farmer, *A Hist. of Arabian Music*, p. 7.

3. *M R K*, II, 301 sq.

4. *M R K*, II, 302.

5. *Ibid.*

As to the remaining arguments, al-Munbiji is of opinion that if music in general be compared to the lawful Samā', namely Samā' al-Qaṣā'id, listening to odes in praise of God, His Apostle, or His Book, or in censure of the enemies of the Prophet, and if it be said that the Prophet, his disciples, and other Muslims listened to it, the answer would be that this sort of argument has been the cause of people's misconception of the real significance of the Samā' which is allowed in Islam. For they consider their poems, which are full of immodest descriptions, to be just like the pure and innocent poems of Ḥassān b. Thābit, Ka'b b. Zuhair, Aswad b. Surai', etc., but as a matter of fact the Prophet never listened to any poems that contained obscene ideas and uncouth suggestions. Similar is the case when the opponents infer that music is lawful on the ground that the Prophet liked a good voice and encouraged people to recite the Qur'ān with a lucid voice. The recitation of the Qur'ān with good tone is, no doubt, right, (Imām Aḥmad and Ibn-Qaiyyim al-Jawziyyah¹ too hold the same view) but that does not follow that it is lawful to sing the Qur'ān² or to listen to music. These people practically liken the Samā' (listening to) of the Qur'ān to the music of the singing-girls and boys with the accompaniment of Dufūf, tambourines, Ṣunūj, castanets, Shabābāt, flutes, Awtār, stringed instruments, etc., describing al-Qidūd, the stature of the beloved, ath-Thughūr, her front teeth, an-Nuhūr, her breasts, al-Khuṣūr, her waist, and so on. Such music describes Waṣl, union, Firāq, separation, and so forth, all of which are more injurious than the intoxication of wine. The intoxication caused by wine remains a day or so, but the intoxication of love produced by music adheres with a man up to his death.³ As for the strongest argument of the opponents that 'Ā'isha listened to music, and that the Prophet did not prohibit her from listening to it we may answer that it is a weak argument, for did not Abū-Bakr call it Mazmūr ash-Shaitān, flute of the devil? The Prophet did allow it to 'Ā'isha because she was then a minor, and the other two girls were also immature, and the song they were singing related to the battle of Bu'āth. Hence there was no apprehension of corruption on any side. Therefore, this instance cannot prove the Ibāhat, permissibility, of other evil songs. Of course, the Prophet never disapproved of good poetry. He listened to it and encouraged it. Similarly, there is a gulf of difference between the sweet voice of birds and that of women with musical instruments.⁴

1. M R K, II, 299. About Ibn-Qaiyyim al-Jawziyya see Schreiner, *ZDMG*, 53, 59 ff., Brockelmann, *Geschichte*, II, 105 sq. His real name was Shams-ad-Dīn Abū-'Abd-Allāh Muḥammad b. Abi-Bakr. He was a true pupil of Ibn-Taimiyya. Like his teacher he combated the philosophers, the Christians, and the Jews. He was born in 691/1292 and died on 13th Rajab 751/17th Sept. 1350.

2. See also Dārimī, *Sunan*, p. 320 (On the margin of *al-Muntaqā*, Delhi, 1337 bāb, Karahiyyat al-Ilhān fi'l-Qur'ān).

3. M R K, II, 303.

4. *Ibid.*, II, 303-4.

The argument advanced in favour of music that he who disapproves of Samā' disapproves of such and such a saint, is absurd, because we should not accept a thing as permissible, in spite of its evil effects, simply on the ground that it has been adopted by some renowned sages. For example, in the battle of Šiffin sages were being killed on both sides, and when they were being carried to their respective parties, people of each party used to say, "The people of the Heaven have entered Heaven" صارا أهل الجنة . If a sage is alleged to have committed a thing which is Makrūh, reprobated, or Maḥzūr, forbidden, by showing disobedience to God or by explaining away the text, that cannot be a reason why we should not criticise his conduct, nor will that sage cease to be a sage on the ground of his delinquency in that particular action of his. But as a matter of fact, no sages have ever attended music¹ which is likely to seduce the minds of the listeners. The report that Imām Mālik was in favour of music and that he himself played on the 'ūd, (seven-chorded lute), on the ground of which the Madinites themselves listened to music, is absurd, because Imām Mālik is said to have given his opinion about those who used to sing at Madina, as follows: إنما يفعلها عندنا الفساق "Surely it is the sinners of our country who attend music."²

Last but not least, there is a class of people who hold that the angels and the Prophets attend in an invisible way the Samā' of Mukā', whistling

1. M R K, II, 304 sq.

2. M R K, II, 305. Ibn-Taimiyya relates in this connection that once Ishāq b. Mūsā aṭ-Ṭabbā' (Ibn al-Jawzī gives another reading as aṭ-Ṭabbākh, see *Talbīs* l.c., p. 229) asked Mālik about the license for music granted to the Madinites, whereupon he replied, "Surely it is the sinners of our country who attend it." This statement is available, adds Ibn-Taimiyya, in the books of the Mālikites themselves. Further, Ibn-Taimiyya maintains that the cause of the false allegation levelled against Imām Mālik is that the collection of Traditions made by Abū 'Abd-ar-Rahmān as-Sulamī and Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī, in which the allegation occurs, is full of unauthentic reports which have been wrongly considered as true by unexperienced persons. As-Sulamī, on account of his piety, goodness, religiosity, and mystic tendency, collected the sayings indiscriminately, and thus his collection comprised both authentic and unauthentic Traditions. This is why some narrators hesitated in transmitting Traditions from Sulamī. For example, when Baihaqī (Abū-Bakr Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Khusrujirdī, an authority on Tradition and a Shāfi'ī jurist, b. 384/994 d. 458/1065) reports any Tradition from Sulamī, he says: حدثنا أبو عبد الرحمن من أصل سماعه "Abū-'Abd ar-Rahmān narrates to me from his original hearing." Most of the Traditions that have been handed down by the famous narrator Abū'l-Qāsim al-Qushairī in his well-known *Risāla*, are narrated from this Sulamī. Both Sulamī and Maqdisī were renowned narrators of Hadith, and the latter possessed special knowledge in it, and was one of the Huffāz (pl. of Ḥāfiẓ, one who knows one lac of Traditions) but in the narrations of both of them were both genuine and apocryphal Traditions. (See M R K, II, 305 sq.) Adh-Dhahabī considers Maqdisī an unauthentic reporter (See *Tadhkira*, III, 233). Besides the above two narrators of Traditions, there were many others who collected Traditions both right and wrong, and, in course of time it became difficult to distinguish the one from the other. Again, it is not with respect to Samā' alone that they have done so, but there are various other topics, such as Faḍā'il ash-Shuhūr, (on the merits of the lunar months), Faḍā'il al-Ashkhās, (excellence of persons), etc., all of which are either false or exaggerated.

and Taṣḍiya, clapping for their own gratification, in reply to which Ibn-Taimiyya says in a scoffing manner that it is not the Prophets or the angels who attend such sorts of Samā', rather it is the devils who assemble together in the congregation of the Ṣūfis in order to listen to their Samā' and to excite the hearers. Ibn-Taimiyya then tries to score off his opponents by citing a report from Ibn-'Abbās that the Prophet said: "Once the devil asked, 'O my Lord, grant me a house (to live in),' God replied, 'Your house is the Hammām, bath.' The devil asked, 'Give me a Qur'ān (to recite).' 'Your Qur'ān is ash-Shi'r, the poem,' replied God. The devil again asked, 'Appoint for me a Mu'adhdhin, caller to prayer.' 'Your Muadhdhin is the flute,' replied God." Addressing the devil, God says in the Qur'ān, "And entice such of them as thou canst by thy voice assault them with thy horsemen and thy footmen."¹ The Prophet also said in this connection: "Verily I have been forbidden from listening to two immoral voices—one is the voice of idle music and the flute of the devils, and the other is the voice of the slaps on the cheeks and rending of the collars, and of an invocation in the name of the days of ignorance." He further adds that it has been revealed to the divines through intuitions that devils attend the congregation of the Samā' al-Jāhiliyya, heathen music, accompanied with whistles and claps. They also visit the so-called Ṣūfis to excite them to dance at random, and make them work according to their will—the Ṣūfis who resemble the intoxicated people that abandon Dhikr Allāh, remembrance of God, and commit all sorts of nuisance in this world.²

RAQṢ

LET us now come to Raḡṣ. Raḡṣ means dance, but here it does not mean dance in general. It means the so-called emotional dance of the Darwishes. Al-Munbijī's treatment of Raḡṣ in his treatise *Fi's-Samā' wa'r-Raḡṣ* under review is very short, and it is probably directed against the dancing Darwishes of the Mawlawiyya fraternity. Raḡṣ, no doubt, is an outcome of Samā' and this is why the subject does not naturally require a long discussion, and its lawfulness or unlawfulness is moreover dependent on the decision regarding Samā'.

On the problem of Raḡṣ, al-Munbijī quotes the opinion of Imām Ibn-Taimiyya who was once asked to give a Fatwa about a person who composed the following verses in defence of the Samā' and Raḡṣ of the Darwishes.³

انكروا رقصا وقالوا حرام	فعلیهم من أجل ذاك سلام
اعبد الله يا فقيه وصل	والزم الشرع فالسباع حرام
بل حرام عليك ثم حلال	عند قوم احوالهم لاتلام

1. Sūra, XVII, 66.

2. M R K, II, 308 sq.

3. M R K, II, 312.

مثل قوم صفوا وبان لهم من جانب الطور جذوة وكلام
فاذا قوبل السماع بلهو فحرام على الجميع حرام

"They disapproved of Raḡṣ and declared it forbidden. Let them be in peace for such an opinion. Worship God, O ye learned, and say your prayers. Stick to the Shari'a, for Samā' is unlawful, nay, forbidden to you, though it is lawful to a section of people whose conduct is beyond suspicion. They are like those who have become pure, and then there appeared to them a fire and (Divine) speech from the direction of the mountain Ṭūr. (But remember) when music is used as a handmaid of sports, it is forbidden for everybody."

In reply, Ibn-Taimiyya condemns the above verses and says that the Ṣūfis referred to in the above verses have no regard for the Shari'a, and that there cannot be any comparison between these Ṣūfis and the Prophet Moses, although the line *مثل قوم صفوا وبان لهم من جانب الطور جذوة وكلام* leads us to think that these Darwishes are on a par with Moses who was called by God near the mountain—an incident about which the Qur'an says: "When he (Moses) saw fire, and said to his family, 'Tarry ye here, for I perceive a fire: haply I may bring you a brand from it, or find a guide.'"¹ He also cites the following verses of the Qur'an against Raḡṣ. "And walk not proudly on the earth."² "But let thy pace be middling."³ "And the servants of the Beneficent God are they who walk upon the earth softly."⁴ "Therefore, Raḡṣ," says Ibn-Taimiyya, "which comes under the category of proud walking on the earth, has not been sanctioned by God or His Apostle or any Muslim divine. Neither the Prophet nor any one of the early Muslims ever danced in their life. Muslim worship consists of Rukū', genuflection, and *Sujūd*, prostration, with a calm and quiet mind. However, if a man is overpowered by ecstasy and passes the bounds of the Shari'a unconsciously, he may be excused provided that he is very cautious about the cause of his ecstasy. If the ecstasy comes through unlawful causes, he is accountable for it. Such a man may be compared to one who drinks wine knowing that it will intoxicate him. It must not be imagined that lawful ecstasy can ever come when he is drunk, because when drunkenness itself is forbidden, how can its effect (ecstasy) be lawful?"⁵

From the foregoing discussion on Samā' and Raḡṣ, we may conclude that the treatise, *Risālat as-Samā' wa'r-Raḡṣ* by al-Munbiji was directed against the Ṣūfis who used to listen to Samā', and specially against the Mawlawiyya fraternity who encouraged Samā' and Raḡṣ and propagated them amongst their disciples. The author of the treatise was himself a Hanbalite, and the materials used therein were drawn chiefly from the

1. Sūra XX, 9; M R K, II, 312.

2. Sūra XVII, 39.

3. Sūra XXXI, 18.

4. Sūra XXV, 64.

5. M R K, II, 297 sq.

great exponents of the Hanbalite school, namely, Ibn al-Jawzī and Ibn-Taimiyya. The former left an interesting book called *Talbis Iblīs*, or Devil's Delusion (referred to above), in which he exposed the Ṣūfis in various ways, while the latter ridiculed them whenever occasion arose.¹ Throughout his lifetime Ibn-Taimiyya was opposed to the cult of the Ṣūfis, which was one of the causes of his repeated imprisonments.

We have noticed Ibn-Taimiyya's division of Samā' into three classes of which the first is a natural sequel to his literal interpretation of the word Samā', otherwise listening to the Qur'ānic verses cannot be deemed Samā' in any way. The second class of Samā' (i.e. the unlawful Samā') comprises all kinds of music not excepting the one practised by the Ṣūfis, and the third, namely the permissible Samā' is very limited, including as it does only those kinds of Samā' that were in vogue during the lifetime of the Prophet, and against which he is not said to have left any express injunction. These are, as we have noticed, Samā' al-Qaṣā'id, listening to poems like those of Ḥassān b. Thābit, Ka'b b. Zuhair, Umayya b. Abi's-Ṣalt, Labīd, etc. But this cannot be a precedent to the permissibility of music at any subsequent time.

Ibn-Taimiyya, as it appears, followed his predecessor Ibn al-Jawzī² who was a veteran opposer of Samā' and Raqs, and proved their illegality by a number of Traditions and even by the help of the Qur'ānic verses.³

Analysing the arguments of al-Munbijī on Samā' we arrive at the following conclusion :—

The Samā' of the Darwishes did not exist during the early period of Islām. It originated during the last part of the second century A.H., and therefore we cannot reasonably expect any explicit order of the Sharī'a either for or against it. Traditions narrated by al-Maqdisī and Suhrawardī in favour of Samā' are unauthentic, and Ḥaḍrat 'Ā'isha's listening to the songs of the two minor Anṣār girls cannot be an excuse for proving the lawfulness of the Samā' of the Darwishes. Ibn ar-Rāwandī, al-Fārābī, Ibn-Sīna, etc., who practised Samā' and spread the custom of listening to it, have been considered by Ibn-Taimiyya as Zanādiqa or irreligious persons. None of the leaders of the four schools of thought ever approved of Samā'. What has been reported about Imām Mālik's approval of Samā' at Madina is false. The Sūfī Shaikhs also were against Samā' and some of those who once attended Samā' in their early days, gave it up ultimately. The Prophet's alleged approval of the Hudā song or the songs of the pilgrims describing the Ka'ba and the Zamzam cannot be considered as proofs for legalising the Samā' of the Darwishes that are extant now.

Further, we may add here the view advocated by the Imām al-Ghazzālī in his famous work, *Ihyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn*. To him, Samā' of the Darwishes

1. *M R K*, II, 282 sq. ; *M R K*, I, 38, 56 sq., etc.

2. See his *Talbis I.c.*, pp. 223-25 (Cairo, 1928).

3. *Sūra XXXI*, 5 ; *LIII*, 61 ; *XVII*, 66.

is permissible under strict conditions both disciplinary and prohibitory.¹ But, as a matter of fact, none of the conditions are actually observed in an assembly of Samā'. For example, the very first disciplinary condition (Ādāb) that Zamān (time), Makān (place), and Ikhwān (friends who will listen) must be considered before a man attends Samā', is actually disregarded in these days. The so-called Darwishes listen to Samā' at the time of prayer, and also at places where every one, even the undesirable persons, can attend and commit sins of various types. Similarly to quote only one of the prohibitory conditions ('Awārid), the injunction that boys or girls must not sing in an assembly of Samā' is seldom followed, and as a matter of fact in some cases the Samā' is not complete without them. Therefore, we can conclude that the Samā' of the present day cannot be declared lawful in Islām.² Ḥaḍrat Shaikh Nizām ad-Dīn Awliya and Ḥaḍrat Muḥiy-ad-Dīn al-Jilānī did not allow their disciples to attend Samā' where there was music with the accompaniment of the tambourine, flute, drum, etc.³ Moreover, a mere glance at the books on Fiqh and legal decisions, such as *Durr al-Mukhtār*⁴ and *Fatāwa-i-'Alamgiri*⁵ will convince us that Samā' cannot be declared lawful in Islam.

Now, a word about Raḡṣ or the so-called dance of the Darwishes. Evidently Raḡṣ is an outcome of ecstasy caused by Samā'. Being overpowered by Divine love and Dhikr Allāh or remembrances of God, a Ṣūfī becomes unconscious and moves the limbs of his body according to the rhythms of the tune and beatings of the Duff. Speaking about the reality (Ḥaqīqat) of this ecstasy, al-Ghazzālī quotes a number of sayings of the Ṣūfīs and says that a certain Ṣūfī was asked about the cause of the spontaneous movements of the limbs of the body according to the rhythms and strokes, to which the Ṣūfīs replied:

ذلك عشق عقلی والعاشق العقلی لا يحتاج الى ان يناغی معشوقه بالعنق الجرمی بل يناغیه ويناجیه بالتبسم و اللعظ و الحركة اللطيفة بالحاجب والعفن والاشارة .

“ That is a spiritual love, and such a lover is not required to count his beloved by oral expressions, but the whispers blandishments to his beloved through his smilings, glances, and the tender movements of his

1. *Thyā* (Cairo, 1348), Vol. II, 265-69, 248-50. Here he lays down five disciplinary conditions (Ādāb) and five prohibitory conditions ('Awārid) that must be observed before one listens to Samā'.

2. In this connection consult Mawlānā Ashraf 'Alī Thānawī, *Ḥaqq as-Samā'*, p. 8 sq.

3. Ibid.; Ḥaḍrat Nizām ad-Dīn Awliya' was in favour of Samā', but he did not approve of it in accompaniment with musical instruments. Regarding the interesting controversy between the Shaikh and the Fuqahā of Delhi, held during the reign of Ghiyāth ad-Dīn Tughlaq, whether Samā' was lawful or unlawful, see *Siyar al-Awliya'* by Mīr Khurd, and also consult *Mu'arīf* (Vol. II, No. 6, pp. 414-419) for a valuable criticism of the statement of *Tā'rīkh Firishta* about the Shaikh's view on Samā'.

4. Vol. IV, 201 (Urdu translation by Khurram 'Alī and Muḥammad Ḥasan Ṣiddiqī, Nawalkishore Press, 1915).

5. Vol. IV, 144 (Nawalkishore Press, 1890).

eyebrows, and eyelids, and other hints."¹ This is certainly a state of unconsciousness due to excessive ecstasy. When in this state the devotee forgets everything of the commandments of the Sharī'a, and may, therefore, be excused for his conduct in going beyond the bounds of the Sharī'a, but this cannot be an argument in favour of the Raqs of the Darwishes as it is in vogue nowadays in the Khānqās around. The foregoing Fatwā of Imām Ibn-Taimiyya does not in anyway recommend the dance of the Darwishes.

SIRAJUL HAQ.

1. *Iḥyā' l.c.*, Vol. II, 258.

AL-MUHALLAB B. ABĪ SUFRA

[THIS article epitomises the results of the work carried on by the author as research scholar under the direction of 'Allāma 'Abdul-'Azīz al-Maimanī, Chairman of the Department of Arabic, Muslim University, Aligarh, and embodied in a thesis accepted for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in April, 1942. For the considerations of space, the scope of the present article is limited to a brief sketch of al-Muhallab's early career and his campaign against the 'Azāriqa ; only certain important points are dealt with at some length while long periods are covered summarily. The original thesis, however, covers the full range of the life of al-Muhallab in a befitting background, and aims at bringing out al-Muhallab's distinctive qualities of generalship and at estimating his contribution to the Arabs' art of warfare, for want of which his true place in history has so far remained unrealised.

An article summing up al-Muhallab's peculiar method of warfare and distinctive qualities of generalship has already appeared in the issue of *Islamic Culture* for January 1943.

The sources for the life of al-Muhallab are the original authorities on history which furnish us with ample material for the construction of an account of his military exploits as well as for a critical examination of the merits of his generalship and the distinctive features of his strategy. But historical authorities alone do not shed sufficient light on the non-military aspects of his life, for which they are to be supplemented with works classed as belles lettres. These literary works abound in illustrations of his human qualities and cultural tastes, as well as in illuminating references to his deeds by poets and commentators. Al-Muhallab is also noticed among the Rāwīs of the Hadīth. It has also been the special care of the author to search for, and to examine critically, all such references to the life and work of al-Muhallab as are to be found in poetry and classical prose].

I.

WAS HE AN ARAB ?

AL-MUHALLAB was descended from al-'Atīk, the progenitor of a sub-branch of the South Arabian tribe, al-Azd. His father, Abū Šufra, was a native of Dabā, the old principal port and town of 'Umān. The insinuation in the verses of a few contemporary poets, viz., Ziyād

al-A'jam¹, Ka'b al-Ashqarī,² and al-Farazdaq³ that Abū-Şufra was really a non-Arab belonging to Khuzistān or the island of Khārak (opposite the mouth of the river Shāpūr in the Persian Gulf) is not to be taken seriously.

Such references are but the irresponsible utterances, without any authoritative value, of unscrupulous poets who, in accordance with the spirit of the time, were moved by tribal jealousies and still more were motivated by selfish considerations of monetary gain. Often and without any compunction they shifted their allegiance from their erstwhile patron to his supplanter, and the praise of the latter invariably involved a satire on the former. However, it must be admitted that they seized upon a common prejudice prevalent among the Arabs of Central Arabia not particularly against al-Mahāliba alone but against the whole of Azd-ʿUmān in general. The truth is that, having emigrated from their original home in Yaman consequent upon the bursting of the Dam of Ma'rib, the Azd-ʿUmān had settled in the far-off maritime region of ʿUmān, then under Persian suzerainty, as far back as during the time of Ardashīr b. Bābak (226-241 A.D.) who, it is reported, made them boatmen and fishers (Yāqūt, IV, 522). No doubt, it was but natural for the dwellers in a coastal region to be attracted to the sea and take to seamanship and fishing. These two callings were considered highly derogatory to the honour of a pure Arab and hence they form the main burden of the satires against them. Even the name *Mazun* (or *Muzun*), which was often applied to them, contained a disparaging reference to the same calling of seamanship.⁴ Moreover, the Azd in ʿUmān lived amidst a large non-Arab population and were also cut off from any deep and intimate contact

1. Ziyād al-A'jam says :—

هل تسمع الازد مايقال لها في ساحة الدار أم بهاصم
اختن القوم بعد ما هموا واستنر بوا ضلة وهم عجم

The third line is stated to refer particularly to Abū-Şufra who had remained uncircumcised till he was far advanced in age (ʿIbn-Hajar : *Al-Isāba*, IV, 109). The full report in *Agh.* XIII, 56, however, makes it clear that the verse was composed by Ziyād al-A'jam only in a fit of tribal jealousy, with a view to establishing the superiority of his own tribe, ʿAbd al-Qais, over that of the rival poet, Ka'b al-Ashqarī, who happened to belong to the same tribe as al-Muhallab.

2. Ka'b al-Ashqarī was for a long time the family poet of the Mahālib, yet he felt no scruples in satirizing them and ascribing Persian names to Abū-Şufra and his ancestors when it helped him to flatter Qutaiba b. Muslim, the powerful Qaisite, supplanter of Yazid b. al-Muhallab. Cf. verses in *Agh.* XIII, 61; Yāqūt II, 387 and *Tab.* II, 1239-40.

3. See *Diwān* (ed. aṣ-Şawī, 1353 A.H.). 11-12 and 254. During the heyday of their ascendancy, however, al-Farazdaq had no scruples in lavishing praises on the Muhallabids (*Diwān*, 374), who had long remained the target of his most vehement satires and whom he again satirized after their tragic downfall, when he had nothing to hope for or fear from them.

4. 'Mazun' is variously explained (vide *Taj* under مزن as (a) the Persian name of ʿUmān as (b) connoting Mallāhīn (seamen), and as (c) a small town in ʿUmān which was inhabited exclusively by Jews and seamen. In any case, it contained a reference to seamanship.

with their Arab brethren inland. This could not but conduce to their giving up many Arab notions and habits and developing un-Arab ones in their place. Thus if we scrutinize closely the satires and invectives against the Azd-‘Umān, we shall find that they stress not so much their non-Arab origin as the un-Arab way of life practised by them. The assertion of their non-Arab origin is made just by way of a hyperbole in view of their un-Arab calling and religious and social practices. This is exactly the case, for instance, with the satires of al-Farazdaq against al-Muhallab. The main theme on which the poet dilates is that the ancestors and tribesmen of al-Muhallab practised seamanship; that they did not worship Yaghūth or go round ad-Duwār as the Arabs did; that they did not indulge in gambling and drinking-bouts, which were the proud boast of a pure Arab; that they knew not circumcision, which was one of the observances of Fītrah dating from the time of Abraham, etc., etc. (*vide Diwān*, 11-12 and 254). Surely all this may be true but the Arab origin may still remain unquestioned.

Abū-Šufra left ‘Umān in the capacity of a warrior in the expedition organised by ‘Uthmān b. Abī-al-Āṣī ath-Thaqafī, the governor of al-Bahrain and ‘Umān, and was sent abroad under the command of his brother, al-Ḥakam b. Abī-al-Āṣī, to cross the sea and seek new conquests in the land of Fārs about the year 19 A.H. In the following year Abū-Šufra is noticed as commanding the left wing of al-Ḥakam’s army in the battle of Rāshahr which was fought against Shahrak, the Marzubān of Fārs.¹ He must have settled in al-Baṣra about the year 21 A.H. when al-Muhallab is noticed with the Baṣran army.

II.

AL-MUHALLAB’S EARLY CAREER

AL-MUHALLAB was born in the year 7 A.H. We first find mention of him as serving in the Baṣran army commanded by Abū-Mūsa al-Ash‘arī in the year 21 A.H.,² his age at that time being barely fourteen years. After the defeat of the Azd, who fought on the side of ‘Ā’isha, in the Battle of the Camel (year 36 A.H.) al-Muhallab attracted the attention of ‘Alī and received his first command at the latter’s hands at the age of 29.³ In the year 43 A.H. he emerged as one of the Ashrāf, i.e., prominent nobles, accompanying ‘Abdur-Rahmān b. Samura into the province of Sijistān and is expressly mentioned as having played a part in the siege of the ultimate capture of Kābul.⁴

1. *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, (ed. De Goeje), 386-77.

2. *Ibid.*, 377 seq.

3. *Al-‘Isāba* (Cairo, 1328 A.H.), III, 535.

4. *Futūḥ*, 396; I, *Athīr*, (Cairo 1301 A.H.), III, 221.

In the following year (A.H. 44/A.D. 664), al-Muhallab detached himself from the main army of 'Abdur-Rahmān and advancing from the direction of Kābul made an incursion into the territory lying between that city and Multān on the north-western portion of India. Only two places,—Banna (Bannu) and Al'ahwār (Lahore)—are named as having been visited by him during this expedition, and in the same connection there is also mention of an encounter between him and eighteen "Turk" horsemen, all of whom were killed, in the country of al-Qiqān (Baluchistan). This encounter, though not so very important, is yet remarkable in that it led to the introduction of an innovation in the Muslim army. Observing that the "Turk" horsemen, all of whom rode crop-tailed horses, were exceptionally brisk and active, al-Muhallab felt that cropped tails facilitated quick movement and readily adopted the practice for his own army. Thus he is remembered as the first Muslim who docked the tail of his horses.¹

No great battle is reported during this incursion; only a few local skirmishes could have taken place, as is suggested by the words, "the enemy opposed him (al-Muhallab) and fought him and his followers."² Nor does it seem likely that al-Muhallab should have brought a large and numerous army with him or that the attack was in anyway well-planned. In all probability he could only have been in command of a small detachment, consisting mostly of his own tribesmen, the 'Azdites. Hence it is not surprising that the inroad left no lasting effects and that it did not result in new annexations to the Caliphate. Farishta adds that al-Muhallab returned to the headquarters of the army at Khurāsān with plunder and many prisoners. This, indeed, is all that he could have gained. Yet this dash into the mountainous country on the north-west of India, and even as far as Lahore inside it, was a bold stroke of military adventure. No doubt, the inhospitable country of Qiqān had been attempted even before, but the vicinity of Bannu and Lahore had not yet been reached by the Muslim warriors. Farishta is right in saying of him that he was "the first chieftain who spread the banners of the true faith on the plains of Hind." Even the Muslim penetration into as-Sind in later times came through the southern region of Makrān; hence, al-Muhallab's expedition from the north-west stands out conspicuous.

During the years 45-64 A.H. al-Muhallab is noticed as a high military official in the retinue of the various governors who were appointed to the province of Khurāsān from time to time, viz., al-Hakam b. Amr al-Ghifār, Sa'id b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, and Salm b. Ziyād. In this capacity he made himself prominent enough for his qualities of resourcefulness and regard for strategy (See Tab., II, 109, 393-4) and amply proved his fortitude, bravery, and spirit of military adventure. It must, however, be noted that al-Muhallab had not yet had an opportunity of acting as

1. *Futūḥ*, 432; I, 'Athīr, III, 225; Yāqūt, I, 747. Notice of this expedition is also found in Elliot, II, 414-15.

2. *Futūḥ*, p. 432.

independent commander, in which position alone he could bring into full play his distinctive qualities of leadership and strategic manoeuvring. This position was to be his from now onwards, and therefore it is only in the subsequent years of his life that we see him at his best.

III.

AL-MUHALLAB'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE AZĀRIQA

HAVING previously defeated the two Baṣran expeditions sent against them, the Azāriqa knocked at the very gates of al-Baṣra early in the year 66 A.H. In their hour of distress the terror-stricken inhabitants of the town flocked round al-Muhallab and entreated him to assume the leadership of the campaign against the Azāriqa. Al-Muhallab, however, refused to do so until the following conditions were granted to him : —

1. That he should have authority to recruit for service whomsoever he liked from among the nobles and distinguished warriors ;
2. That he should have at his disposal a sum from the Bait al-Māl with which to provide for his troops ;
3. That he should be given authority over all the lands that he subdued ; and
4. That he should be authorised to spend, out of the revenue of the lands subdued by him, as much as he deemed fit on the maintenance of his troops as well as on all other requirements of the campaign.

These terms, which were so insistently pressed by al-Muhallab, are really far more important than they at first appear to be. It speaks volumes for al-Muhallab's foresight and capacity for systematic planning that, in the interests of the campaign itself, he assured himself beforehand of the resources with which to carry on the war unhampered and independently of any other authority. That independence of action formed the cherished object of al-Muhallab is borne out by the account in *ad-Dīnawarī (al-Akḥbār at-Tiwāl, Leyden, 1888, pp. 281-82)* where it is mentioned that al-Muhallab expressly stipulated that he should be given unfettered discretion in the conduct of the campaign and that there should be absolutely no interference with his plans from any quarter whatsoever. As a further proof of his sincerity of purpose he also expressed his willingness to serve under any other general in case the Baṣrans were not prepared to accede to his terms. Thus we see that the terms reveal the calm and calculating mind of al-Muhallab. To foresee the nature of the coming struggle is one of the essential attributes of a military general, and al-Muhallab amply proved this.

Assuming command of the campaign against the Azāriqa in the beginning of the year 66 A.H., when he had already attained to the ripe

age of 59, al-Muhallab lost no time in setting in right earnest about the preliminary preparations. He selected for his army twelve thousand recruits from all the five wards of the garrison town of al-Baṣra and then turned to the all-important question of equipment. The funds in the Bait-u'l-Māl did not exceed two hundred thousand dirhems. As it would not do to draw upon these meagre and inadequate reserves, al-Muhallab had to tap some other source. With this extraordinary resourcefulness, he conceived of a very bold and an entirely original plan of providing the necessary funds. The Khārijite incursions had almost paralysed the up-country trade and the commerce of the city, which depended largely on the import of raw materials and commodities from al-Ahwāz and Fārs, was completely at a standstill. Al-Muhallab assembled the traders of al-Baṣra and impressed upon them that the only hope of the revival of their trade, which they had lost for the last one year, lay in the extermination of the menace of the Azāriqa. Once the point was driven home to them that they had a genuine stake in the success of al-Muhallab's campaign, they willingly agreed to contribute their mite by advancing large credits on the assurance of early payment and a full recognition of their services afterwards. With the credit thus available to him, al-Muhallab completed the equipment of his army. Padded over-coats (الغفائن) and quilted gaiters (البرائن المشوة بالصوف) are particularly mentioned as some of the articles of equipment.

THE BATTLE AT AL-JISR.

AL-MUHALLAB set before him as his immediate objective the dislodging of the Azāriqa from the threatening position which they had occupied on the other side of the Dijlatu'l-'Awṛā'. The town of al-Baṣra lay twelve miles to the west of the river and was connected with it by means of two canals—Nahr Ma'qil in the north-east and Nahr al-Ubulla in the south-east (Le Strange: *Eastern Caliphate*, p. 44). Thus the road to the east passed over two bridges, the one across Nahr Ma'qil (Cf. Ṭab., II, 1350, 6) in close proximity to the city, and the other over the main stream farther on. These two bridges are generally referred to in the annals as Jisru'l-Baṣra (probably identical with al-Jisru'l-Aṣghar) and al-Jisru'l-Akbar respectively. It was on the eastern extremity of al-Jisru'l-'Akbar that az-Zubair b. al-Māhūz, the Azraqite lieutenant was encamped. Advancing from al-Baṣra in the west, al-Muhallab alighted at the western end of it, his troops following him mostly on foot. The bridge having previously been destroyed by the Baṣrans themselves, al-Muhallab requisitioned a number of boats in which he rushed across the river a contingent led by his son, al-Mughīra. As they neared the other shore, the enemy fell upon them and put up a strong fight to prevent their landing. At the end of a hard and close struggle, the Azāriqa lost ground, chiefly owing to al-Mughīra's strong archery. Al-Mughīra's forces at last succeeded in getting

a foothold on the other bank and kept the enemy at bay till al-Muhallab built the bridge and crossed the river with the main body of his troops. Al-Muhallab only found the Azāriqa fleeing before the Baṣrans, and he forbade his men to pursue them. He would not advance a step further without consolidating the ground he had gained, thereby also safeguarding his line of communications and retreat.

The battle at al-Jisr was followed by another one at Sūlāf, a place situated to the west of the Dujail, in which the army of al-Muhallab proved unable to withstand the whirlwind attack of the enemy and broke in disorder. Al-Muhallab, however, somehow succeeded in regrouping his army and soon braced himself for a third battle at Sillā-wa-Sillibrā in the district of al-Ahwāz. Both as regards vicissitudes and intensity, this battle proved to be the fiercest yet fought between al-Muhallab and the Azāriqa. Al-Muhallab was completely routed on the third day of the battle. It says much for his presence of mind, his indomitable courage, and confidence that he turned the tables against his foe the following day. He knew that a considerable number of the Azraqite soldiers had gone far off in pursuit of the fleeing remnant of his own army. Those who remained in the camp were complacently gloating over their victory.

It never occurred to them that, after the events of the previous day, it would ever be possible for al-Muhallab to muster courage and strength to attempt another offensive against them. No doubt, the Azāriqa had relaxed, but al-Muhallab was not the man to relax his unrelenting watch on the enemy. He launched a surprise attack with barely three thousand men, which succeeded very well and resulted in the death of the Azraqite chief, 'Ubaidullāh b. al-Māhūz (Shavvāl, 66. A.H.).

It must be remembered that this triumph of al-Muhallab was not due to mere chance or the rashness born of despair. It was a well thought-out, premeditated plan which worked out exactly according to calculations. Moreover, the Baṣrans embarked upon it with a full consciousness of their inferiority in numbers as well as equipment. It is recorded that despite the best and constant efforts of al-Muhallab, the Azāriqa were still superior in equipment, in the number of horses and in arms. They had drained the whole country from Kirmān to al-Ahwāz and hence were beset by no financial difficulties such as worried al-Muhallab. It was to make up this deficiency in arms and equipment that al-Muhallab hit upon a strange but, nevertheless, effective make-shift device. He asked every one of his soldiers to provide himself with a bag in which to carry stones which he should hurl in the face of his opponent, for "they (the stones) will serve to startle the horses and to turn their faces as well as to confound the footmen and to repel them." He even suggested to them to have recourse to such tricks as to shoot their spears like arrows and then, getting them out of the victim's bodies to do the same with them again and again; thus it was only the Baṣrans' confidence in their own prowess and in the strategy and resourcefulness of their worthy commander that spurred them on to ultimate triumph and buoyed up their spirits during the most exacting

trials. It is noteworthy that even the apparently worthless devices suggested by al-Muhallab were actually practised by his soldiers with immense advantage, and they proved as helpful as al-Muhallab had anticipated.¹

After the victory at Sillā-wa-Sillibrā, al-Muhallab was so firmly established and the Azāriqa so greatly weakened that the latter had to give up all hope of gaining an advantage over the former for the time being. Accordingly they, under their new leader az-Zubair b. 'Alī b. al-Māhūz, withdrew into the regions of Isfahān and Arrajān in the north-east and the south-east respectively. Prudently enough, al-Muhallab himself preferred not to take the initiative and launch a fresh offensive against them, because, after the hard-won victory at Sillā-wa-Sillibrā, which was gained at an immense cost to his own strength, he had no striking power left to seek an encounter with confidence in his own success. He therefore only confined himself to resisting their occasional incursions into Khuzistān and al-Ahwāz. Yet he attended to his defence with such alertness, alacrity, and vigour that the enemy could never catch him unawares and regain an inch of the ground previously lost to him.

Al-Muhallab was recalled from the leadership of the campaign against the Azāriqa in the beginning of the year 67 by the new governor of al-Baṣra, Muṣ'ab b. az-Zubair, who considered him indispensable for success in the expedition against al-Mukhtār. Al-Muhallab's actual part in the expedition fully justified the fond hopes of Muṣ'ab who afterwards appointed him governor of al-Mauṣil, the strategic importance of which region was quite supreme at that time in view of the threatened advance of 'Abdul-Malik from Syria. Al-Muhallab's governorship of al-Muṣil lasted till about the middle of the year 71 A.H., during which period 'Umar b. 'Ubaidullāh b. Ma'mar led the campaign against the Azāriqa without any conspicuous results. On many occasions he ignominiously failed to check the onrush of the Azāriqa, who advanced within an alarmingly short distance of al-Baṣra. It was on one such occasion in A.H. 68 that Ḥamza b. 'Abdullāh b. az-Zubair, the then governor of al-Baṣra felt compelled to interrupt al-Muhallab's governorship of al-Mauṣil and to entrust him a second time with the leadership of the campaign against the Azāriqa in response to the popular clamour of the Baṣrans, for whom al-Muhallab had come to signify a guarantee of safety in himself.

The second period of al-Muhallab's campaign against the Azāriqa, however, lasted just a year, because he was soon sent back to al-Muṣil after he had pushed the Azāriqa back to Isfahān.² About the middle of the year 71 A.H. there arose a very critical situation consequent upon the planning by Qatari b. al-Fujā'a, the leader of the Azāriqa of a stab in the back from the east, as soon as Muṣ'ab had left for Maskin in order to meet 'Abdul-Malik, who was advancing from the north-west. Muṣ'ab was now faced with a very difficult situation. For more than a couple of

1. *Al-Kāmil* (Leipzig), 636 ; 638.

2. *Ibid.*, 646.

years he had made it a cardinal point of his military policy to keep al-Muhallab in al-Mausil so as to have his invaluable help at the time of 'Abdul-Malik's threatened advance from Syria. But now that the threatened danger did actually materialise, he could not but go without the help which he had so long valued. He would have very much liked to keep al-Muhallab with himself on the Syrian front, but the Baṣrans would not let him depart from the city unless al-Muhallab, and none other than he, was sent to stem the tide of the Azāriqa's advance. So Muṣ'ab had no alternative but to ask al-Muhallab to resume the leadership of the campaign a third time. Muṣ'ab was thus deprived of the help of al-Muhallab on the Syrian front, which, as was pointed out by al-Muhallab himself, was all the more necessary because the chiefs of both the cities, al-Baṣra and al-Kūfa, had already entered into correspondence with the enemy and hence their adherence and loyalty could not be depended upon.¹

Al-Muhallab was still pitted against Azāriqa at Rāmahurmuz when Muṣ'ab fell at Maskin in Jumādā, 72 A.H. Soon he received a letter from the victorious 'Abdul-Malik promising him a full recognition of his merits and formally commissioning him on his behalf. His old master having fallen, al-Muhallab had no hesitation in acknowledging obedience to the new one and forthwith took the oath of allegiance to 'Abdul-Malik from his soldiers. He, however, made it quite clear in his reply to 'Abdul-Malik that he did so only in order to fall into line with the rest of the community and to maintain its solidarity, rather than from any temptation of material gain (*Anṣab al-Ashrāf*, Jerusalem, 1938, IV, p. 158). This is amply borne out by his conduct throughout. He served Muṣ'ab faithfully and loyally as long as the latter lived and wielded authority over the province. The loyal offer of his services which he, of his own accord, made to Muṣ'ab just when the other chiefs were busy promoting their treacherous designs, is a positive proof that his honesty, integrity, and loyalty were unimpeachable. With the fall of Muṣ'ab, however, al-'Irāq lay at the feet of the new conqueror. No doubt, 'Abdullāh b. az-Zubair was still there at Mecca, but was he in a position to regain his lost possessions even to maintain his authority over al-Hijāz against his powerful rival? Al-Muhallab, with his deep knowledge of military affairs, could not have failed to foresee that the position of the Caliph at Mecca was so precarious and untenable as to make his fall inevitable and mere a matter of time. Similarly, al-Muhallab must also have realised that he alone, however powerful and influential he might have been, could offer no effective resistance to the Syrian conqueror, especially when the chiefs of al-Baṣra and al-Kūfa had already betrayed their lord and the internal conditions of the province were far from reassuring. In the circumstances, realism and prudence demanded what al-Muhallab did, i.e., not to stick to a leaky boat when the leaks are irreparable beyond hope. Even if views may differ about the advisability of the course adopted by al-Muhallab, his motive

1. Ibn-Athīr, IV, 158.

at least was quite unimpeachable, inasmuch as the events immediately preceding his change of allegiance show that he was strong and scrupulous enough not to be guided by selfish considerations alone. It must be remembered that the faithful adherence of al-Muhallab to Muṣ'ab up to the very last moment, in contrast with the attitude of other nobles, was deeply impressed on the hearts of the people. At a later date al-Ḥajjāj pointed out the change as an argument for mistrusting the Mahāliba, but 'Abdul-Malik was sure that their fidelity to their former masters was only a guarantee of their fidelity towards him.¹

Now 'Abdul-Malik's ardent recognition of the superb merits of al-Muhallab and his express orders that the latter should be given a free hand in the conduct of the campaign against the Azāriqa roused the jealousy of Khālid b. 'Abdullāh and Bishr b. Marwān, whom the Khalifa successively appointed to the governorship of al-'Irāq. They were jealous that al-Muhallab should stand so high in the estimation of the Khalifa as to receive his commands direct without any reference to the local governor, and that the local population should consider him to be indispensable to their safety and protection. Khālid b. 'Abdullāh, therefore, made over the command of the campaign to his own brother, 'Abd-ul-'Azīz, in utter disregard of the wishes of 'Abdul Malik. 'Abdul-'Azīz suffered a shameful defeat, whereupon the Khalifa ordered Khālid himself to proceed against the Azāriqa in company with al-Muhallab, who was to be consulted in every matter.¹ Khālid, however, obeyed the orders under duress and returned to headquarters after only one engagement with Qatārī, in which, to use the words of the Azāriqa, he would have been annihilated but for the presence of the "Sorcerer of Muzūn" (i.e. Al-Muhallab). Bishr's enmity towards al-Muhallab went to such extreme lengths that he even plotted against the latter's life.² Still he was compelled by 'Abdul-Malik to send al-Muhallab once again to lead the campaign against the Azāriqa.

Thus al-Muhallab assumed command of the campaign against the Azāriqa for the fourth and last time in 74 A.H. Within a few months, while al-Muhallab had not yet advanced beyond Rāmahurmuz, Bishr died. The disappearance of the permanent head and the weakness of the government roused spirit of defection among the Kūfan soldiers and the infection soon spread among the Baṣrans as well. It was now quite clear that a strong and stable provincial government and an earnestly helpful governor were essential for the successful conclusion of the campaign. Fortunately enough, 'Abdul-Malik's choice of a successor to the governorship of al-'Irāq fell upon al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, the right man of the hour, who whatever view may be taken about the moral admissibility of his

1. Tab., II, 1140 ; 1143-4.

2. Ibid., 825.

3. Ibn-Qutaiba ; *Al-Imāmat was-Siyāsāt*, II, 77.

methods, was singularly adept in reducing the rebels to obedience and evolving order from chaos.

As a result of the stern measures taken by al-Ḥajjāj, the troops poured upon al-Muhallab in such large numbers that he exclaimed, "Now, certainly, the enemy will be finally defeated." Soon al-Muhallab launched a vigorous offensive at Kāzarūn, in the month of Ramaḍān, 75 A.H. Victory was almost complete when the enemy made a night attack on the Kūfan contingent commanded by Ibn-Mikhnaf, who had to pay dearly with his own life as well as the lives of a large number of his troops for the haughty disregard of al-Muhallab's warning to take the necessary precautions.

The offensive at Kāzarūn was followed by a prolonged lull for over two years, during which both the contending armies lay opposite each other in Sābūr, the operations being confined to mere occasional skirmishing. Now al-Muhallab's deliberate avoidance of a straight combat till such time as the enemy was exhausted as regards morale and material resources, was quite unintelligible to al-Ḥajjāj. In his impatience, he sent a number of reproachful messages giving vent to his suspicions that al-Muhallab procrastinated with the Azāriqa with the selfish motive of maintaining himself in a lucrative position, and urging upon him to rush headlong into a desperate head-on encounter. Al-Muhallab, however, showed an amazing confidence in his own judgment, as well as moral courage, in resisting pressure from his overlord. As a matter of fact, the conditions were such that no advance was possible. The Azraqites were still undaunted and the balance of power was almost equal on either side.

Any attempt to force the enemy back resulted only in heavy losses on both sides without any advantage to either. It was, therefore, but wise and expedient on the part of al-Muhallab to wait patiently for such time as the Azraqites were worn out and showed signs of weakness.

Such an opportunity seems to have occurred about the end of the year 77 A.H., when al-Muhallab launched an attack on the Azraqites which is mentioned in the annals as the Day of al-Bustān.¹ No details are available and even al-Bustān remains unidentified. Yet the battle seems to have been a major one initiated at the instance of al-Muhallab. Thus it can be taken as marking a turn in the course of the war. Now at last the moment to strike had come and al-Muhallab was not the man to ignore it. Henceforth he would allow no respite to the enemy. He at once launched a drive aimed at squeezing the Azāriqa out of Fārs. At the same time he also played another trump-card, i.e., al-Khada' (as distinguished from 'al-Ḥarb'), which succeeded singularly and profited him immensely.

It must be remembered that the Azraqites were not rebels or depraved criminals who could be subdued by mere force of arms. They were the selfless champions of a certain religious creed, no matter how destructive

1. Tab., II, 1003.

it was, and the destruction of their unity and their faith was a prerequisite of their own annihilation. Al-Muhallab had clearly realised this from the very beginning when he said that he counted upon a split among the Azāriqa themselves for their destruction. But dissensions were not left to arise of themselves; al-Muhallab himself sowed the seeds of discord. *Al-Kāmil* (677-79) records three successive moves on his part in this direction :—

1. It so happened that there was an Azraqite blacksmith called Abzā who made poisoned arrows which were used against the army of al-Muhallab. When the matter was brought to the notice of al-Muhallab he conceived of a plan that was specially well-adapted in view of the rash fanaticism of the Azraqites. He commissioned a man to go secretly and cautiously to the camp of the Azāriqa with a letter and a purse of one thousand dirhems and to drop them there. The letter was addressed to Abzā and contained the following :—

“ I am in receipt of your arrows and am sending you one thousand dirhems. So receive the amount and send us more of the arrows. ”

As was intended, the letter and the dirhems fell into the hands of Qatārī, who summoned Abzā and questioned him about the matter. Abzā, innocent as he was, denied all knowledge of the letter or the dirhems. He was nevertheless beheaded by orders of Qatārī. This action of Qatārī met with the disapproval of a prominent follower of his, ‘Abd-Rabbiḥ as-Ṣaghīr, a ‘Mawlā’ of Banū Qais b. Tha’laba, who came to him and protested that it was rash to condemn a man to death without making sure of his guilt by a careful investigation of the charges levelled against him. Further, he stressed that the whole statement about the letter and the dirhems was equally likely to be true or false. To this Qatārī only replied that the murder of a man in the common interest of the community could not be objected to, and that it was no business of the subjects to criticise the actions of the Imām, who had full authority to do whatever he seemed necessary in the interests of the common weal. This authoritative reply silenced but did not satisfy the conscientious objector, who, along with a number of those of his own way of thinking, was henceforth inwardly opposed to Qatārī’s leadership.

Seeing that the first seed of discord had fallen on fertile ground, al-Muhallab followed it up by two other clever moves which show his thorough understanding of the enemy and his deep insight into the peculiar sentiments and the psychology of the Azraqites. The Azraqites had a particular foible for quibbling over subtleties of the Orthodox Shari’at law, and their extreme Puritanism often led to a ludicrous emphasis on the letter at the expense of the spirit. Al-Muhallab proved himself shrewd enough to play upon this besetting weakness and to exploit it to his advantage.

2. The second move of al-Muhallab was to despatch a Christian with instructions to fall prostrate before Qatārī, and, on his deprecating the

act of worship paid to him, to affirm that he had done it to none other than the Imām. The Christian acted accordingly, and when Qaṭarī reproved him, saying that 'Sujūd' belonged to Allāh alone, he asserted, "I have done it to none but yourself." An Azraqite was quick to seize upon this, and urged that the Christian's act of worship had placed Qaṭarī in the category of "those whom you worship instead of Allāh," who, together with their worshippers, the Qur'ān declares, will be turned into fuel for the fire of Hell.¹ Qaṭarī argued in vain that the Christians worshipped 'Isā b. Maryam and by their so doing, the prophet 'Isā was not censured. In the meantime another Azraqite hastened to kill the Christian, which action further accentuated the controversy because Qaṭarī denounced it openly on the ground that the Christian was a 'dhimmī' and as such was entitled to protection. This move left the Azraqites still more divided than before.

3. The third move was to confront the Azraqites with a poser calculated to give rise to a theoretical controversy. At the instigation of al-Muhallab, a man went to the Azraqites and asked them for their judgment about two emigrants, one of whom had died on his way towards them while the other reached them but failed to come up to the test (المحنة). Some declared that both were infidels, while others made an exception in favour of the former, whom they pronounced to be a Mu'min, entitled to a place in paradise.

Although it took some time before the Azāriqa suffered actual disintegration, the differences among them, as a result of the foregoing machinations engineered by al-Muhallab, were now sufficiently acute to paralyse their war-like activities. The position was now clearly untenable for the Azāriqa. Fārs was fast slipping out of their hands, and thus they were deprived of the commodities of that rich province. They were now hard-pressed for supplies. No doubt they still possessed Kirmān, but the problem of transport bristled with difficulties because the distance was very considerable.² So the pinch of scarcity compelled them to retire into Kirmān, while al-Muhallab established his sway over the districts of Iṣṭakhr and Darābjird.

Having consolidated his position in the border districts of Iṣṭakhr and Darābjird, al-Muhallab had cleared the whole of the province of Fārs of the Azraqites. He then followed the retreating enemy into the adjacent province of Kirmān. In the meantime, towards the middle of the year 78 A.H. there broke out a revolt among the Azāriqa against the leadership of Qaṭarī, the ringleader of the revolt being the same Abd-Rabbiḥī who had for sometime been inwardly opposed to Qaṭarī as a result of al-Muhallab's clever intrigues. The schism became doubly formidable when racial distinctions came into play. The majority of the non-Arab Mawālī

1. Cf. Qur'ān, انکم وما تعبدون من دون الله حسب جهنم

2. Tab. II, 1003.

numbering eight thousand, flocked round 'Abd-Rabbiḥī, himself a client of Banū-Qais b. Tha'laba, whereas Qaṭarī only retained a following consisting mainly of Arabs and estimated at about one-fourth or one-fifth of the whole.¹ Al-Ḥajjāj again pressed al-Muhallab to lose no time in launching an attack on the Azāriqa while they were divided among themselves. Al-Muhallab, however, knew his job better. He did not want to distract the Azāriqa from internecine warfare by advancing against them at that time. Moreover, he was patient and calculating enough to plan his moves in such a way as to face one enemy at a time. When the Azāriqa had fought among themselves for one month, al-Muhallab sent a man into the camp of Qaṭarī with the mission of propagating the idea that it was wrong on the part of Qaṭarī to place himself between 'Abd-Rabbiḥī on the one hand and al-Muhallab on the other, and thus face two enemies at the same time. Curiously enough, Qaṭarī at once fell into the trap. He forthwith departed for Ṭabaristān, arguing that this would enable him to face al-Muhallab with full strength if the latter chose to pursue him. On the other hand, if al-Muhallab chose to stay behind against 'Abd-Rabbiḥī, then it was all that could be desired.

Having got rid of Qaṭarī, al-Muhallab succeeded in disposing of 'Abd-Rabbiḥī without difficulty. Qaṭarī and his adherents were also annihilated in Ṭabaristān by an expedition sent specially for the purpose. Thus the campaign against the Azāriqa, which had lasted for thirteen years, ended in the virtual extermination of the indomitable militant sect, solely as a result of al-Muhallab's singular capacity for diplomatic manœuvring and strategic planning, as the poet, al-Mutanabbī, says:—

”أشمت الخلف بالشراة عداها،“

“Disunity among the Shurāt (i.e. the Khārijites) made their enemies rejoice.”

Later on, al-Muhallab was appointed governor of Khurāsān, which post he held till his death in 82 A.H. at the age of 76.

S. M. YUSUF.

1. Tab. II, 1006.

THE DĪWĀN AND THE QUATRAINS OF DĀRĀ SHIKOH

ہزار و بیست غزل گفت قادری در عشق مگر چه سود کہ کس متنبہ نمی گردد

"On Love Qādirī wrote a thousand and twenty lyrics,
But of what use? None takes warning!"

DĀRĀ SHIKOH.

I.

THE EXTANT MS. COPY OF THE DĪWĀN OF DĀRĀ SHIKOH

THE *Dīwān* of Dārā Shikoh, hitherto known as the *Iksīr-i-A'zam* and till recently considered as non-existent or lost, has been fortunately restored by Khān Bahādur Zafar Ḥasan.¹ Prior to the discovery of his *Dīwān*, Dārā Shikoh's extant poetical compositions consisted only of a few fragmentary verses in various *Tadhkiras*, and a number of quatrains scattered in some of his works, viz., the *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā*, the *Ḥasanāt-ul-Ārifīn* and the *Risāla'i-Haq Numā*. It is, however, odd that of all the works of the prince, only his *Dīwān* should have been thrown into oblivion by posterity, which has otherwise preserved a dozen of his other works in their entirety; nor can it be safely assumed that his political opponents, particularly the Ulema, would have deliberately singled out his poetical utterances as the embodiment of heresy and apostasy, while leaving his more objectionable works (from their point of view) like the *Majma'-ul-Bahrain* and the *Sirr-i-Akbar*, to circulate unhampered. But now that the *Dīwān* or at least a part of it is available to us, we can judge this unusual phenomenon of the hitherto obscure *Dīwān* in its true perspective.

1. The following details of the MS. copy of the *Dīwān* of Dārā Shikoh have been supplied by the Khān Bahādur in the *J.R.A.S.B.*, Vol. V, No. 1. (1939). It contains 133 Ghazals and 28 Rubā'iyāt foll. 48., 6½ × 4. written in Shikasta script on Kashmiri paper. The MS. is worm-eaten and incomplete, some of the folios in the middle are wanting. The writing is old (17th century) and, having lost its sheen, is undecipherable. The first and the last folios are intact and contain, respectively, an endorsement and a colophon. The former reads: دیوان داراشکوہ پادشاہزادہ، قادری مخلص: and the latter: تمت تمام شدکار من نظام شد دیوان داراشکوہ.

So far as is known, this is the only extant MS. of the *Dīwān* which has survived the ravages of time, with the exception, perhaps, of another copy of the same, said to be in the possession of Mr. Bahādur Singh Singhi, 48, Gariahat Road, Calcutta. This copy was exhibited by the owner at one of the ordinary meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, and later, though I was permitted by the owner to examine it at leisure, I could not do so, in spite of my best efforts.

The *Dīwān* of Dārā Shikoh, as it is, is very little known and still unpublished.

ACCOUNTS OF VARIOUS TADHKIRAS ABOUT HIS POETICAL ACCOMPLISHMENTS

THE appeal of lyrical poetry is psychologically emotional or intellectual, and it is seldom that a poet of real merit gains recognition from posterity on any other basis. Unless the poet has a super-graceful style, both in thought and expression, even his deft representation of ethical and moral subjects in a Ghazal fails to create an atmosphere harmonious with the spirit of the time. The predominant theme of Dārā Shikoh's verse, as we shall presently find, revolves on things which had very little subjective appeal, and even if it had been otherwise, his extremely prosaic elaboration of pantheistic thought would hardly have earned him a creditable place in the memoirs of contemporary Tadhkira-writers. Mullā Shāh, his spiritual guide and preceptor, in a letter to Dārā Shikoh, admits that the latter is endowed with real poetical gifts and describes his verses as "incomparable and heart-pleasing."¹ The author of the *Khazīnat-ul-Aṣfiyā'* (wr. 1280 A.H.) observes that Dārā Shikoh had written excellent Ghazals and that his *Dīwān* entitled the *Iksir-i-A'zam* was compiled during his lifetime. He claims to have perused a copy of it and remarks :² "His poetry is like the ocean of Unitarianism, flowing out of his pearl scattering tongue ; or, like the sun of Monotheism, rising from the horizon in the manner of his luminous opening verse (Maṭla'). Intelligence is necessary to comprehend his poetry, and instinctive aptitude is essential to grasp its meaning." Afdal-ud-Dīn Sarkhush sums up his poetical merits in this manner : "Muḥammed Dārā Shikoh, styled Shāh-i-Buland-Iqbāl, the heir-apparent to the Emperor Shāh Jahān, was a prince of good disposition, fine imagination, and handsome appearance. He had a forbearing temperament, led the life of a mystic, was a friend of the saints, and was a monotheist and a philosopher. He possessed a noble mind and a far-reaching intelligence. He has expressed Sufistic views in quatrains and Ghazals, and in view of his adherence to the Qādirī order adopted the *nom de plume* of Qādirī. A small *Dīwān* of his verses has been compiled."

1. *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā'*, p. 144 : "All the excellences are under the subjugation of an 'Arif, and this is well established that you are in possession of some degree of harmoniousness," he writes to the prince, "What shall I say of your incomparable and heart-pleasing verse ? What sweet fruits cannot be borne by this pure clay !"

2. Vol. I, p. 175 :—

سخنش در بانی توحید است که از زبان گوهر افشان او روان گشته ، و باخورشید و حدانیت است که از افق بسان مطلع انوارش طلوع گشته ، مغزی باید که سخنش را بفهمد و دی باید که معانی آن در وی امکان پذیرد .

3. *Kalamāt-ush-Shu'ara* :—

محمد دارا شکوه شاه بلند اقبال ولی عهد پادشاه شاهجهان طبع بلند و ذهن رسا داشت مطالب صوفیه در رباعی و غزل منظوم می کرد و بحسب اعتقادی که بسلسله قادریه داشت قادری تخلص می کرد دیوان مختصر از او جمع شده

As to the first statement, the endorsement on the fly-leaf of the *Dīwān* and *Maqṭa'* of each one of his Ghazals, together with many signed specimens of his name, prove beyond any doubt that he had adopted the pen-name of Qādirī; but as regards the name of his *Dīwān* being *Iksīr-i-A'zam*, there is probably no other evidence except that of the *Khazīnat-ul-Aṣṣiyā*, a work compiled about 200 years after the death of the prince. The colophon, as well as the endorsement in the MS. noticed by Khān Bahādur Ṣāfir Ḥasan, simply calls it *Dīwān-i-Dārā Shikoh*.

DĀRĀ SHIKOH'S INTEREST IN CLASSICAL PERSIAN LITERATURE

BUT apart from the meagre information concerning his accomplishments as a poet gleaned from one or two Tadhkiras, Dārā Shikoh seems to have been very well-read in classical Persian literature. His intense love for poetry is borne out by the fact that in his works he has admired, respected, and quoted profusely from a large number of poets, *viz.*, Rūmī, Jāmī, Sanā'ī, Nizāmī, 'Attār, Abū-Sa'īd Abū'l-Khair, Khusrau, Ghazzālī, Ibn al-'Arabī, Kamāl Khujandī, Shams-i-Tabriz, Ḥāfiz, Sa'dī, Aḥmad Jām, 'Irāqī, Khāqānī, and a host of others. The number of such quotations from the works of eminent Persian (chiefly mystic) poets in the *Safīnat-ul-Awliya* is 34, and the verses and quatrains of various poets and mystics both in the *Ḥasanāt-ul-'Arīfin* and the *Risāla'i Haq Numā* amount to 41. Considering also the large number of standard works on Sufism, philosophy, history, and biography, which he has utilised as the basis of his three biographical memoirs,¹ one cannot but come to the conclusion that, to a very considerable extent, he remained in touch with Persian literature. Rūmī, Jāmī, and Sanā'ī seem to be his favourite poets. With some of the views of Sanā'ī he disagreed at first, but later came to the conclusion that most of his heterodox verses were spurious. Jāmī, he observes,² he had respected and revered like his own teacher and guide, and adds that both in prose and poetry he has written in imitation of him. Thus we find that his *Safīnat-ul-Awliya* is nothing but a prototype of Jāmī's *Nafahāt-ul-Uns*, and his treatise on Sūfism, *Tariqat-ul-Ḥaqīqat*, though much inferior in depth and sublimity of thought when compared with Jāmī's *Lawā'ih*,³ is nevertheless modelled on the latter; so close is the imitation in style and the arrangement of sections that Dārā Shikoh's *Thirty Stages*

1. For details *vide* the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly*, Scatiniketan (Vol. V., part III., p. 275-290; Vol. V., part V., p. 365-375; Vol. VI., part I, p. 67-78; Vol. VI., part pp. 134-146 and Vol. VI., part IV, p. 331-345, where the writer of the present paper has contributed a series of articles on the works of Dārā Shikoh.

2. Cf. *Lawā'ih* of Jāmī, ed. by Whinfield and Kazvinī, R.A.S., 1928.

و فقیر همیشه تصانیف نثر و نظم ایشان (ملاجای) را مطالعه می نماید و از برکت کلام حقیقت فائده ها می رباید.
این کتاب (سنیة الایاء) را که می نویسد همه از نثر و شاعری ایشان است.

(MS. in the Punjab University Library)

3. *Safīnat-ul-Awliya*, fol. 143b.

appear as a counterpart of Jāmī's 'Thirty Flashes.' Rūmī's philosophy had a special appeal for him and he seems to be deeply interested in his ethical deductions, so much so that nearly three-fourths of the metrical portion of the *Ṭarīqat-ul-Ḥaqīqat* consists of quotations from the *Mathnawī-i-Ma'nawī*, the remaining one-fourth being verses of Jāmī, Sa'di and Khusrau. In the *Mathnawī* literature, on the whole, he seems to be extremely well-read, and it is recorded that he once presented a copy of Nizāmī's *Khamsa* to Muḥammad Ḥakīm Jauharī of Tabriz. This MS. is still preserved in the India Office Library.¹

DĀRĀ SHIKOH : A PATRON OF POETS

DĀRĀ SHIKOH's literary activities, as is evident from his works, covered a wide field. Like many cultured Mughal princes, he extended his generous patronage to many poets and scholars. It is, however, difficult to ascertain the exact number of his *protégés*. *Mira'āt-ul-Khayāl* mentions² that among other poets Mirza Raḍī Dānish (d. 1076 A.H./1665 A.D.) was the most favoured by him, so much so that, on hearing the following Ghazal of the poet, the prince gave him a reward of rupees 100,000 :

موسمی آن شد که ابرمے ترچمن پرورشود	نکست گل مایه شور جنون در سرشود
تالک را سیراب ساز اے ابرنیشان در بهار	قطره تا مئے تو اند شاه چرا گوهرشود
نالہ بلبل نہان در پردہ برگ گل است	بیامہ اغم کاش از این یک پردہ نازک ترشود
مابذوق گریہ هستی در این بزم آمادہ ہم	مئے بادہ ساقی بقاء ری آن کہ چشم ترشود
راز پوشیدان نیاید دانش از بیتاب عشق	در میان انجمن پروانہ خاکسارشود

Another poet whom Dārā Shikoh favoured greatly was his chief secretary, Chandar Bhān Brahman."³ It is recorded⁴ that once the prince asked the latter to recite in the presence of Shāh Jahān the following verse which he himself admired :

مراد لیست بکفر آشنا کہ چندین بار بہ کعبہ بردم و بازش برہمن آوردم

So greatly is my heart associated with infidelity, that many a time
When I took it to Mecca, it returned a Brahman.

1. Vide Ethé's *Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the India Office*, Vol. I, No. 980. According to the colophon of this MS. the date of the presentation is the 12th of Ramadān, A.H. 1061 (August, 29 A.D. 1651).

2. Calcutta, p. 258.

3. Cf. Dārā Shikoh :

سلطنت سہل است خود را آشنائی فقر کن قطره تا دریا تواند شد چرا گوهر شود ؟

For his life and works, vide *The Muslim Review*, Vol. III, No. 3, p. 41 ff.

4. *Mir'at-ul-Khayāl*, p. 214.

The Emperor was enraged at the audacity of the non-Muslim poet, but Afḍal Khān pacified him by quoting the following verse of Sa'dī :

خر عیسی اگر به مکہ رود چون بیاید هنوز خر باشد

Christ's ass, even if it were to go on pilgrimage to Mecca,
An ass it would remain on its return.

Even this incomplete *Dīwān* of Dārā Shikoh is a rare find, for the religious, moral, and ethical views of a poet can only be brought into living contact with his time by a critical study of his poetical compositions. More often, the *Dīwān* of a poet furnishes a better insight into his subconscious mind than the coloured narratives of the Tadhkira-writers, who are, more or less, swayed by personal likings or dislikings. In this respect, the *Dīwān* and the quatrains (scattered in his works) provide for us a more solid background for a proper estimate of the literary achievements of the prince.

GENERAL FEATURES OF HIS POETRY

DĀRĀ SHIKOH's poetry consists chiefly of two interrelated elements—*Ṣūfism* and *Qādirism* ; an undercurrent of a didactic and ethical note, an echo of his association with saints and his intimate knowledge of the Persian literature on mysticism, runs through his Ghazals and Rubā'iyāt. But his doctrinal mysticism is neither intellectual nor meditative ; it is intensively intuitive, anti-scholastic, and pantheistic in the extreme. In most of his quatrains, he has invariably tried to expatiate upon the *Ṣūfī* aphorisms, and as a natural consequence of this dilation upon the views expressed by other mystics, his mystic thought lacks spontaneity and individuality—a factor, which has tended to create a shallow moral or intellectual atmosphere in his verse. From a purely literary point of view, his style is prosaic in the extreme, and it is rarely that, in a Ghazal, a verse or two give a flash of real poetic imagination. Generally, his Ghazal lacks the lyrical touch, poetic emotionalism and a graceful sublimity both in thought and expression. A didactic theme expressed in matter-of-fact language is unsuitable for the Persian Ghazal, and in the description of Love and Beauty as represented in their transcendent forms, he has drifted helplessly back to effete and colourless Persianisms.

His quatrains, with their rugged language and unpolished expression, show little fertility of imagination, and in style or thought can hardly approach the marked individuality of those of the eminent Persian poets like Abū-Sa'īd Abū'l-Khair, Shaikh 'Abdullāh Anṣārī, and 'Umar Khay-yām. The high value of most of these, which I have collected from his works, is somewhat dimmed by the fact that they represent only a versified expression of the sayings of various saints rather than Dārā Shikoh's

own views. The truth of this statement is borne out by the following analytical table :

Quatrain No.	Subject	Source
I	All is He (<i>Hama Ūst</i>).	Shaikh Farīd (d. 1062 A.H)
IV	The seeker of Divine Communion is above all religions.	Shaikh 'Abbās bin Yūsuf ash-Shaklī.
XXXII	Gnostics do not follow the lead given by others.	Shaikh Abū Madīn Maghribī.
V	The Symbol of Tawhīd is even forgetfulness of Tawhīd.	Shaikh Abul-'Abbās.
VII	Condemnation of Self is association with God.	Shaikh Abū-Bakr al-Wāsītī.
XVI	The ignorance of those who remember God is greater than the ignorance of the commonalty.	Shaikh Abu-Bakr al-Wāsītī.
IX	'Everything is the Truth' is greater than 'I am the Truth.'	Shaikh-ul-Islām 'Abdullāh Anṣārī.
XIX	Consubstantiality ('Ainiyat) and not knowledge ('Ilm) leads to the attainment of Unity.	Abū Ṣāliḥ Damishqī.
XXXI	The Ulema of the present age are in reality ignoramuses in their own eyes but learned in the eyes of the ignoramuses.	Imām al-Ghazzālī.
XXX	All things are capable of perceiving the Divinity.	Ibn al-'Arabī.
VI	The Beloved is ever visible to the eye ; He is not an object for contemplation or visualisation. He is the 'Ayniyat.	Mullā Sa'd-ud-Dīn Kāshgharī.
XII	Even association with the Truth constitutes polytheism (Shirk).	Sayyid-ut-Ṭā'fa Junaid.
XXIV	Worship of God ; if it becomes public, falsifies itself.	Shaikh Abū-Madīn Maghribī.
XXVII	'He who knoweth himself knoweth his Lord.'	Shaikh 'Abdullāh Balyānī.
XXVIII	Mysticism ? It is even considering forgetfulness as the existence of God.	Shaikh 'Abū-'Abdullāh Khafif.
XI	'A candle illuminates a thousand candles.'	Bābā Lāl.
XXII	Pronouncing the name of God is done through ignorance.	Mullā Khwāja (a pupil of Miyān Mīr).
XIV	'The bubble when it bursts becomes the very ocean.'	Bābā Piyaṛī.
XXIX	'Men of heart do not fear Death's approach.'	Shaikh Farīd.

These versifications of Ṣūfīc aphorisms none the less indicate his leanings towards pantheistic thought. In his *Diwān*, he is fond of giving voice to heterodox ideas and his poetic imagination transcends the limits imposed by religious conventions. This he does by the employment of a pun on the word Qādirī (Dārā Shikoh) and Qādir (God) :

I

قادرى گشت قادر مطلق از پى هر فنا کمال بقاست

Qādiri (Dārā Shikoh) became the Almighty :
In the wake of every annihilation lies the perfection of subsistence.

2

قادرى زود عين قادر شد چون مدد کرد قادر بغداد

When the Qādir of Baghdād (Shaikh 'Abdul-Qādir) helped him,
Qādiri (Dārā Shikoh) became the very God (Qādir).

3

قادرى راز قدرت کامل قادر ذو الجلال ساز دمی

With Your perfect Providence make Qādiri (Dārā Shikoh)
For a while powerful and glorified.

4

And a similar pun on the word *Dārā* :

چون بدارائى خویش دل به سپرد قادرى نیز عین دارا شد

When he delivered his heart to his Lord (Dārā),
Qādiri also became the very God (Dārā).

And this quatrain and the verses that follow give a contrary view :

Though I do not think myself separate from Him,
Yet I do not consider myself God.
Whatever relation the drop bears to the ocean,
That I hold true in my belief and nothing beyond.

Quatrain xiii.

5

قادرى نیست جز قادر واحده لا اله الا هو

O, Qādiri, there is none except God (Qādir).
He is one and there is no God but He.

6

هر سو که نظر کنی همه اوست وجه الله عیانست رویو را

Look where you can, All is He :
God's face is ever face to face.

7

متوجه مشو بغیر خدا رشته هست سبحة و زنار

Turn to none except God,
The rosary and sacred thread are means to an end (connecting link).

8

هر چه بینی جز او این وهم تو است غیر او دارد وجودی چون سراب
بجز لامحدود ذات واحد است ما و تو چون نقش و چون موج بر آب

Whatever thou beholdest except Him, is the object of thy fancy ;
Things other than He have their existence like a mirage.

The existence of one God is like a boundless ocean,
Men are like forms and waves in its water.

The hypocrisy and self-conceit of the psuedo-mystic and ignorant Mullā is a common theme for the cynical flings of a poet. Here are some verses of Dārā Shikoh :

I

بهشت آن جا که ملائی نباشد ز ملا شور و غوغائی نباشد
جهان خالی شود از شور ملا ز فتوی هاش پروائی نباشد
در آن شهری که ملا خانه دارد در آنجا هیچ دانائی نباشد

Paradise is there where no Mullā abides,
Where there is no argument and tumult with him.

May the world become free from the noise of the Mullā !
May no one heed to his Fatwās.

In the city where a Mullā resides,
No wise man is ever found.

And this quatrain :

2

What disavowals did Satan hurl at Adam,
Said Ḥusain (Manṣūr Ḥallāj) : " (I am) the Truth " and got the gallows.
Every prophet and saint suffered torments,
Due to the vicious and ignominious conduct of the Mullā.

Quatrain xxxi.

3

هر که می در جام وحدت در گرفت زاهدان شهر را چون خر گرفت

He who drank from the cup of Unity,
Regarded the city's ascetics as asses.

4

جمله عجب و ریاست این تقوی کے بود لائی نگار ما ؟

All this piety is conceit and hypocrisy,
How can it be worthy of our Beloved ?

5

چند بازی تو بر شریعت خود احمد مرسل از خداست سوا ؟

How long would you interpret your Law playfully
That Aḥmad, the Apostle, is different from God ?

As was mentioned above, Qādirism and the eulogies of the saints of various orders form a special feature of Dārā Shikoh's poetry. The following Ghazal is typical of his views expressing the superiority of the Qādirī order :

سلسله زلف یار سلسله مایود	طالب آن روشی را خوشتر ازین جابود ؟
هر که دل خویش را بست با این سلسله	هر دم و هر ساعتش کار بیا لا بود
هست بست آمده سلسله پیر ما	تا به قیامت همین سلسله ما بود
مظهر او شاه من بهتر اهل زمان	ذات عزیزش یقین ذات معلا بود
دست در این سلسله هر که زند قلب او	نرم شود همچو بوم گرچه او خارا بود
سلسله قادر بست آن که بحکم خدا	بر همه قادر بود تا همه دنیا بود

Many Qādirī saints are the subject of his praise : in one of his Ghazals, he describes Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qādir Jīlānī as the " Shelter of Mankind " " a guide to the highway to the religion of Aḥmad " (Peace be on him !) ; and of himself, he observes : " How can I call myself his disciple ? I am a dog on his threshold." In many other Ghazals he has shown his devotion to saints like Shaikh Bahā'-ud-Dīn Suhrawardī of Multan, Mullāh Shāh, Miyyān Mīr and many places associated with them. Of Kashmir, where his teacher Mullā Shāh resided, he says : " When my spiritual guide is my lord and master, my Ka'ba is the blessed Kashmir." ² Of the Punjab, Lahore, and Dārāpur(?) he is enamoured, for Miyyān Mīr lived and died there. He says :

عشق پنجام نموده ببقار	زانکه نقش دوست در پنجاب هست
کعبه من حضرت لاهوردان	سجده من سوئی آن محراب هست
قادری را کعبه داراپور شد	کاندران بسیار فتح الباب هست

There are also numerous verses in praise of the holy Prophet (Peace be on him !), the four caliphs, and men of saintly orders

1. *Sakīnat-ul-Awlīya*, Lahore lithograph, p. 18-19.

2. چون خدا و صاحب من پیر است کعبه من حضرت کشمیر است

REALISATION OF THE UNITY

IN the complete realisation of the Unity, spiritual oneness with the Truth is even unconsciousness of the Truth itself. "It is a realisation free from quest and beholding the Beloved, without even looking for Him, for the beholder is an obstacle in the vision of God." So says Dārā Shikoh :

"Sit for a while separate from Him,
Remain for a while Godless.

Verily, even association with the Truth constitutes polytheism (Shirk)
Thou shouldst sit in complete recognition within thy own self.

Quatrain xii.

The highest attainment for human existence is spiritual advancement.
Poverty is better than material prosperity :

I

سلطنت سهل است خود را آشنائی فقر کن قطره تا دریا تواند شد چرا گوهر شود ؟

Kingship is easy, acquaint thyself with poverty :

Why should a drop become a pearl when it can transform itself into an ocean ?

2

بادشاهی را گذارای دوست آدهی نازین چون به آگاهی رسیای هرچه می خواهی گزین

3

دست زر آلود بدبو می شود جان زر آلود را احوال چیست

روز و شب گوشت به مرگ مردم است مر ترا مر دن بود این حال چیست

Hands soiled with gold begin to stink,

How (bad) would be the plight of a soul soiled with gold !

Day and night thou hearest of people's death,

Thou hast also to die, how strange is this behaviour !

The following Ghazals are excellent specimens of his didactic tone :

مسافر

مسافر هر قدر باشد سبکسار نیابد در سفر تصدیع و آزار

تو هم اندر جهان هستی مسافر یقین می دان اگر هستی تو هشیار

بقدر مال باشد سرگرانی بقدر پیچ باشد بار دستار
خودی را نیز از سر دورگردان که هم بار است بار وهم و پندار
تو تا باشی به دنیا باش آزاد ترا چون قادری کرده خبردار

TRAVELLER

The more a traveller is unencumbered,
The less he feels worried and anxious in his journey.
Thou, too, art a traveller in this world,
Take this as certain, if thou art wakeful.
One's dissatisfaction corresponds to his riches—
Heavier is the turban with a large number of folds.
Drive egoism away from you, for
Like conceit and arrogance's load, it is also a burden.
So long as you live in this world, be independent :
Qādiri has forewarned you !

2

انسان الکامل

آدمی قدر خویش می دانی ؟ که توئی گنج سر پنهانی
دست و پائی تو نقش الله است چون ید الله را نمی خوانی
خلق آدم بود بصورت حق زان خلیفه شدی و سلطانی
دل تو عرش و کرسی ولوح است کاندران هست علم ربانی
روح خود در دسید اندر تو زان ترا سجده کرد روحانی
هم محمد توئی و هم الله این عنایت تراست ارزانی
قادری قادری (۴) پای تا سر تمام جا نانی

THE PERFECT MAN

O Man, dost thou know thy own worth,
That thou art the treasure of the hidden secret ?
Thy form (hands and feet) hath God's imprint on it,
Why dost thou not say that (the) hand of Allāh (is above thy hand) ?
Adam was created in the form of the Almighty,
Hence thou becomest a Caliph or a Sultan.
Thy mind is the 'Throne,' the 'Footstool' and the 'Tablet'
For it is the reservoir of Divine Knowledge.
His own Spirit He hath breathed into thee,
The angels, therefore, bowed unto thee.

۱. *Tadhkira'-i-Sarkhush* reads this line : وزن زر فزاید بار دستار

Thou art Muhammad and God too (sic)
 This favour hath been bestowed upon thee in abundance.
 Qādirī, Qādirī. (?)
 Thou hast transformed thyself completely into thy Beloved.

3

شناخت خود

هر که خود را بباخت او را برد	هر که این را شناخت گو را برد
ساقی باده و سبورا برد	هر که پائی خمی گرفت و نشست
رفت و در خاک آرزو را برد	وان که زین سر نیافت آگا هی
رفت و با خویش جستجو را برد	وان که درخویشتن نجست او را
خود نکو بود، کان نکو را برد	قادری یار خویش در خود یافت

REALISATION OF THE SELF

Whosoever recognised this, carried the day,
 He who lost himself, found Him.
 He who sat at the foot of the wine jar,
 Won over the Sāqī, the wine and the cup.
 And he who sought him not within his own self,
 Passed away, carrying his quest along with him.
 And he who knew not this secret,
 When turned to dust, carried his desire unfulfilled.
 Qādirī found his Beloved within his own self :
 Himself of good disposition, he won (the favour of) the Good.

SELECTED VERSES

اے خوش آنکس که یار عاشق اوست	(۱) عاشق یار خویش جمله جهان
قادری را ببرد در بازی	(۲) یار بسیار بود بازیگر
هستی تو برآرد هستی او نماید	(۳) از عشق جذبه خواه ای قادری که آخر
تار و حدت نبود در زنار	(۴) ترک زنار کرده ام زان رو
صلح کل کرده از عناد گذشت	(۵) قادری دید تا ترا در کل
این چنین کرده استاد ارشاد	(۶) تا خودی هست دائم اندوه است
راز داری بغیر دل نبود	(۷) راز خود را به غیر دل تو مگوی
دام شد، تسبیح شد، زنجیر شد، زنار شد	(۸) هر خمی پیچی که شد از تاب زلف یار شد
از خویش گذشتن چه مبارک سفری بود!	(۹) بادوست رسیدیم چو از خویش گذشتیم

II. QUATRAINS

Now we place before the readers some specimens of the Quatrains of Dārā Shikoh, collected for the first time from the works of the author and translated into English.

[In the case of each Rubā'ī, the source is given in the footnote. In no case is a quatrain of doubtful origin included in this collection ; in order to establish the authenticity beyond any doubt, wherever it has been possible, a reference to the original context is also indicated in the footnote.

Abbreviations used for the different editions or MSS. of the works of the author are as follows :—

- H.M. *Hasanāt-ul-'Ārifin*, Muṭtabā'ī edition.
 HLU. " " Lahore Urdu lithograph.
 HPA. " " MS. (No. PC IV 5) in the Arabic Section of Punjab University library.
 SL. *Sakīnat-ul-Awliya*, Lahore Urdu lithograph.
 RHNA. *Risālā Ḥaq Numa*, Panini Office, Allahabad.
 RHNL. " " Lucknow edition.
 MB. *Majma'-ul-Bāḥrain*, Bib. Ind.
 IJB. *Iksir-i-A'zam*, (Selections in the J.R.A.S.B., Vol. V., No. 1. 1939).

i

یک ذره ندیدیم زخو رشید جدا هر قطره آب هست عین دریا
 حق را بچه نام کس بتواند خواندن ؟ هر نام که هست ، هست از اسماء خدا¹

We have not seen an atom separate from the Sun,
 Every drop of water is the sea in itself.
 With what name should one call the Truth ?
 —Every name that exists is one of God's names.

ii

آنا نکه خدا در آن زبان می بینند اول تو بدان، در این جهان می بینند
 دیدار خدا در این و آن یکسان است هر لحظه به ظاهر و نهان می بینند²

Those who visualise God in the hereafter,
 Thou shouldst know, first behold Him in this world.
 The Vision of God is uniform in both the worlds—
 Every moment they behold Him in the open and in secret.

- چندین سال خدمت ایشان (شیخ فرید) : 30 p. (*Hasanāt-ul-'Ārifin* (Muṭtabā'ī Press, Delhi), p. 30 :
 کردم و هر چند نام ایشان را پرسیدم نام خود را نگفتند . فرمودند که همه نامها نام منست و فقیر را نامی نمی باشد
 اندر این معنی گفته ام : رباهی :
 2. *Sakīnat-ul-Awliya*, (Urdu lithograph, Lahore), p. 61.

iii

تسبیح بمن عجب در آمد بزبان ! گفته که مرا چرا کنی سرگردان ؟
گردل به عوض همی بگردانی تو دانی که برای چیست خلق انسان 1

The rosary spoke to me in a strange tongue !
It said, "Why dost thou make my head reel ?
"Wert thou to attend (revolve) to thine own heart instead,
Thou wouldst know the object underlying man's creation."

iv

کافر گفתי تو از پی آزارم این حرف ترا راست همی پندارم
پستی و بلندی همه شد هموارم من مذهب هفتاد و دو ملت دارم 2

To revile me thou hast termed me an "infidel."
I, too, consider thy talk as true.
Disgrace (declivity) and glory (ascent) have become alike to me—
My religion is that of the two and seventy sects (of Islām).

v

توحید خموشی است و فکر است مدام بحث آمد و شد ز دست توحید تمام
یک گفتن تو عین دوئی ثابت کرد توحید رود ز نقطه چون گیری نام 3

In silence and meditation consists the Unity of God ;
Discussion entails the departure of Unity.
When thou sayest : (God is) One ; duality is clearly established :
The Unity of God goes off the point when thou proclaimest it.

vi

او در نظر است رو بهر چیز کنی کوری ، تو چرا بخویش تجویز کنی
حق گفت چو اینها تولوا باتو باید که نظر به سوی خود نیز کنی 4

To whatsoever object thou mayest turn thy face, He is in view.
Art thou blind, for why dost thou assign Him to thyself ?
Since God hath said : "In whatever direction thou mayest turn."
It is incumbent on thee to turn thine eyes upon thine own self.

1. *Sakinat-ul-Awliyā*, p. 53.

2. H.M., p. 14 :

عباس بن یوسف الشکلی قدس سره گوید هر که بخدا مشغولست از ایمان او نباید پرسید و اندر این معنی گفته ام
این حرف ترا دوست نمی پندارم HPA. (fol. 31b) reads line 2 :

3. HM., p. 11 : شیخ ابوالعباس قدس سره گفت : علامت حقیقت توحید فراموش کردن توحید است
اندر این معنی گفته ام :

HPA. (fol. 25a) reads line 2 : عارف فارغ آمد ز گفتار و کلام ; line 1, omits⁴.

HLU., p. 18 reads line 4 : یک گفتن تو بین قوی ثابت کرد

4. HM., p. 21 ; HPA. (fol. 52a) شیخ ملا سعد الدین کاشغری قدس سره گفت حاضر باشید یاران
که یار عین بین است یعنی مشاهده و معائنه نیست غیبت است و اندر این معنی گفته ام :

Line 1 : (Qur'ān I, 109) : "To whosoever ye turn, there is the face of Allāh."

vii

از اصل حقیقت چو خبر دار شدی در حضرت حق محرم اسرار شدی
چون فاعل خیر و شر خدا را دیدی دیدی گنه از خویش و گنهگار شدی¹

When thou knowest the reality of the Truth,
Thou wilt know the secrets in the August Presence.
Since thou hast seen God as the doer of both good and evil,
Thou hast seen thine own sins and turned into a sinner.

viii

هر چند که نیست سایه از ذات خدا لیکن نبود سایه شه غیر بما
دائم چو بگویند مرا سایه حق ، ترسم که ازین دوی بد آید حق را²

Although there is no shadow of God's essence,
Yet (the title of king as) Shadow of God does not show anyone else.
I know this, when they call me "the Shadow of God ;"
But I fear that this duality may not find favour with God.

ix

عارف بخود اطلاق خدائی نکند از ذات لطیف خود جدائی نکند
گر بنده کسی بود ، خدا او باشد چون جمله خداست خود نمائی نکند³

Never would a Gnostic attribute Godhead to his own self,
Never would he suffer separation from the Subtle Self.
For to become a slave is to become a master :
Since all is God, he would not act in vanity.

x

اے آنکه خدائی را بجوی هر جا تو عین خدائی نه جدائی ز خدا
این جستن تو همین بآن می ماند قطره بمیان آب و جوید دریا⁴

O, thou, who seekest God everywhere,
Thou verily art the God and not separate from Him.
Already in the midst of a boundless ocean
Thy quest resembles the search of a drop for the ocean !

1. HPA., (fol. 19b) : رباعی : واسطی گوید هر که نفس خود را علامت کرد با خدا شریک گرفت و اندر این معنی گفته ام : رباعی :
HM., p. 11., line 2 : از یار بدان همه که هشیار شدی ; HPA., line 4 : omitted.

2. IJB., p. 171.

3. HM., p. 14. ; HLU., p. 26 : شیخ الاسلام فرمود که من بلندتر از این منصور میگویم ، یعنی این منصور :
حق را محیی در خود میدانست و من همه را حق می بینم . اندر این معنی گفته ام :
HPA., omits this quatrain.

4. RHNA., p. 26-27. ; RHN.L., p. 30, line 1 : ز خدا for بخدا

xi

عارف دل و جان تو سزین سازد خاری که کند بجاش گلشن سازد
کامل همه را ز نقص بیرون آرد یک شمع هزار شمع روشن سازد¹

The Gnostic endows you with illumination—body and soul,
A barren thorny mound he transforms into a rose garden.

The Perfect leads you out of the erroneous Path—
A candle illuminates a thousand candles!

xii

یک دم از وی جدا بنشین تو ساعتی ی خدا بنشین تو
شرک با حق نشستن است همه وقت خود بخود آشنا بنشین تو²

Sit for a while in separation from Him,
Remain for a while Godless.

Verily, even association with the Truth constitutes polytheism :
Thou shouldst sit in complete recognition with thy own self !

xiii

خویشتن را جدا نمی دانم یک خود را خدا نمی دانم
قطره را نسبتی که با بحر است بیشتر زین روا نمی دانم³

I do not think myself separate from Him ;
Nevertheless, I do not consider myself God.

Whatever relation the drop bears to the ocean,
That I hold true in my belief and nothing beyond that.

xiv

بیرون و درون کوزه پر بود هوا پیچید درون کوزه آواز و صدا
کوزه بشکست و گشت آواز آواز بشکست حباب و گشت عین دریا⁴

The air filled the clay-pot, from within and without,
Sound and noise vibrated from within it.

When the clay-pot gets broken, the sound becomes the Psychic sound—
Like the bubble which bursts and becomes the very ocean.

1. HM., p. 25 : ... مرشد چهارم مثل چراغ که آنرا مرشد کامل گویند که از يك چراغ صد هزار چراغ روشن شود. در این معنی گفته ام :

HLU., p. 44. ; HPA., (fol. 22 ab), line 2 : بجاش for بجاش ; also Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib reads بپاش for بجاش.

2. HM., p. 8 : سيد الطائفة گفت تصوف آنست که ساعتی بنشین بی نیاز. شيخ الاسلام گفت بی نیاز چه بود ؟ گفت یافت بی جستن و دیدار بی نگرستن که بیننده در دیدار علت است - رباعی :

3. IJB., p. 159.

4. HM., p. 25 ; یعنی بر عارف اخلاق مردن جائز نبود چه بجان پیوست آب شد و خالک خالک و هوا
HMLU., p. 45. line 2 : پیچید درون کوزه و آواز و صدا. هوا و آتش آتش.

xv

کرده ز یگانگی دوی را تا راج باید که کنی کجی خود را تو علاج
واحد متکسر نشود از اعداد دریا متجزی نشود از امواج¹

He hath destroyed duality with Unity,
Thou shouldst treat thy blind perversity (if thou seest it not).
The Unity does not become manifold through numerousness :
As the waves do not cause the ocean to be split up into parts.

xvi

خوش گرچه بیاد خود نشستن همه وقت این فیدچه لازم است بر من همه وقت؟
غافل شدن خلق ز حق از حق است خود را تعب است یاد کردن همه وقت²

Pleasant though it is to sit ever in meditation,
Yet why should this limitation be ever indispensable to me ?
Forgetfulness of God by men is ordained by God :
For me it is a torment to remember ever !

xvii

هرگز نکند آب حجاب اندر یخ با آنکه کند نقش حباب اندر یخ
حق بحر حقیقت است و کونین درو چون یخ بمیان آب و آب اندر یخ³

The water can never veil the face of ice,
Though a bubble might form an impression within the ice ;
The Truth is like the ocean of reality, wherein abide both the worlds,
Like the water within the ice and the ice within the water.

xviii

هیچ کسی مرا نباید سنجید من ز آنچه گفته ام نباید رنجید
هر چند که چار بچه زاید بلبل بلبل بچه کلان به بلبل گردید⁴

None should evaluate me (by my sayings),
Nor should anyone take offence at what I have said.
Although the nightingale produces four young ones,
The first-born turns out to be a nightingale.

1. RHNA., p. 25.

2. HLU., p. 15 ; HM. p. 10 ; HPA. fol. 18b.: وی (ابوبکر واسطی) فرمود که غفلت ذا کران از عوام الناس بیشتر است یعنی ذا کران بسبب اسم و ذکر از مذکور غافل گشته اند و غفلت عوام یاد نکردند حقیقت خود را - در این معنی گفته ام :

3. RHNA., p. 23.

4. IJB., p. 171. This quatrain, expressing Dārā Shikoh's conception of his superiority over his brother is strange indeed !

xix

خواهی که شوی داخل ارباب نظر ؟ از قال به حال بایدت کرد گذر
از گفتن توحید. موحده نشوی شیرین نشود دهان ز نام شکر¹

Dost thou wish to enter the circle of men of illumination ?
Then cease talking and be in the "state";

By professing the Unity of God, thou canst not become a monotheist,
As the tongue cannot taste sugar by only uttering its name.

xx

نیست بی چاره هیچ کار درست نیست چیزی چو چار یار درست
بهر بختی منی همی باید چار استوار درست²

No work is accomplished thoroughly without (Divine) help,
Nothing is as perfect as the four Companions of the Prophet ;

The necessary requisites for my fortune
Are the four pillars, strong and sound.

xxi

گویم سخنی ز روی تحقیق و صواب گر مرد رهی، قبول کن، روی متاب
هرگز نبود صفات بر ذات حجاب کی نقش بر آب مانعی ست از مس آب³

In certainty and for thy benefit I tell thee—

If thou art a man of the Path, accept it and turn not thy face away :

Attributes can never conceal the Essence

How can the figure on water stand in the way of its being touched ?

xxii

هستی و وجود خودم کردم رد گردید مساویم همه نیک و بد
اکنون نتوان نام خود و نامش برد گر نام بگیرم ز من او می رنجد⁴

My life and existence, I have discarded,
Goodness and evil have become all alike to me :

Now I cannot utter my name or His name,

If I chose any name, He would be displeased with me.

1. HM., p. 16. : یعنی گفتن - بافت نه از روی علم - یعنی گفتن
چیزی دیگر است و شدن چیزی دیگر و اندر این معنی گفته‌ام -

HPA., (fol. 36b), line 4 : دهان for زبان .

2. IJB., p. 167.

3. RHNA., p. 25.

4. HM., p. 28 : دوم، 'الله گفتن در وقت مردن' .
ملاحظه که از مریدان شیخ میراست نقل کرد.
از نقص است . یعنی نام گرفتن و ذکر کردن از غفلت است . در این معنی گفته‌ام

HM., line 1 : هستی و وجود خودم of HPA. (fol. 165b) for هستی وجود خویش

xxiii

توحید بگویم ار بفهمی به ادا موجود نبود هیچ گاه غیر خدا
آنها که تومی بینی و می دانی غیر در ذات یکیست و در نام جدا

I tell thee the secret of Tawhīd, if thou wert to understand it aright,
Nowhere exists anything but God,
All you see or know other than Him
Is separate in name, but in essence one with God.

xxiv

بیمرگ کجا نام تو گردد زنده ؟ بی بنده کجا ست صاحب زبنده ؟
از قید شد وجود مطلق ظاهر صاحب نبود اگر نباشد بنده²

Without death how can thy name live long ?
Without the serf where stands the comely lord ?
The relativity maketh the Absolute Self manifest :
Without a slave there would not be any master.

xxv

هرچند نقاب در میان دارد یار رویش خوش و خوب می نماید بسیار
چون عینک تو بود نقاب رخ یار عینک نکند به پیش چشم تو غبار³

Though the Beloved may have a veil intervening,
His face appears most pleasant and beautiful.
Since thy spectacles are the veil on the face of the Beloved,
(Beware) that it may not raise a cloud of mist before thine eyes !

xxvi

دریاست وجود صرف ذات و عاب ارواح و نقوش همچو نقش اندر آب
بحر بیست که موج می زند اندر خود گه قطره ، گه است موج ، گاهیست حباب⁴

Like an ocean is the essence of the Supreme Self,
Like forms in water are all souls and objects.
The ocean, heaving and stirring within,
Transforms itself into drops, waves, and bubbles.

1. RHNA., p. 24.

2. HM., p. 18., HPA. (fol. 42b). ابو مومن گوید که عبادت را سر نیست که اگر ظاهر شود باطل می گردد .
یعنی همان سر عبودیت را بوییت است و اندر این معنی گفته ام .

3. RHNA., p. 27.

4. RHNA., p. 24.

xxvii

کی کار تو در شمار حق می آید ؟ قلب تو در اعتبار حق می آید ؟
 باید که تو عین خویش دانی حق را فانی شدنت آنچه کار حق می آید ؟¹

How can thy work gain approval from the Truth
 (How can) thy mind receive recognition at the hands of God ?
 Thou shouldst consider thy own self as the Truth,
 Of what use is thy annihilation in the cause of the Truth ?

xxviii

هر چند که خلق را گرفتار غفلت شده است بر همه مستولی
 مشغول بحق است بشهود یا نه هر کس که بهر چیز شده مشغولی²

In what abundance may stupidity have gripped mankind
 And heedlessness have overpowered them all :
 Every one who is occupied with anything,
 Whether he realises it or not, is occupied with the Truth.

xxix

از مرگ نباشد اهل دل را آزار در خواب ترسد چو بود دل بیدار
 گر جان تو جسم را بیند اخت چه شد ؟ چون کهنه شود پوست بیندازد مار³

Men of heart are not aggrieved at Death's approach,
 For a wakeful mind fears not slumber ;
 If thy soul cast away the body, what does it matter
 When the skin wears out, the snake casts it away.

xxx

توحید شناخت ، هر کس را حالی نیست ، در راه طلب همت او عالی نیست
 خویش آنکه بیان خویش حق را شناخت ، او در همه جاست هیچ جا حالی نیست⁴

He realizes the unity, who has no 'state.'
 Even in the path of quest, this intuition is not great.
 Happy is he, who found Him within his own self,
 —He is omnipresent, no place is without Him.

1. شیخ عبدالله بلایی قدس سره گفت پیغمبر صلی الله علیه و سلم فرمود : من عرف نفسه فقد عرف ربه هر که خود را شناخت خدا را شناخت و ربه مرده که خود را فنا کرده خدا را یافت یعنی عرفان شناخت خود است نه فانی خود. اندر این معنی گفته ام :

HPA., 9 fol. 47a) Line 2. کی کار تو در شمار حق می آید

2. شطح شیخ عبدالله خفیف رحمه الله - از وی پرسیدند که تصوف چیست - گفت غفلت راهم وجود الله دانستن - اندر این معنی گفته ام :

3. شطح شیخ فرید و اندر این معنی گفته ام : line 2 : HM., p. 32.

4. و شیخ (ابن العربی) فرماید که حادات و حیوانات و انسان همه عارف اند و از آیه کریمه - (43b) : HM., p. 10 ; HPA. : وان من شئ الا یسبح بحمده نیز مفهوم معلوم میشود که همه اشیا معرفت دارند و این سر بر غیر عارف ظاهر نیست و اندر این معنی گفته ام :

xxx1

ز ابلیس به یو البشر چه انکار رسید حق گفت حسین ، بر سر دار رسید
از شومئ شرف نفس ملایان است با هر نبی و وی کنه آزار رسید¹

What disavowals did Satan hurl at Adam ?

Said Ḥusain (Maṣṣūr Ḥallāj) " (I am) the Truth," and got the gallows.

Every prophet and saint, who suffered affliction and torments,
(It was) due to the vicious and ignominious conduct of the Mullās.

xxxii

هر دم برسد بهار فان ذوق جدید خود مجتهد اندنی ز اهل تقلید
شیران نخورند جز شکار خود را روانه خورد فتاده لحم قدید²

Every moment, the Gnostics are recipients of new Love,
They are leaders in themselves, not those who follow others.

The lions would not partake of aught, except what they have killed themselves.

The fox feeds upon the leavings of dry flesh.

xxxiii

هر کار که مشکل است درویش کند مرهم بدی نهی (؟) نه اورا ریش کند
واصل چو شود تصرفش افزایش نمشیر برهنه کار را بیش کند³

The Dervish performs every task that is difficult,
With his breath he applies balm, which injures him (?)

When he attains union with God, he wields powers more potent,
—An unsheathed sword is more effective in its work !

xxxiv

در هجر تو بوده اندوه و آزارم از وصل تو رفت هستی و بندارم
شادی آمد نصیب جانم گردید اکنون تن و جان خود به راحت دارم⁴

In separation from thee, I have suffered pangs of anxiety,
In union with thee, I have lost my own consciousness :

Then happiness dawned upon my soul and became my lot,
Now shall I pass my days in peace, both in body and mind.

1. Ibid. p. 18 : امام غزالی در راحت العلوم از بعضی علما نقل کرده می گفتند که سبب پنهان شدن ابدال : از چشم اکثر مردم آنست که ابدال را طاعت دیدن علما فی وقت نیست - برائی آنکه این علماء در نفس الا مرجا هلاک اند نزد خود و نزد جاهلان علماء اند و اندر این معنی گفته ام :

HPA., (44a) : lines 1 & 2 interchanged.

2. HM., p. 18. : پیش ابومدین (مغربی) از اکابر صوفیه مذکور کردند - گفت ما فدید نمی خوریم و بیرونی - کسی کار نداریم و همیشه رزق ما تازه است و غذای ما لم طری یعنی گشت تازه - اندر این معنی گفته ام :

HPA., (42a) line 1 : لحم قدید for لحم و قدید ; line 4 : ذوق جدید for رزق جدید :

3. SL., p. 72 ; line : 3 چو واصل شود ; line 2 : (؟) : مرهم بدی کند که اورا ریش کند

4. SL., p. 117.

xxxv

ای که از نام توئی بارد عشق و پیغام توئی بارد عشق
عاشق گردد هر که بکویت گذرد آری ز در بام توئی بارد عشق¹

O Thou, from whose very name raineth Love,
And from the epistle and message of Thine raineth Love ;
Whosoever passeth by Thy street, realises
Indeed that from the very door to the terrace of Thine (house) raineth
Love.

BIKRAMA JIT HASRAT.

MUSLIM CONTRIBUTIONS TO ASTRONOMICAL AND MATHEMATICAL GEOGRAPHY¹

THE Muslim contribution to Geography has, generally speaking, been chiefly studied in the West, both by orientalists and by some students of astronomy and mathematics. However, the chief deterrent to a greater appreciation and fuller recognition of the extent of the Muslim share in such scientific knowledge lies in the facts that, firstly, a large number of invaluable works referred to in extant sources have been entirely lost,² and secondly, much of the available material has not been properly approached and investigated. Nevertheless we are greatly indebted to some scholars, including those of the West, for their labours in presenting to the world the achievements of Muslim savants of yore. Here an attempt has been made to provide an outline of the work done which has a direct bearing on purely geographical matters, i.e., the chronological order of the workers in the field, ideas about latitudes and longitudes and the shape and size of the earth with its movements, results of measurements connected therewith, famous observatories, and the uses of instruments, etc.

It has been said that "the Arabs are before all else the pupils of the Greeks; their science is a continuation of the Greek science, which it preserves, cultivates, and on a number of important points develops and perfects."³ Nobody can deny that this is precisely how the edifice of science and culture has been built up from the past to the present. But it would not be wholly true to say that the birth of Muslim geographical science was entirely dependent upon familiarity with Greek sciences,⁴ because there had already appeared no less than about five writers who dealt with the geography, historiography, and archæology of Arabia, i.e., Abū-Ziyād al-Kilābī, an-Naḍar b. Shamīl (d. 204 A.H.), Hishām al-

1. Another contribution by the author, *Muslim Contribution to Geography during the Middle Ages*, has appeared in *Islamic Culture* for July 1943. The present contribution is in continuation of the former paper.

2. For example, Jurjī Zaidān 'Ulūm-al-Arab, pp. 236-37 estimates that of a total of about six million books in the various libraries of the eastern and the western lands of Islam, only about thirty thousand have survived the ravages of time.

3. Arnold and Guillaume, *The Legacy of Islam*, p. 376.

4. Maulānā S. Nadwī, 'Ilm al-Jughrāfiya al-Arab, ad-Diā, Sept. 1932.

Kalbī (206 A.H.), Sa'dān b. al-Mubārak, and Abū-Sa'īd al-Aṣma'ī (d. 213 A.H.).

In the ultimate analysis we find that, speaking historically, the Greeks largely contributed to the culture of the mind and the beginning of science and the Romans were made for conquest and created vast dominions, while the Muslims took up both the tasks; on the one hand they established a great empire with its machinery of law and order and good government, and on the other they built up the edifice of their culture upon the lessons drawn from the wisdom of India, Irān, Chaldea, Greece, and Rome. One thing should be remembered in this connection; with the spread of the wave of Islamic conquest the supremacy of the Arabic language over all other national languages came to be established, and, in addition, this homogeneity of the medium of expression and to a large extent of religious belief led to the growth of a common culture, in the midst of which grew up the learned of all nationalities and sects. Thus, a large number of savants and intellectuals were 'Arab' by language not by nationality, and above all they bore the stamp of Muslim culture.

The Muslim contributions to the astronomical and the mathematical side of geography were a part of broader intellectual and scientific movement which commenced with the Abbasid age. Its growth and development can best be followed in relation to the four chief schools, i.e., those of Baghdad, Egypt, North Africa, and Andalusia. In addition, after the decline of the central authority of the Caliphate at Baghdad, these scientific traditions were followed in the east, first at the court of the new provincial dynasties (particularly the Buwaihids and the Ghaznavids), and later under the newborn intellectual zeal of some of the Mongol princes.

THE BAGHDAD SCHOOL

ON the culmination of the age of conquest the Muslims had become masters of many of those territories which had served in the past as the cradles of civilization and culture—Mesopotamia, Persia, and Egypt; while the conquest of Syria and Palestine early brought them into contact with the Nestorians who had been exiled from the Roman lands on account of their 'heresy.' Thus, Greek knowledge and ideas were available to the Muslim world at an opportune moment when conquest and expansion were giving place to peace and culture. Simultaneously the arm of Islamic expansion had reached the border-lands of Indian culture, and there is evidence of considerable contact with the cultural trends beyond the Indus in the comings and goings of embassies and the visits of learned individuals. From India came two works of special importance from our point of view, the *Brahma-sphuta-Sidhanta* (better known to the Arab world as *Sind-Hind*) and *Khanda-Khadyaka* (known as *Arkand* الاركان).¹ An Indian astronomer and mathematician, Brahmagupta, had composed

1. Datta and Singh, *History of Hindu Mathematics*, pt. I, p. 83.

both these works towards 628 A.D. and they were brought to Baghdad in 154 A.H./771 A.D. Indian scholars helped in the translation of these works by Alfazārī and Ya'qūb Ibn Tāriq. A later influx of Hindu learning in the same direction was the intellectual influence exercised by the ministerial Barmak family, under Hārūn ar-Rashid. The Iranian sources also did not go unnoticed and the famous Pahlavi Tables (Zīj ash-Shahryār—royal astronomical tables) compiled during the last days of the Sassanids, were translated from Persian by Abul-Hasan. In the sense of time the Iranian and the Indian influences were earlier than those of Greek origin. Alfazārī's *Kitāb az-Zīj* (tables), compiled in the second half of the 8th century A.D., reflects Indian influence, and the 'Cupola' of the earth is spoken of as 'Arīn,' which according to Kramers is a false reading of Ujjaini (Ujjain) and points to this early contact.¹

However, with the advent of al-Māmūn the real scientific age of Islamic culture begins. In the intellectual sense the many-sided influences had already penetrated deep into Muslim society. Then, above all, the weight of Māmūn's personality and liberal patronage of learning was harnessed to the advancement of science along with that of all branches of learning. The great Translation Bureau, بيت الحكمة, had already been established under Hārūn ar-Rashid, where were employed learned translators of all nationalities and creeds—Hindus, Parsis, Christians, Jews, Muslims.² Books and extant material were collected by Māmūn from all countries regardless of cost, and translators were paid the weight of books in gold.³ The liberality of this enlightened prince in the promotion of knowledge was remarkable indeed. He is said to have asked the Byzantine emperor to send the savant Leo to Baghdad in return for five tons of gold and an offer of permanent peace between the parties.⁴ Among the translators employed at the 'Bait-ul-Hikmat' four were outstanding: Ya'qūb al-Kindī, Ḥusain b. Ishāq, Thābit b. Qurra, and al-Baṭriq. There were also two well-known Hindu translators, Mankah and Ibn-Dahan (also Doban), who knew Arabic.

The majority of Arabic geographical authors based their work more or less on the *Almagest* المجسطى and the Geography of Ptolemy. The first translation of the *Almagest* by Nairīzī was of great consequence. Since Ptolemy himself had given a mathematical and an astronomical bias to his labours, his admirers followed the tradition. Therefore the work of the astronomers, as far as it has bearings on Geography, is also to be taken into consideration, if we are to grasp the full meaning of Muslim contributions. Thus an outline of their work has been provided.⁵

1. *Encyclp. Islam*, sup. No. 1, p.63.

2. Shibli, *Al-Māmūn*, p. 164.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 170.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 175.

5. *The History of Arab Mathematics*, by Dr. 'Atāul-Hakim, Professor of Mathematics, Islamia College, Calcutta, which has been accepted as a thesis for the degree of Ph.D. by the University of Calcutta, and *L'Histoire des Arabes*, by Sedillot, chap. IV, have been consulted for much useful information.

The first series of regular observations with accurate instruments were conducted at Jundishāpūr (S.W. Persia) during the first half of the 9th century, and were utilised by Aḥmad an-Nahāwandī and resulted in the preparation of his 'general tables' (az-Zij al-Mushtamil) 803 A.D. But with the systematic work of translation in the reign of Māmūn and the establishment of observatories at Baghdad and Damascus begins the real work on geographical matters. The great caliph was not satisfied with the progress made by the Translation Bureau, and he allotted much greater resources to it and gathered together all the known workers in the scientific field.

Ya'qūb al-Kindī, who knew many languages and has written no less than 282 books, was the next noted translator of Greek works. The astronomers and mathematicians embodied their labours in the so-called 'Verified Tables' (az-Zij al-Mā'mūniy al-Mumtaḥan) which were prepared among others by Yaḥyā b. abi Maṣṣūr, Sind b. 'Alī and Khālīd b. 'Abdul-Mālik al-Marvarūzi. These tables do not exist in their original form. The measurement of a degree of latitude entailed difficult geodetic operations,¹ but this was done with a remarkable approach to accuracy in about latitude 36° N, as a result of simultaneous observations between Tadmur (Palmyra) and Raqqa, the result being a little more than the actual, i.e., by 2877 feet.² Other findings in the verified tables relate to the obliquity of the ecliptic, the precession of equinoxes, and the length of the solar year, etc. Among these early astronomers was also Māshā' Allāh son of Athārī or Sariya (b. 112 A.H./730 A.D. d. 200 A.H./815 A.D.), who made his own instruments and took careful observations. Khwārizmī had prepared an abridgement of *Sind-Hind*, and al-Kindī who was well versed in Greek did much useful scientific work relating to interpretations of the Alexanderian school. Another notable figure was Abū-Ma'shar (Ja'far b. Maḥammad b. 'Umar), a native of Balkh, who is known to Europe as Albumasar. He was a student of al-Kindī and died at Wāsiṭ at the ripe old age of a hundred years (272 A.H./886 A.D.). Europe mostly knows him as an astrologer and there has grown up a tendency to belittle his astronomical work. But his tables (*Zij Abū-Ma'shar*) deserve a high place. He was specially interested in celestial phenomena. Al-Māhānī studied the eclipses of the sun and the moon and the conjunction of the

1. The method undertaken will be described fully in its proper place in the section dealing with measurements.

2. Nallino, *Encyclp. Islam*, Vol. I. p. 498.

This statement refers to the result discussed on page 183, line 36 of this article, where it is stated "but adopted the larger of the two values viz. 56½ miles." It should be noted that by the word mile here is meant the Arabian mile, not the English. 1 Arabian mile = 6472.4 English feet. The circumference of the earth equal to 20400 miles mentioned in this paper is also reckoned in Arabian miles. Its value in English miles would be 24847.2. Taking the degree of latitude near the equator as equal to 68.7 miles (English), the circumference comes out as nearly 24732 miles. See a discussion on this subject in *Hyderabad Academy Studies*, No. 3, p. 108. (article by Prof. Mohd. A. R. Khan, entitled "Need for better Co-operation between Oriental Scientists and Arabic Scholars.")—Ed.

planets, etc., about the year 854-68 A.D., but unfortunately his works are not to be found beyond scattered references here and there.¹

The labours of the three sons of Mūsā b. Shākir, viz., Muḥammad, Aḥmad, and Hasan, occupy an important place among the works of the school of Baghdad. From 850 to 870 A.D. they were engaged in the metropolis taking observations from their State-patronised observatory at Bāb aṭ-Ṭāq (the Ṭāq-gate) on the Tigris. Their tables were greatly relied upon by Ibn-Yūnus. Al-Battānī did his work at Raqqā from 877 to 918 A.D. and died in 929 A.D. Sedillot² thinks that European writers have attached undue importance to his works owing to their ignorance of the contributions of his predecessors. He says that Battānī played the same role among the Arabs as Ptolemy did among the Greeks, as both produced the sum-total of knowledge acquired till their time. Battānī's tables have been entirely lost and the Latin versions are full of mistakes. Thābit b. Qurra (d. 288 A.H./813 A.D.), a Christian savant at the Court of Baghdad, translated the *Almagest* afresh. Ḥabash al-Ḥāsib worked at Baghdad about 300 A.H./912 A.D.

With the weakening of the authority of the Abbasid caliphs onwards, much of the work of these astronomer-geographers centres round the Buwaihid Court, and in this connection the name of Ibn al-ʿĀlam (d. 375 A.H./988 A.D.) is of note as the author of 'tables' based upon independent observations relating to the determination of the precession of equinoxes in an exact manner with the help of self-made instruments. But there is no trace of his work. He is reputed to be a teacher of ʿAḍad-ud-Dawla. ʿAbdur-Rahmān aṣ-Ṣūfī (d. 376 A.H./986 A.D.), the famous author of *aṣ-Ṣuwar al-Kawākib ath-Thābita* and writer of a book on the astrolabe, Abul-Qāsim ʿAbdullāh al-Colūzī, and Jaʿfar were among the contemporaries of Ibn al-ʿĀlam. Ar-Rāzī (Abū-Muḥammad b. Zakariya, 840-902 A.D.), the famous Rhazes of the west, wrote on the form of the earth (*Kitāb Haiʾat-al-ʿĀlam*) and contributed a treatise on the setting of the sun and planets (*Risālat fi-Gurūb ish Shāms-wal-Kawākib*). He was born at Rayy and worked at Baghdad. The Buwaihid court in the days of ʿAḍad-ud-Dawla and Sharaf-ad-Dawla was surrounded by a galaxy of astronomers, mathematicians, and other savants. Among the rest, three more names figure prominently for their contributions on geographical matters. Al-Kūhī (Abū Sahal al-Waighān b. Rustam d. 1004 A.D.) was the designer of many instruments and the founder of the observatory at Baghdad under Sharaf ad-Dawla. Kūhī's works are lost, although he is credited with the observation of the summer solstice and of an autumnal equinox.³ Abul-Wafā (Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Yahyā b. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbbās) was born in Buzjān in Khurāsān between Herat and Nishapur in 995 A.D. and died 998 A.D. He observed the obliquity of

1. The Hākimite Tables of Ibn-Yūnus.

2. *L'Histoire des Arabes*.

3. *Ibid*.

the ecliptic in 995 A.D. and prepared his 'tables' (*Zīj Shāmī*). It is said that he was struck by the imperfection of the lunar theory of Ptolemy and on verification pointed out a third inequality which was no other than the one that was discovered by Tycho Brahe six hundred years later.¹ Abū-Muḥammad al-Khujandī in 992 A.D. made and used his own instruments. Hārūn b. 'Alī, maker of astronomical instruments, and his new 'tables' and Abū-Ishāq are other names that shed glory on the achievements of the Baghdad school.

About this time the ever-increasing chaotic political conditions and the waning prestige of the caliphs brought to an end this great scientific activity at the metropolis. The most important feature, however, of the Baghdad school was the truly scientific spirit which had been the guiding principle of all its workers. These savants always worked from the known to the unknown, and experiment and demonstration were the foundations of their system.

EGYPT

By the end of the 10th century Egypt had already broken loose from the caliphate of Baghdad, and its capital was destined to become a new centre of scientific activity. The reigns of al-'Azīz and al-Hākīm were the golden age of this school. Al-'Azīz (375/996 A.D.) founded the observatory at Cairo and rich endowments were allotted to it by al-Hākīm also. The outstanding work was that of Ibn-Yūnus (Abul-Hasan 'Alī b. Abī-Sa'īd 'Abdur-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad b. Yūnus), who died in 399 A.H./1009 A.D. He made a series of observations at his observatory on Mount al-Muqāṭṭam from 367 A.H./977 A.D. to 389 A.H./1007 A.D. Ibn-Yūnus was certainly a worthy successor of Abul-Wafā' and also relied greatly upon the labours of the three sons of Mūsā b. Shākir. As a result of his careful observations and measurements he produced the famous Hākimite Tables (*az-Zīj al-Hākīmī*), which succeeded both the *Almagest* and three earlier treatises of the school of Baghdad. Because of their authenticity these tables ultimately found currency in distant lands, such as Persia, Mongol domains, China, and Mediæval Europe. In addition, Ibn-Yūnus was the inventor of the pendulum and also used the gnomon. Ibn al-Ḥaitham (d. 430 A.H./1039 A.D.) was another noted mathematician and physicist who did much outstanding work.

Al-Bīrūnī.

In point of time as well as from the view-point of far-reaching significance in the advancement of all aspects of geographical knowledge, stands out at this stage the dominating figure of Abū-Raiḥān Muḥammad al-Bīrūnī. He is certainly one of the greatest intellectuals of all times.

1. Sedillot, *L'Histoire des Arabes*.

Much of his geographical work has already been discussed,¹ and here only an outline of his contributions to the astronomical and the mathematical side of the subject will be provided. He combined in himself the understanding of all aspects of geographical thought and in this respect, above all else, he measured up to the standard of Ptolemy: in many ways he even surpassed the Alexandrian. He possessed the tremendous advantage of being well-versed in several languages, i.e., Greek, Syriac, Persian, Arabic, and Sanskrit. On his arrival in India with Sultān Maḥmūd, he devoted himself whole-heartedly to the study of Sanskrit with a view to getting access to the best sources of Indian thought, including mathematics, astronomy, and chronology. He studied many Indian works including Brahmagupta's, and among the Arabians all his great predecessors, including Alfazārī, Ya'qūb Ibn-Ṭāriq, Khwārizmī, Kindī, Abū-Ma'shar, and Jaiḥānī. In the opinion of a worthy scholar,² his work represents a scientific renaissance in comparison with the aspirations of the scholars working in Baghdad under the first Abbaside. Al-Bīrūnī devoted a lifetime to the service of science and learning. According to Yāqūt, there were only two days in the year, Nauroz and Meharjān, when he used to leave off his intellectual pursuits, otherwise his hand never left the pen.³ He himself discussed the attitude of the real scientist in an admirable way in his introduction to *Qānūn al-Mas'ūdi* القانون المسعودي.⁴ Al-Bīrūnī wrote no less than fifteen books and dissertations on topics like the measurement and determination of latitudes and longitudes, finding of distances and co-ordinates of the Ka'ba. Instruments and their uses were discussed in no less than five booklets giving various methods of constructing astrolabes, etc. In all, he was the author of several dozen books of which a large number dealt with geographical matters. Information about these books is obtained from some of his own great books, viz., *Chronology of Ancient Nations* الآثار الباقية, *Indica* كتاب الهند, and *Canon Masudicus* القانون لمسعودي and from Hājī Khalifā's كشف الظنون عن أسامي الكتب والفنون (An Encyclopædia).⁵

Al-Bīrūnī's astronomical and mathematical labours are largely collected in his *Canon Masudicus*, a monumental work written in 1038 A.D. at Ghaznī and dedicated to Sultān Mas'ūd. It still awaits full translation and publication. Besides, he also refers to astronomical, mathematical, and geographical matters in his other works, e.g., *Indica*, كتاب التمهيد لاوائل صناعات, *Kitāb at-Tafhīm* (a sort of introduction to astrology) and the *Chronology of Ancient Nations*. In the domain of mathematics his labours are of a

1. In *Islamic Culture*, July, 1943.

2. Sachau, *Al-Bīrūnī's India* (preface, XXVII).

3. *Al-Udaba*, Vol. VI, pp. 308-9.

4. Barnī, *Al-Bīrūnī*, p. 232.3; Mu'jam.

5. For details see Barnī's *al-Bīrūnī*, Chap. IV. and Sachau, *Kitāb al-Hind* (Arabic text).

far-reaching character.¹ Certainly al-Bīrūnī can be regarded as one of the greatest geographers of all times. His services to geography were manifold and immense. He much developed the mathematical side of it, carrying on geodetic measurements and determining with a remarkable precision the co-ordinates of a number of places. He introduced a simple method of stereographic projections. In addition, he explained the occurrence of natural springs and artificial wells (artesian) by the laws of hydrostatics.² Geology and mineralogy also did not escape his attention. He discussed the earth, its axis and its movements, and threw much light on the Hindu methods of determining latitudes and longitudes. His contribution to the general geography of India³ was also of a high order.

To this period also belongs a notable contemporary of al-Bīrūnī, Abū-'Alī Sīnā (Abū-'Alī al-Husain b. 'Abdullāh b. al-Husain b. al-'Utā ash-Shaikh ar-Ra'īs Abū-Sīnā) 980 A.D./1036 A.D., known to the west as Avicenna. Along with al-Bīrūnī and others he was among the galaxy of savants at the court of Khwārizm before Sultān Maḥmūd's conquest overwhelmed it. He was celebrated for his philosophical discourses as well as for his skill in the practice of medicine, but physics and astronomy were no ordinary pursuits with him. *Tārīkh Ḥukamā* contains a list of forty-one books by him, which included treatises on astronomical instruments (copy of MS. in the Vatican), the place of the earth in the universe, heavenly bodies, and their uses, in answer to questions about the characteristics of the equator. He also wrote a compendium of the *Almagest*.⁴ Ibn-Sīnā's treatise on minerals remained one of the chief sources of geological knowledge in western Europe until the Renaissance.

SPAIN

LIKE the eastern lands of Islam, Spain was also the cradle of this scientific activity, and Cordova, Seville, Toledo, and Granada shared the honours from the middle of the 10th century A.D. onwards. Unfortunately many works have been lost, and in many Latin and Spanish works compiled under Alphonso X (1252-1282 A.D.), which are indebted to Muslim sources, either due recognition has not been given or names and subject-matter have been badly distorted.

Maslama al-Majritī (d. 398 A.H./1007 A.D.) made a synopsis of the tables of al-Battānī which were later made much use of by the authors of the Tables Alphonsine. A very well-known name is that of az-Zarqālī (Arzachel), who lived and worked towards the second half of the 11th

1. Zia-uddin Aḥmad, Opening Speech, 12th Math. Conf., Aligarh, Dec. 1941.

2. G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, Vol. I, p. 870.

3. See by the present writer, "Al-Bīrūnī's Geography of India," *The Calcutta Geography Review*, March and Sept. 1943.

4. 'Atāul-Ḥakīm, *History of Arab Mathematics*.

century A.D. (1029-1088) and was the author of the Toledo Tables. He was also the maker of many instruments, including astrolabes. Latin translations of some of his treatises are preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, but unfortunately the originals have been lost.¹ Other authorities were Jābir b. Aflāḥ (Geber) of Seville (d. between 1140-50 A.D.), and Ibn-Rushd (Averroes), d. 1198-9 at Marrakush and born at Cordova 520 A.H. The last named famous philosopher and scientist wrote a book on the motion of the heavens and an epitome of Ptolemy's *Almagest*. Ibn-Bājja (Avempace) d. 553 A.H./1129 A.D. and al-Bitrūjī (Alpetragius) d. 600 A.H./1204 A.D. are among other Spanish writers on our subject. On the whole the Ptolemaic findings were disputed in Spain and many corrections were attempted.

NORTH AFRICA

THIS part of the world of Islam also did not remain aloof from this universal scientific activity. Tangier, Ceuta, Fez, and Morocco shared in this work and their scholars show an indefatigable ardour. Among them the most celebrated was Abū-'Alī al-Ḥasan b. 'Umar al-Marrakushī, who produced his astronomical works about 1230 A.D. He travelled from the heart of Spain through a large part of North Africa and discovered the altitude of the pole in forty-one cities.² His book is entitled "*The Beginning and the End*," and has been studied by the eminent scholar, M. J. J. Sedillot.³ He was also the author of a treatise on astronomical instruments. His work has been characterised by an eminent scholar⁴ as "the most important contribution to mathematical geography—not only in Islam but anywhere. . . . It includes among other things the co-ordinates of 135 places, the observation having been made by himself in 34 of them. No mediæval writer has taken equal pains to explain scientific methods and instruments."

PERSIA AND THE EAST

DURING the Saljūq period some useful work was done at the court of the powerful Sulṭāns. The reign of Jalāl-ad-Dīn Malik Shāh (1072-1092 A.D.) was outstanding; he surrounded himself with notable astronomers and gave his name to the Jalālī era which came about as a result of the reform of the calendar under the guidance of men like 'Umar Khayyām and 'Abdur-Rahmān. Rayy and Nishāpūr were the chief centres of this scientific activity.

Though later the Mongol inundation swept remorselessly over the fair lands of Islam, yet in a short while the victors submitted to the intellec-

1. Sedillot, *L'Histoire des Arabes*.

2. *Ibid*.

3. *Ibid*.

4. G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, Vol. II, pp. 41-42.

tual superiority of the conquered. Hulāgū Khān (d. 1265 A.D.) collected at his court the leading astronomers and mathematicians. The most illustrious among these was Naṣīr ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī, the famous author of the *Ikhānī Tables*.¹ A magnificent observatory was set up at Marāgha, near lake Urmiah in modern North Iran. At-Ṭūsī collected all the great available works from Khurāsān, Baghdad, Mosul and Syria. At its full height the work lasted for twelve years, and with it were associated many astronomers, including Najam ad-Dīn Qazwīnī, Mu'ayyad ad-Dīn, Muḥī ad-Dīn, Fakhr ad-Dīn and others. Though the tables of Ibn-Yūnus were the basis of the *Ikhānī Tables*, they were reproduced with many modifications. At-Ṭūsī's pupil Quṭb ad-Dīn Maḥmūd ash-Shīrāzī continued his work. A suggestion has been made that there were also Chinese scientists working under Naṣīr ad-Dīn, and that may perhaps explain the influence of Muslim scientific thought upon China at this epoch.¹ The last bright phase of the work is associated with the activity in the rising city of Samaraqand. Ulugh Beg (796 A.H./1393 A.D.—853 A.H./1449 A.D.), grandson of Timūr, summoned the leading lights—Jamshed al-Kāshī, Qāḍī Zade Rūmī, and Mu'in ad-Dīn Qāshānī to his court, and the *Tables* (*Zīj-i Jadīd Sulṭānī*), the preface to which was written by himself, truly represent the last stage in the glorious traditions of the school of Baghdad.

ESTABLISHMENT OF OBSERVATORIES

As would be expected, the collection of such vast scientific data and the production of outstanding treatises were linked up with the establishment of up-to-date and well-equipped observatories, sometimes subsidised by the rulers but often also set up by the nobility and members of the aristocracy for their scientist friends. No sooner had beginnings been made with the cultivation of the sciences, as a result of the cultural contracts with non-Arab elements, than the observatory at Jundi-Shāpūr came into existence in the first half of the 9th century A.D. It was a small town in Khuzistān (S.W. Iran), founded by Shāpūr I, the Sasanian, and later inherited the traditions of scientific work in the days of Anūsharwān (550 A.D.). To-day the site is marked by the ruins of Shahabad. At this observatory worked men like Aḥmad an-Nahāwandī, the compiler of *Zīj-al-Mushtamīl* (General Tables, 803 A.D.). The instruments used are said to be very accurate. In the days of al-Māmūn the most celebrated observatory was that of Shamasyā in the plains of Tadmur (Palmyra), established in 216 A.H. Māmūn appointed Yahyā b. Abī al-Manṣūr, Khālīd b. 'Abdul-Mālīk Marwarūzī, Sind b. 'Alī and 'Abbās b. Sa'īd Joharī and several other mathematicians and astronomers from all the four corners of the realm as directors. Observations were conducted with the help of the latest and most accurate instruments.² There was another

1. G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, Vol. II, p. 14.

2. Shibli, *Al-Māmūn*, p. 174 (quoting from *Kashf az-Zanūn*).

State-owned observatory on Mount Qasiyūn, two miles north of Damascus. These and other observation stations were under a board of astronomers¹ headed by Yahyā b. Abī al-Manṣūr, and the data thus collected resulted in the preparation of the famous 'Verified Tables.' A little later, in 235 A.H., ad-Dīnawarī (Abū-Hanīfā Aḥmad b. Dā'ūd) built his observatory at Isfahan, where he made observations recorded in his *Kitāb ar-Raṣād*. Then he probably went back to his little home-town (Dīnāwar in Persian Iraq) where his observatory was pointed out for several centuries later. Ad-Dīnawarī was also a noted botanist and wrote a scientific book on the subject, *Kitāb an-Nabāt*. He died in 282 A.H./805 A.D.² Reference has already been made to the observatory at Bāb at-Ṭāq (Ṭāq Gate) on the Tigris, in Baghdad, where the sons of Mūsā b. Shākīr did such useful work. The Ṭāq Gate was at the eastern end of the bridge taking the Khurāsān road across the Tigris. It opened directly into the great market-street east of Baghdad from which the chief thoroughfares branched.³ Later, Sharaf ad-Dāwla (988 A.D.) made an observatory at Baghdad which was situated in the garden of his palace. The instruments that were used were made by as-Ṣāghānī, an outstanding instrument-maker of his age. Here worked two noted scientists, al-Kūhī and Ab'ul-Wafā.

Ibn-Yūnus' work was largely carried on at the observatory of al-Muqattam. The observatory was built on the part of the range of hills which lies immediately east of Cairo and reaches a height of about 600 ft. overlooking the Nile. Both al-Ḥākim and al-'Azīz spent large sums of money in equipping and maintaining this observatory.

In the later period, in the east, two observatories attained a wide fame and both were the result of the patronage of science by Mongol princes. Hulāgū Khān fixed his residence at Marāghā, 50 miles from Tabriz as the crow flies. The city was situated in a valley overlooking a fertile plain stretching up to lake Urmiah, nine miles away. On the plans submitted by his Vazīr, Naṣīr ad-Dīn Ṭūsī, he erected a great observatory on a fortified hill west of the town. Today only traces of the foundation walls are to be seen. The observatory was fitted with many instruments. "The rays of the sun were admitted through a perforation in the dome so as to strike upon certain lines on the pavement, in such a way as to indicate, in degrees and minutes, the altitude and declination of the sun in every season and to mark the time and hour of the day throughout the year. On a big terrestrial globe were traced the inhabited regions, outlines of the oceans, rivers, lakes, islands, together with the descriptions of climatic conditions and various zones."⁴ Ṣadr-ud-Dīn 'Alī b. ash-Shujā' is said to have been the superintendent of the observatory and Ṭūsī had appointed four advisers, one of whom was a noted astronomer of the town, Fakhr ad-Dīn. In

1. 'Atāul Ḥakīm, *History of Arab Mathematics*.

2. *Encyclop. of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 977.

3. Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, p. 178.

4. 'Atāul Ḥakīm, *History of Arab Mathematics*.

addition to instruments the observatory had a well-equipped library containing about 400,000 books.¹ Lastly, Ulugh Beg built his observatory at Samarqand on the other side of the Kūhī. It was so big and well-equipped that it was regarded as one of the wonders of the world.² Jamshed al-Kāshī was the first superintendent of this observatory. The prince himself was a practical scientist and used the observatory. The Emperor Bābar, in his autobiography, says that he had seen the ruins of the observatory at Samarqand.³ Here was prepared *Zīj-i-Jadīd Sulṭānī*.

INSTRUMENTS IN USE

SUCH scientific work, as well as various other measurements and observations, would not have been possible without the use of many instruments of precision. Of course, some of these were earlier inventions, but they had undergone a great deal of improvement. Those which were on the Greek model⁴ were the Astrolabe (Uṣṭurlāb اصطراب), Latercus (al-Libnā)—a square graduated plate for reading the distance between two objects—Annulus or Aquinoctialis (al-Ḥalqat-ul-I'tidāliyyā), which was a graduated circular plate fixed at right-angles to the equatorial circle for reading the declination at the meridian, the triad, the sextant and the clepsydra. To these the Arabs added 'Dhāt al-Autār (four square cylinders so arranged and contrived as to ascertain the time at different latitudes), 'Dhāt as-Simt wal Irtifā', al-Mushābahat bil Manātiq (an instrument for reading regular distances), 'Ḥalqat al-Kubrā' and 'Ḥalqat as-Ṣuḡhrā', various kinds of sun-dials, and most probably some sort of compass,⁵ and perhaps other instruments about which we do not know.

Before the invention of the telescope, the microscope, and the vernier, there can hardly be said to have been instruments of precision. But necessity is the mother of invention, and since there was the need for land-measure, for levelling and measurement of heights, the world developed several interesting instruments. In general, ancient surveyors measured distance by the use of a rope or a wooden rod. The unit of measurement varying in different localities. They laid off right-angles by the use of an instrument resembling the carpenter's square of the present day.⁶

Of all the instruments in use by the Muslim astronomer-geographers the most familiar was the astrolabe in its various forms. The astrolabe has had a long history among astronomico-mathematical instruments. The word is derived from the Greek *αστρον* 'star' and *λαβειν* 'to take'.⁷

1. Jurji Zaidān, 'Uḷūm-i-Arab, p. 227.

2. *Encyclop.*, Vol. IV, p. 995.

3. Maulānā Sulaimān Nadvī, *Ziauddin Usturlābi Humāyūni*, Aug. 1933, *Ma'arif*.

4. 'Atāul-Ḥakīm, *History of Arab Mathematics*. This work is under publication.

5. Still a matter of controversy; will be dealt with presently.

6. Smith, *History of Mathematics*, Vol. II, pp. 344-45.

7. *Encyclop. Brit.*, 13th Ed., Vol. I, p. 793.

since it was an instrument used not only for stellar but also for solar and lunar altitude-taking. The basic instrument can be reduced to three fundamental types, according as they represent the projection of the Celestial Sphere on a plane, or the projection of this projection on a straight line, or the sphere itself without any projection.¹ The astrolabe dates back at least to Hipparchus and perhaps even earlier to Eratosthenes. In many ways it is the forerunner of the modern sextant.² It became a favourite instrument with Muslim scientists who effected many improvements on the older model. Firstly, they used a flat instrument, *astrolabium planisphaerum* (Sāṭiḥ ساطي or Musāṭṭah مسطح), in Arabic also called Dhāt aṣ-Ṣafa'ih, consisting of tablets. It was a portable metal instrument in the form of a disc, ranging in size from 3.9 inches to 7.8 inches in diameter, and had a handle ('Urwa) through which passed a suspending ring (Ḥalqa, 'Ilāqa), by means of which it could be suspended in a vertical position.³ As a result of many improvements the Muslim scientists used the astrolabe for finding the height of any star on immediate observation and thereby knowing the hours of day and night already spent; then in addition to solving many problems of spherical astronomy (with which we are not concerned here) it was useful in undertaking geodetic operations, e.g., for calculating the distance of an inaccessible place, the height of a building, the depth of a well whose diameter could be measured. It is obvious that such a small instrument would not give great accuracy, and especially in the case of observations connected with celestial phenomena where, on account of the precession of the equinoxes and the diminution of the obliquity of the ecliptic, variations occur over a period of time. It was only the advent of the telescope, the modern sextant, and the theodolite which gave precision to our observations and measurements. In fact, till the 17th century the mariners went on using the astrolabe for the direct measurement of the altitude of the sun.

In the course of time Europe learnt about the perfected astrolabe from Arabian sources, and on account of its utility it became known as a 'Marvel of Convenience and Ingenuity' and was also called the 'Mathematical Jewel'.⁴

It is not intended to provide a history of astrolabe-making, but some of the outstanding makers of this instrument and writers on the subject may be mentioned in passing. Among the earliest makers of the astrolabe among the Muslims were al-Fazārī (d. 796 A.D.) and an-Nairizi (d. 922 A.D.). Al-Khāzin wrote a book on it, *Kitāb Zīj aṣ-Ṣafa'ih*. Al-Khujandī (d. 382 A.H./992 A.D.), who lived in the Court of Fakhr ad-Dawla the Buwaihid, constructed an instrument known as 'Sudas al-Fakhrī, سدس الفخري (some kind of astrolabe), by means of which latitudes of places were found

1. Nallino, *Encyclop. Islam*, Vol. I.

2. Dickinson and Howarth, *Making of Geography*, p. 108.

3. Nallino, *Encyclop. Islam*, Vol. I.

4. *Encyclop. Brit.*, 13th Ed. Vol. I, p. 795.

out. It has been called the forerunner of the modern sextant.¹ Al-Jillī (971-1029 A.D.) also wrote a book on the astrolabe. In the observatory of Sharaf ad-Dawla at Baghdad, towards 1000 A.D., were two famous instrument makers aṣ-Ṣāghānī and Rustum al-Kūhī. Al-Bīrūnī was not only a great writer on instruments in use, e.g., in several *Risalas*² on Uṣṭurlāb and the *Kitāb at-Taḥḥīm*³; among others he mentions al-Khujandī his friend and contemporary Abū-Sa'īd as-Sinjārī (maker of a big astrolabe), and al-Jillī—he himself was no less an inventor of many instruments. In the west az-Zarqālī (1029-1088 A.D.) was the outstanding maker of astrolabes and his *Safīha* exerted the most far-reaching influence on the use of the improved astrolabe in Europe. Mathematicians, astronomers, sailors, and mariners remained familiar with it for several centuries. Later, in the east, Badī' az-Zamān (d. 1139/40 A.D.) Uṣṭurlābī was the most efficient astrolabe-maker of the time. He also constructed a celestial sphere and a globe, among other instruments. Muẓaffar at-Tūsī is known for his 'Aṣā'ī Tūsī' and al-'Urdī was the most celebrated of the instrument-makers of the Marāghā observatory. It is said that he was the supervisor of a foundry and tool-shop which was attached to the observatory. He was in all probability the author of a treatise describing the instruments used at Marāghā. Among other instruments he was the maker of a Hipparch's diopter (alidade) and parallactic rulers (after Ptolemy).⁴ It is also surmised that at this observatory they also had instruments with which they could distinctly perceive remote objects (may be, a sort of miniature telescope).⁵ The continued use and construction of good instruments is evident in the days of Ulugh Beg at Samarqand. Very late in the day, the craft spread to India, where onwards from Humāyūn's time the family of Dīā-ud-Dīn Uṣṭurlābī constructed many astrolabes through three or four generations.⁶

Religious and astronomical interest made it incumbent upon the astronomers to lay particular stress upon the accurate determination of the geographical latitudes and longitudes of places. Above all, the precise knowledge of latitudes was used in the construction of horizontal sun-dials ('baseta') which, like the town clocks in our own time, always adorned the open squares where there was usually a mosque. These sun-dials were constructed with regard to the latitude of a particular place.⁷ It is a legacy of those times that in many mosques today as well as a clock inside we find sun-dials adorning the court-yard.

The invention of such a useful instrument as the mariner's compass is

1. Barnī, *Al-Bīrūnī*, p. 12. (see footnote).

2. *Ibid.* (also see al-Bīrūnī's *India*, Arabic text edited by Sachau).

3. Sartōn, *Introduction to the History of Science*, Vol. II, p. 12.

4. Sartōn, *Introduction to the History of Science*, Vol. II, p. 1013. (here the question of 'Urdī's authorship of the treatise on instruments is discussed and Sartōn gives a list of the instruments made by him).

5. According to 'Atāul Ḥakīm, *History of Arab Mathematics*, (quoting from Jourdan).

6. Maulānā Sulaimān Nadvī—Dīā-Uddīn Humāyūnī Uṣ-Turlābī, *Ma'arif*, Aug. 1933.

7. Schoy, *Geography of the Muslims of the Middle Ages*, American Geographical Review, Vol. XIV, 1924.

in some quarters¹ still regarded as obscure, and the claim of originality is divided between the Chinese, Greeks, Etruscans, Finns, Italians, and Arabs. The theory of Chinese origin is now largely discredited, as it is pointed out that "the first practical use of the magnetic needle was credited by the Chinese themselves to foreigners, who were in all probability Muslims."² The extensive Muslim maritime activity would certainly warrant the use of such an instrument. What has given cause for speculation, however, is the fact that according to some the earliest reference to it outside of China is found in Europe in the Latin writings of Alexander Neckam,³ but the Englishman does not speak of it as a novelty. Muslim references are said to be later, perhaps for purposes of secrecy mention of the instrument was avoided. But Maulānā Sulaimān Nadwī⁴ asserts that the earliest mention of the Qutb Numā is found in Idrīsī's work, who says that it was commonly used among the Arabs. The floating compass and its early popularity with the Muslim sailors of the Indian Ocean is a historical fact, see *Jawāmi'-al-Hikāyāt* by 'Awfī.

MEASUREMENT OF LATITUDES AND LONGITUDES

It should be remembered that methods and instruments for the precise determination of position, i.e., latitude and longitude, are essential to navigation and the construction of accurate maps. Generally speaking, latitude may be determined by the measurement of the altitude of the sun, the pole star, or the upper and lower culminations of a circumpolar star. The earliest instrument known for measuring the elevation of the sun was the gnomon (مقياس), which consists simply of a vertical rod, from the length of whose shadow the altitude of the sun can be calculated. It is traced back to the Babylonian times. It has often been asserted that in the matter of these measurements Muslim astronomer-geographers in no way surpassed the *Almagest* of Ptolemy. But such a view is based upon insufficient knowledge of the work done by the Muslim. It has been rightly pointed out that "various Arabic geographers carried out unusually thorough researches leading to the determination of geographical latitudes, and thereby contrived methods as original as the results occasionally were accurate."⁵ For example, Ibn-Yūnus first called attention to the error resulting in the reckoning of latitude from the shadow of the gnomon, because in this manner errors of as much as 15 creep in, as the shadows are cast from the upper edge of the sun and not from its central point.⁶ The

1. *Encyclop. Brit.* Vols. 5-6, pp. 806-8.

2. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, Vol. II, p. 629.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 630.

4. for Maulānā's criticism of the views expressed in *Encyclop. Brit.* and for further details proving Muslim origin, see *Arab Navigation*, Islamic Culture, Oct. 1942.

5. Schoy, *Geography of the Muslims of the Middle Ages*.

6. *Ibid.*

early astronomers, al-Khwārizmī, Ferghānī, Ḥabash al-Ḥāsib and al-Baṭṭānī made use primarily of Greek and Indian methods of finding latitude. But Schoy points out how Khwārizmī hinted at (though he did not apply) the method of the culmination of a circumpolar star. Ibn al-Haitham (965-1038 A.D.) devoted a separate work to the exact calculation of latitude.¹ He recommended the taking of a bright fixed star for the precise determination of the latitude of the pole. But al-Bīrūnī came out with much scientific and original suggestion in his masterpiece *Qānūn al-Mas'ūdī*, applying the method of circumpolar stars to the sun. His latitude of Ghazni found by this method was accurate, and he found the latitude of numerous places which are mentioned in *Kitāb al-Hind*, *Kitāb at-Taḥfīm*, and *Qānūn al-Mas'ūdī*. Other almost exact calculations were those of the three sons of Mūsā b. Shākir at Baghdad, al-Māhānī at Surra-man-ra'a, Ibn-Yūnus at al-Muqaṭṭam, and Ulugh Beg at Samarqand.

As far as the determination of longitude is concerned, it was a much more difficult problem until the 18th century, for two reasons,—firstly, there was the problem of choosing a prime meridian, secondly, the difficulty of calculating the angular distance east and west of this line. Ptolemy had used the meridian of the Fortunate Isles (vaguely identified with the Canaries) as his standard.

In the determination of longitude the Muslims either began in the farthest west, like the Greeks, and counted through 180° to the east, or sometimes the reckonings were made east and west of an arbitrary prime meridian which at times was supposed to pass through the 'Cupola of Arin' (Qubbat al-Ard) lying at the centre of the earth's surface on the equator. 'Arin' was perhaps a corrupt reading of the name of the Indian town, Ujjain. Before al-Bīrūnī's time a common method of finding longitude was to make use of the eclipses of the moon. The result was that inaccuracies to the extent of several degrees cropped up. He is said to have been first to point out the so-called terrestrial method of calculation. "Having determined accurately the shortest linear distance between two points and the latitudes of each, al-Bīrūnī calculated the difference in longitude from the data thus acquired. This he did in correcting older figures for the distance in longitude between Alexandria and Ghazna, together with the longitudes of number of intermediate points. This calculation is discussed in a chapter of his famous astronomical geography—*Qānūn Mas'ūdī*, a work comparable to the *Almagest* of Ptolemy."²

The technical procedure of the Arab geographers in determining longitude by the observation of the eclipses of the moon was fully elaborated by Ibn-Yūnus.³ An outstanding improvement as a result of the careful calculations of longitude by Muslims was the correction in the exaggerated

1. Schoy, *Geography of the Muslims of the Middle Ages*.

2. *Ibid.*

3. In *Hākimite Tables*.

length of the Mediterranean Sea, which was a legacy of the Ptolemaic error of no less than 17° .

THE EARTH : ITS SHAPE, SIZE, AND MOVEMENTS

THE opinion on the sphericity of the earth was divided in the Europe of the Middle Ages ; one can find ideas ranging from the absurdities propounded by Cosmas to the hesitation of the Christian mind to accept the pagan views. St. Augustine¹ regarded roundness as incredible. On the whole the question remained highly hypothetical and the mediæval European mind steeped in ignorance born of religious obscurantism was not prepared to accept the idea of sphericity, which sounded somewhat paradoxical and fantastic to it. Thus a great deal of unscientific and amusing argument centred round the idea of the antipodes and the human life therein. While on the other hand, in accordance with their scientific attitude, nearly all the Arab geographers believed in the sphericity of the earth, as, according to Honigmann, the Eratostherian theory of climate so fully elaborated by them implied such a belief. The majority, therefore, held to the idea of the earth's being a sphere floating in space. Ibn-Rustah summarises these ideas in his *Work of Costly Treasures*.

As to the size of the earth, much speculation along with serious attempts at measurement had gone on from very early times. Among such attempts the following may be noted with reference to the earth's circumference.

Greek—Aristotle 45,964,² Eratosthenes 25,000,³

Posedonius—18,000, Ptolemy 18,000.

Hindu—Aryabhatta 33,177, Brahmagupta 50,936

Acharya 48,714.

No sooner had Muslim scientific astronomical and mathematical activity begun than geodetic operations engaged the attention of scholars. The first outstanding attempt at the measurement of the earth's circumference was made by al-Māmūn's scientists under the supervision of the sons of Mūsā b. Shākir in the plain of Sinjar in the Syrian desert. The method that they adopted was that a number of observers setting out from the same point walked some to the north and the others to the south, until they had seen the pole star rise and sink one degree. They had been using a rope and fixing it to pegs, and when it was measured, giving the total distance covered, the mean of the results was taken. They actually did not keep this mean but adopted the larger of the two values, viz., 56 $\frac{2}{3}$ miles.⁴ The circumference thus worked out to 20,400 miles. The radius of the

1. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, Vol. II, p. 46.

2. Results are given in English miles, unless otherwise stated.

3. Geographical miles.

4. Arnold and Guillaume, *Legacy of Islam*, p. 381. But Shibli (sec *al-Mā'mūn*, p. 173) gives the reading as 66-2/3 miles, quoting Ibn-Khallikān.

earth according to al-Baṭṭānī and al-Farghānī was 3,250 Arabian miles and Ibn-Rustah put it at 3,818.¹ But once more we find the great al-Bīrūnī excelling everybody. In Chapter VII of *Qānūn al-Mas'ūdī* he discusses the question of the circumference of the earth. He undertook measurements in a level plain in northern Dahistan in Jurjān, but the attempt fell short of success; he therefore brought the task to completion in India by measuring the so-called horizontal depression from a mountain, and the result was 56 miles, 050". In this connection he very favourably comments on the calculations carried out under the sons of Mūsā b. Shākir. The question of the motion of the earth was not discussed in Europe and the planet was considered to be stationary in the centre of the Universe. But many Muslim geographers, e.g., 'Alī b. 'Umar al-Kātibī, Quṭb ad-Dīn Shīrāzī, and the Syrian Abu'l-Faraj, doubted the idea of rest and hinted at a daily rotation, though the idea was finally rejected because that involved the complete understanding of the laws of motion, which had to wait for Galileo and Kepler. But the very fact that doubts were expressed against Ptolemaic findings showed that the Muslims had a commendable progressive tendency and cleared the way for the Copernican reform in 1543. One wonders how Copernicus' work remained undone in spite of such an advanced scientific outlook.

Al-Bīrūnī, accepting the vague Babylonian and Hindu conceptions, believed in the turning of the earth on its own axis. He believed in the movement of the sun round the earth. But being a true scientist he had an open mind and therefore spoke with admiration of the suggestion of Abū-Sa'īd Sinjarī regarding the possible movement of the earth round the sun.² Later, the question of rotation was taken up by 'Umar al-Kātibī al-Qazwīnī, one of the workers at the Marāgha observatory, who prepared an edition of the *Almagest* (d. 1277 A.D.). In his *Hikmat al-'Ain* he introduced the ticklish argument, "If it, i.e., the earth, did not rotate, could a flying bird keep up with it?" Answering³ he said, yes, because the atmosphere might be turning together with the earth and drag the bird. But he was overpowered by the Aristotelian prejudice against accepting such a revolutionary contention and therefore he was unable to anticipate Galileo and Kepler. He added, "All terrestrial motions take place in a straight line and therefore we cannot admit that the earth should move in a circle."⁴ Then among others who had led the question was Quṭb ad-Dīn ash-Shīrāzī (1236-1311 A.D.), pupil of Naṣīr ad-Dīn Ṭūsī. An important work on astronomical geography was his *Nihāyat al-Idrāk fī Dirāyat al-Aflāk* ("On the highest understanding of the knowledge of spheres") based on Ṭūsī's *Tadhkira*, and including discussions on geography, geodesy, and

1. *Encyclop. Islam.*

2. Maulānā Sulaimān Nadwī, '*Ilm-Jughrāfiyā al-Arab*, ad-Dia, Jan. 1933.

3. Barnī, *Al-Bīrūnī*, pp. 210-11.

4. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, Vol. II, p. 764.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 868.

meteorology. He discussed the question whether the earth was at rest or not. Shīrāzī too could not go beyond the ruling conceptions about motion and concluded in favour of rest and conceived of the earth as an immobile sphere placed at the centre of the Universe. But the fact that he discussed the problem at length¹ was in itself a healthy sign.

RÉSUMÉ

A SURVEY of the Muslim contributions to the astronomical and mathematical side of geography reveals that, with only a few exceptions, the workers in the field were unable to adopt both methods as their own, the mathematical and astronomical on the one hand, and the statistical and descriptive on the other. In fact, the development of these two aspects of Muslim geographical science followed a parallel course. There remained 'specialists' in each branch. Indeed, it is only rarely that we come across men like al-Bīrūnī, who was in a class by himself and as his great works bear witness was well-versed in all conceivable pursuits of geographical knowledge. Others who seem to suggest a *rapprochement* between astronomo-mathematical and descriptive geography are al-Khwārizmī, Idrīsī, Naṣīr ad-Dīn Ṭūsī, and Quṭb ad-Dīn Shīrāzī.

Beginning a little before the spread of the knowledge of Greek geography, and then onwards as that knowledge grew, Muslim geographical thought went on developing to a remarkable extent. As has already been pointed out, it was a part and parcel of that general intellectual movement which will ever remain the most glorious chapter in the history of Islam and a definite stage in the development of culture. From the very beginning the Muslim Renaissance was truly an international awakening. From the middle of the 8th century until the 12th, Latin culture was almost entirely overwhelmed by Muslim culture. Therefore, anyone undertaking to study the history of science (especially geography) and civilization during this period, must go to the Muslim sources. Thus when Europe wished to reopen the chapter of ancient thought and deeper knowledge, it turned in the first instance not to Greek but to Arabian sources. It is generally not fully realized what extensive in activity translating began in Europe towards the end of the 12th century. The first translation of the *Almagest* from Arabic into Latin was made by Gerard of Cremona in 1175 A.D. Likewise the same scholar after crossing over from Italy to Spain, translated a vast number of Greek and Muslim philosophical works from Arabic into Latin at Toledo. Among other things he translated Banū-Mūsā's work, al-Khwārizmī, al-Farghānī, Nairizī, Thābit b. Qurra, the tables of Jābir b. Aflāh, and Zarqālī. The usual procedure was that Greek or Muslim knowledge was either translated from Arabic into Latin or from Arabic to Hebrew and thence into Latin. An eminent

1. *Introduction to the History of Science*, Vol. II, p. 1018.

scholar¹ has pointed out three stages of such transmission, viz., Constantine the African (2nd half of the 11th century), John of Seville (1st half of the 12th century), and Gerard of Cremona (2nd half of the 12th century). And no less important are the translations into Spanish and Portuguese under Alfonso X at Toledo. Other noted translators were Arnold of Villanova, Jacob ben Mahir, Albert the Bishop, St. Thomas, and Bacon. It is undeniable that up to the third quarter of the 13th century the only geographical theorist in the West was Roger Bacon, and Muslims continued to be leaders both in the theoretical and the mathematical branches of geography.

In the light of the facts of history it seems ridiculous to assert (as is often stated in history books taught at schools and colleges) that the European Renaissance was ushered in merely as a result of the translation of Greek works into Latin and other European languages which took place in consequence of the Muslim conquest of Constantinople in 1453, when many savants took refuge elsewhere. Actually, as we have suggested above, the ideas which created the revolution in the European mind had already been filtering through, and their cumulative effects were becoming progressively greater and deeper. Thus, with the rest of the sciences, most certainly Muslim efforts in the field of astronomical and mathematical geography reached the West, and a direct evidence of this (if it is at all needed) is found in the Latin and other European versions of the names of practically all the great astronomical and mathematical geographers who have been named in the course of this survey.²

NAFIS AHMAD.

1. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, Vol. II, p. 321.

2. I am highly indebted to Prof. M. A. R. Khan for the valuable help he has rendered in revising and correcting my articles on Muslim geography.



Bigh-i-Farah Bakh-h—General View from the South-East.

(*Vide p. 168.*)

By courtesy of the Archaeological Survey, Government of Iran.

ṢALĀBAT KHĀN II¹

ONE of the eminent personalities in the history of the Deccan is Ṣalābat Khān II, who held for some twelve years the reins of government and control of the Nizām Shāhī kingdom of Aḥmadnagar. His régime as Wakīl and Pīshwā is a glorious period in the history of Aḥmadnagar, in which the kingdom made such remarkable progress in trade and industry, arts and crafts, education, and culture that historians are one in declaring that "since the days of Sulṭān Muḥammad b. 'Alā'ud-Dīn Bahmanī (1358-1375), such prosperity and administration were not heard of in the Deccan."²

There are in the history of the Deccan a number of persons who bore the title of Ṣalābat Khān, viz., Ṣalābat Khān, the nephew of 'Ainul-Mulk of Bijāpūr, Ṣalābat Khān Māzandarānī, who belonged to the Quṭb Shāhī kingdom of Golconda, and Ṣalābat Khān II, who was the chief minister of Murtaḍā Nizām Shāh I (1565-1587) of Aḥmadnagar. We are here concerned with the last named only.

Among the various presents that Shāh Tahmāsp, the Ṣafawī ruler of Irān, sent to Husain Nizām Shāh I (1553-1565), was a Circassian youth of extraordinary gifts and capacities, Shāh Qulī³ called Shihāb Khān in the inscription⁴ on the Taltam Fort, whose intelligence, ready wit, and other attainments so pleased the king that he became the royal favourite, with the consequence that he progressed day by day and rose to a position of importance in the politics of the country. From the statement that Firishta⁵ and others make that his death took place in 1589 A.D. at the age of seventy, we can safely infer that Shāh Qulī (who bore the title of Ṣalābat Khān II) was born about the year 1519. A.D.

1. This paper was originally submitted for reading at the fifth session of the Indian History Congress, Hyderabad, 1941, and is now being published with certain alterations with the permission of the local secretary, my friend, Prof. H. K. Sherwani, M.A., Bar.-at-law, who has also helped me in a number of ways.

2. Ferishta (Bombay edition), II, p. 279. *Bombay Gazetteer*, XVII, p. 373; Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhab-u'l-Lubāb*, III, p. 217.

3. Ferishta, loc. cit., II, p. 272.

4. *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1935-1936, pp. 20-21.

5. Vol. II, p. 295.

HIS CAREER

WHEN Murtaḍā Nizām Shāh I (1565-1587) became suspicious of the fidelity of his prime minister Changīz Khān¹ and wanted him to drink the poison he had specially sent for him, the latter, who was always loyal to his master and ready to die at his bidding, submitted for the king's guidance a *Dastūr-u'l-'Amal* accompanied by a petition, containing a list of those of the nobles and officers who had proved themselves loyal and useful to the Nizām Shāhī kingdom.² This list contained the names of Sayyid Murtaḍā Sabzwārī, Shāh Qulī (Ṣalābat Khān II), Mirzā Muḥammad Taqī Nazīrī, Amīnu'l-Mulk Nishāpūrī, and Sayyid Qāḍī Baig Ṭīhrānī. Changīz Khān's posts of Wakīl and Pīshwā were given to Ḥakīm Muḥammad Miṣrī in 1575, but after six months he was removed and Sayyid Qāḍī Baig Ṭīhrānī³ was appointed in his place. Mirzā Muḥammad Taqī Nazīrī and Amīnu'l-Mulk Nishāpūrī were appointed Wazīrs. Shāh Qulī, who was created a noble with the title of Ṣalābat Khān II, was given command of the Left Wing of the army, which post had fallen vacant owing to the promotion of Sayyid Murtaḍā Sabzwārī to the command of the Right Wing.⁴ When Sayyid Murtaḍā was again promoted to the post of Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's forces, Ṣalābat Khān II succeeded him in the command of the Right Wing.⁵

In addition to the above post, Ṣalābat Khān II was also assigned the duty of guarding the Fort (of Aḥmadnagar) during the time when the king had taken to seclusion. It was then that he incurred the enmity of the king's favourite Ṣāhib Khān, a full account of whose pernicious activities is given by Firishṭa and other historians. Notwithstanding certain altercations that took place between Ṣāhib Khān and Ṣalābat Khān II, the latter went on gradually rising higher and higher, until the posts of Wakīl and Pīshwā were given jointly to him and to Asad Khān Turk after Sayyid Qāḍī Baig Ṭīhrānī's deportment to his native country as a punishment for having misappropriated public revenues received by him

1. Khwāja Mirak Dabīr, who later on received the title of Changīz Khān, was for some time the chief minister of Murtaḍā Nizām Shāh I (1565-1587). During the Wikālat of Shāh Jamāl-u'd-Dīn Husain, he made himself conspicuous for the first time by defeating the Bijāpūr forces under 'Ain-u'l-Mulk, whom he killed. Shāh Jamāl-u'd-Dīn Husain then appointed Khwāja Mirak Dabīr his own deputy. During the siege of the Portuguese fort of Regdanda, Khwāja Mirak Dabīr alone refused to be disloyal to his master. After his return from the campaign, Khwāja Mirak Dabīr was appointed Wakīl in place of Shāh Jamāl-u'd-Dīn Husain, who was dismissed. To him alone is credit due for the conquest of the province of Berar, and it was soon after that conquest that he fell from power. The king, who could not distinguish between loyalty and disloyalty, made him drink the cup of poison which brought about his death. Firishṭa, II, p. 263.

2. Firishṭa, II, p. 271. It may be noted that Briggs does not give the names of the persons mentioned in the list, probably because the MS. on which he bases his translation did not contain this list.

3. *Ibid.*, *Tabāṭabā*, *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir*, p. 484.

4. *Tabāṭabā*, *loc. cit.*, p. 484.

5. *Ibid.*



Solihull Mosque, locally known as Ghafar Mosque. View from the East

in the capacity of Wakīl and Pīshwā.¹ Although these posts were held by these two personages in a joint capacity, the real power rested with Şalābat Khān II, to the envy of Asad Khān's admirers, among whom was Sayyid Murtaḍā Sabzwārī, the powerful Şūbadār of Berār. The real cause of the enmity that found expression in the various attacks made by Sayyid Murtaḍā Sabzwārī on Aḥmadnagar with the express object of overthrowing Şalābat Khan II, was that the former had acted on various occasions as the superior of the latter, and did not like taking his orders directly from his former subordinate, Şalābat Khan II. This enmity assumed later on disastrous form, damaging thereby the established repute of the kingdom, not to speak of the heavy losses sustained in war by way of defeat, men, and money. But what the kingdom suffered in this respect was probably more than made up by Şalābat Khan II's good administration, by his efforts to expand his master's territories, and by the general welfare and public prosperity that ensued during his régime, about which we shall have something to say later.

In 1580, when 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh of Bijāpūr was killed and his nephew Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II, a minor, succeeded to the throne, Murtaḍā Nizām Shāh I called upon Şalābat Khān to dispatch an army for the conquest of the 'Ādil Shāhī territories. At that time the post of Commander-in-Chief of the army was held by Sayyid Murtaḍā Sabzwārī, a veteran warrior and an experienced general. Instead of putting him in command of this campaign, Şalābat Khān nominated Bihzādu'l-Mulk, a Circassian youth of very little experience and standing. He also ordered Sayyid Murtaḍā Sabzwārī to join Bihzādu'l-Mulk on the campaign in a subordinate capacity. This was, indeed, a slight not only to the dignity of the veteran Sayyid Murtaḍā Sabzwārī but also to the dignity of many other senior officers, who refrained from taking an active part in the campaign, with the inevitable consequence that the Nizām Shāhī forces were completely defeated and a huge booty comprising no less than two-hundred and fifty elephants, with weapons and money, fell into the hands of the victors, apart from the large number of men who fell in the battle.² And although Şalābat Khān II gave the command later to Sayyid Murtaḍā Sabzwārī, the campaign proved an utter failure.

Şalābat Khān II, who owed his position as a joint Wakīl and Pīshwā to his colleague Asad Khān Turk, now tried to oust him by taking away almost all power from his hands, only to the envy of his adversaries, among whom Sayyid Murtaḍā Sabzwārī, the Şūbadār of Berār, was too powerful to be ignored. The Şūbadār made common cause with Asad Khān Turk in trying to overthrow Şalābat Khan, but was unsuccessful and had to take refuge in the court of the Mughal Emperor Akbar. Asad Khān Turk was soon after dismissed from his posts and imprisoned in the fort of Jond.³

1. Firishṭa, *loc. cit.*, II, p. 276; *Tabāṭabā*, *loc. cit.*, p. 505; Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhab* III, p. 213.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 280; *Bombay Gazetteer*, XVII, p. 373; *Tabāṭabā*, *loc. cit.*, p. 512.

3. *Tabāṭabā*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 543, 548.

It was at this juncture that the king, who had conceived the idea of putting an end to the life of Prince Mīrān Ḥusain, probably at the suggestion of some of his astrologers who had told him that his death would be caused by that prince, now insisted upon his wish being fulfilled. Ṣalābat Khān, who had on various occasions tried to put off the king's orders about killing the prince, now submitted to the king that the prince was undergoing a dangerous illness which would in all probability cause his death, and that the king need not worry on that account. But this could not please the king, who now conceived a hatred for Ṣalābat Khān II.

In the same year the once defeated Prince Burhān appeared again in the garb of a 'Darwīsh' at Aḥmadnagar with the object of removing Murtaḍā Nizām Shāh from the throne, of killing Ṣalābat Khān II, and of assuming sovereignty for himself.¹ Ṣalābat Khān dealt a heavy blow at the Prince who fled to Konkan, whence he went to Gujrāt and took service with the Mughal Emperor Akbar.²

HIS FALL AND IMPRISONMENT

At this time a dispute arose between the kingdoms of Aḥmadnagar and Bijāpūr about the fort of Shōlāpūr, which was originally given as dowry by Ḥusain Nizām Shāh I to princess Chānd Bībī at the time of her marriage with the 'Ādil Shāh.³ As her husband had now died, Ṣalābat Khān II represented to the Bijāpūr Wakīl that the 'Ādil Shāh's ownership of the fort had legally ceased and that it should be peacefully surrendered to the Nizām Shāh, otherwise the latter would not give any feast in commemoration of the marriage of Prince Mīrān Ḥusain with the 'Ādil Shāhī princess.⁴ Thereupon the Bijāpūr ruler laid siege to the fort of Ausa. Thinking this siege by the 'Ādil Shāhī forces to have been the natural outcome of Ṣalābat Khān's policy, the king, who had already conceived a hatred for him, now openly upbraided him and accused him of infidelity.⁵ Notwithstanding the immense power that he wielded, Ṣalābat Khān requested the king to name a fort where he could go as a prisoner, if the king thought him faithless. The king nominated the fort of Dandā Rājpurī, to which Ṣalābat Khān immediately repaired of his own accord in obedience to his master, although his friends and followers vehemently protested against this action.⁶ There he lay as a prisoner until by Firishṭa's advice King Murtaḍā Nizām Shāh sent orders for his release, when Mīrzā Khān and Prince Mīrān Ḥusain were about to attack

1. Khāfī Khān, *loc. cit.*, III, p. 217; *Bombay Gazetteer*, XVII, p. 374; Firishṭa, *loc. cit.*, II, p. 282; Briggs, III.

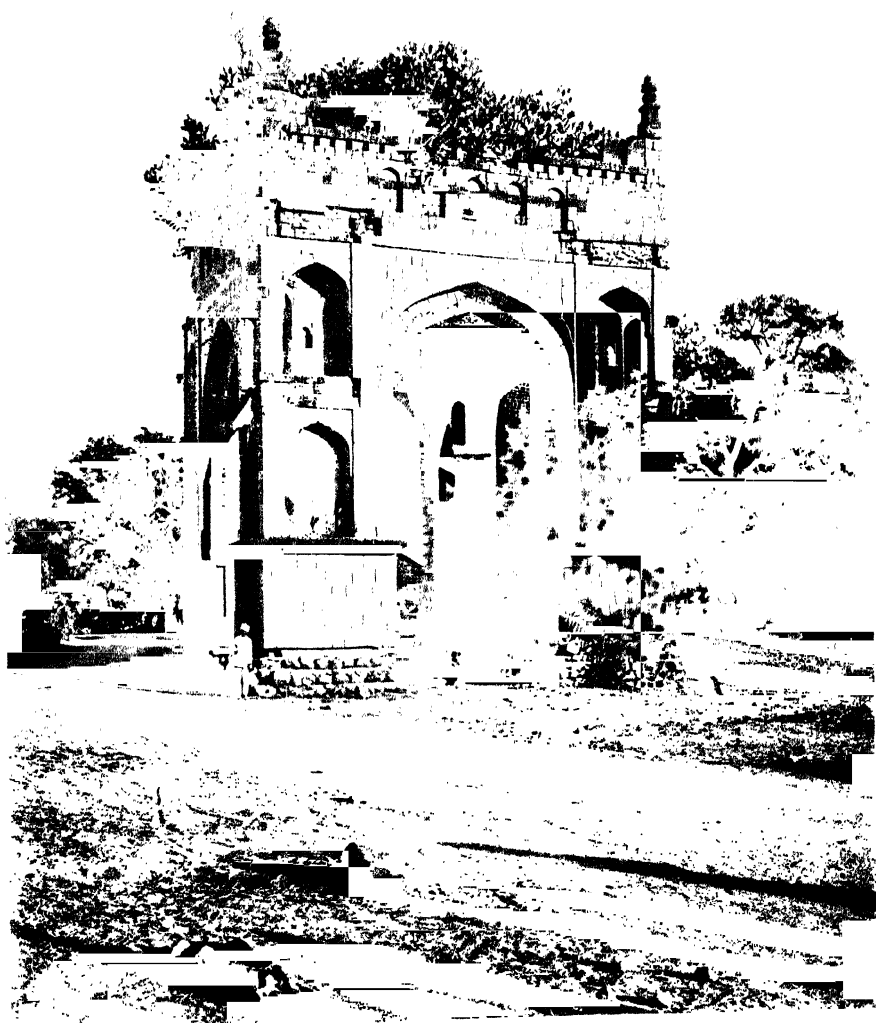
2. *Ibid.*

3. Firishṭa, *loc. cit.*, II, p. 283; Ṭabāṭabā, *loc. cit.*, p. 552.

4. *Ibid.*

5. Firishṭa, *loc. cit.*, II, p. 284; Ṭabāṭabā, *loc. cit.*, p. 553.

6. *Ibid.*



Tisgāon, Gateway from the West.

(*Vide p. 199*).

{*By courtesy of the Archaeological Survey, Government of India.*}

the fort of Aḥmadnagar in 1589.¹ But before Şalābat Khān could arrive, the prince had murdered the king and assumed the sovereignty of Aḥmadnagar.² Mirzā Khān, who was then appointed Wakīl and Pīshwā to Mirān Ḥusain Shāh, had Şalābat Khān imprisoned again in the fort of Kherla. From this captivity he was released during the régime of Jamāl Khān Mahdawī by the efforts of Muḥammad Khān, the Şūbadār of Berār.³

The last part that Şalābat Khān played in the politics of the kingdom was the attack which he led against Jamāl Khān Mahdawī with all the 'New-comers' that he could collect, but he was defeated by the huge forces of the Mahdawī leader.⁴ Finally, taking a *Qawlnāma*⁵ from Jamāl Khān, Şalābat Khān engaged himself in completing some of the monuments which he had built at Tisgaon,⁶ a town which was founded by him. Thereafter he came to Aḥmadnagar and repopulated the town of Bhingār,⁷ which had been forsaken and desolated. There he died in 1589 at the age of seventy, and was buried in the tomb that he had built during his régime as Wakīl and Pīshwā on the hill of Shah Donger.⁸

ŞALĀBAT KHĀN II AS AN ADMINISTRATOR

IF Şalābat Khān was great as a warrior and statesman he was equally so as an administrator. The way in which he administered the kingdom of Aḥmadnagar has been considered ideal. Throughout the kingdom he had established a well-organised system, most probably copied from the Bahmanids. The entire system of administration was split up into different departments falling under two broad divisions—the military and the civil. Probably the navy formed part of the military division.

The army, composed of the cavalry and the infantry, was headed by the commander-in-chief, under whom were two subordinate officers, one in charge of the cavalry and the other of the infantry. The distinguishing features of the cavalry were its Topkhāna and Filkhāna. The infantry was further divided into Muqaddima, Maimana, and Maisara,

1. Firishṭa, *loc. cit.*, II, p. 287; *Bombay Gazetteer*, XVII, p. 375; Khāfi Khān, *loc. cit.*, III, 224.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Tabāṭabā, *loc. cit.*, p. 482; Firishṭa, *loc. cit.*, II, p. 294; *Bombay Gazetteer*, XVII, p. 377; Khāfi Khān, *loc. cit.*, III, p. 231.

4. Tabāṭabā, *loc. cit.*, p. 583; Firishṭa, *loc. cit.*, II, p. 295; Khāfi Khān, *loc. cit.*, III, p. 231; *Bombay Gazetteer*, XVII, p. 378. It is remarkable that Tabāṭabā states that Şalābat Khān did not fight with Jamāl Khān but retreated.

5. *Ibid.*

6. Now a village situated on the Aḥmadnagar-Pāthardī Road, about 16 miles north of Aḥmadnagar. Şalābat Khān founded this town (Tabāṭabā, *loc. cit.*, p. 585) and named it *Husāmabad* (Mirikar, *Aḥmadnagar chey Prāchīn Itihāsa*, p. 57).

7. A town about two miles east of the city of Aḥmadnagar. It is an old town and existed before the city of Aḥmadnagar was founded. For further description see *Bombay Gazetteer*, XVII, p. 713-14.

8. Situated about six miles east of the city of Aḥmadnagar. For description see *Bombay Gazetteer*, XVII, pp. 705-706.

at the head of each of which was an experienced officer who was directly responsible to the commander of the infantry. The latter, in his turn, was subordinate only to the Commander-in-Chief. Probably the same order prevailed in the cavalry and the navy.

Usually the Şūbadār of Berār was the supreme head of the Nizām Shāhī forces and received his orders directly from the Wakil of the kingdom. To give an instance, Şalābat Khān was perfectly within his rights in sending a direct order to Murtaḍā Sabzwārī, as we have already pointed out before, which order the powerful Şūbadār of Berār was legally bound to obey.

The civil side of the administration was a more elaborate affair. Starting with the Wakil and Pishwā, who was the supreme head of the government, we come to a body of advisers (called Wazīrs,¹ who were subordinate to the Wakil, and had a portfolio each assigned to them. Each Wazīr had a Dīwān (secretary) immediately subordinate to him, who was the head of that particular Wazīr's secretarial establishment. The Dīwān had under him Nāẓirs (Superintendents), each entrusted with a special branch of the department. All matters referring to the portfolio emanated from and passed through the Dīwān, without whose seal and signature (which was attested by the Wazīr and countersigned by the Wakil) no order was valid.²

The revenues of the empire were collected at the office of the Dīwān-i Māl, which office passed the amounts on to the public treasury, which was under the direct control and supervision of the Wakil and Pishwā. This is clear from the case of Sayyid Qāḍi Baig Tīhrānī, who was removed from his post and deported to his native place,³ as we have already pointed out.

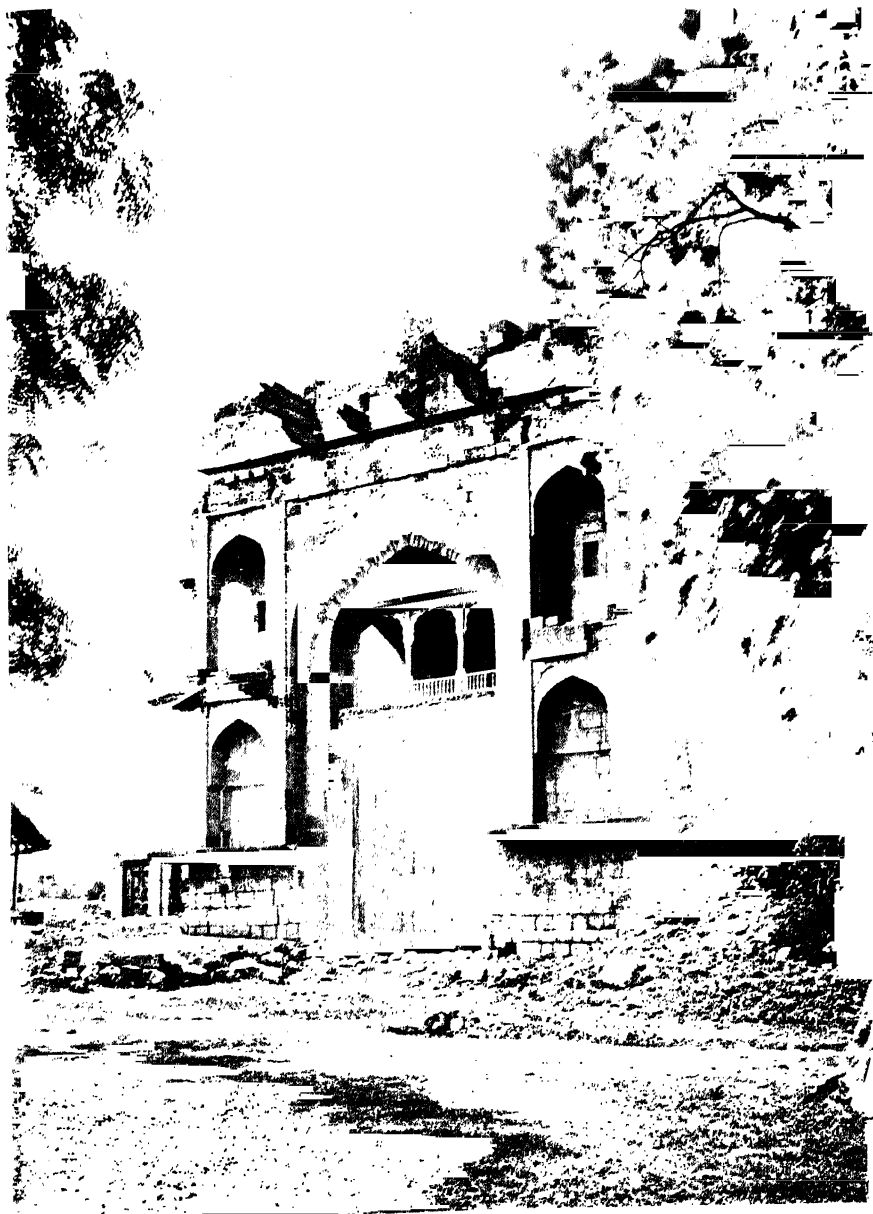
ŞALĀBAT KHĀN II'S EFFORTS TO REMOVE CRIME

THE city of Aḥmadnagar was directly under the Kotwāl, who had his patrolling officers to go round the city to prevent crimes from being committed. The chief offences of those days were robbery and dacoity. Şalābat Khān, who had made up his mind to uproot these evils from the entire kingdom, specially commissioned for this purpose Khwāja

1. Ferishta, loc. cit., II, pp. 271, 285 clearly mentions the appointment of Wazīrs as distinct from that of Wakil and Pishwā. The duty of the Wazīrs was probably to act merely as advisers. Note the change between the functions of the Wazīrs as they were discharged under the 'Abbasids and those of the Bahmanids, whose example the Nizām Shāhī and other Deccani kings followed.

2. Şalābat Khān II, as also those who preceded him as prime minister, combined the two posts of Wakil and Pishwā. The former designation most probably denoted the head of the executive, while the latter merely signified that the holder of the post was a viceroy or representative of the king, in whose name the entire government was carried out.

3. Ferishta, loc. cit., II, p. 276.



Tisgāon, Gate No. 4 from the North-East.
(*Vide p. 199*).

[By courtesy of the Archaeological Survey, Government of India.]

Ni'matullāh Ṭihrānī and Khwāja 'Ināyatu'llāh.¹ These two officers, with a special contingent from the army, went round the country and brought to book all those who indulged in these criminal occupations, with the result that people enjoyed perfect safety of life and property.²

HIS PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT

THE Public Works Department under Şalābat Khān II was headed by the State Engineer, and all the public works were carried out at his suggestion and by his advice. He had under him a band of highly trained architects who prepared plans for all the monuments that Şalābat Khān constructed during his term of office as Wakil and Pishwā. At that time the post of State Engineer was held by Ni'mat Khān Samnānī,³ with whose name some of the monumental buildings of Aḥmadnagar are associated, e.g., the Bāgh-i-Faraḥ Bakhsh. The Public Works Department also looked after all the channels and waterways that supplied the city of Aḥmadnagar with water.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC GARDENS

AN important section of the Public Works Department was the Department of Public Gardens, which was under the direct supervision of a superintendent, who looked after the maintenance of gardens in the city. The art of gardening was brought to perfection under the refined taste of Şalābat Khān, who is said to have imported a number of flowers and fruit-trees into Aḥmadnagar.⁴ Firishta⁵ and others state that Şalābat Khān II planted no less than five lakhs of mango and tamarind trees in Aḥmadnagar, the fruit of which has been the proud enjoyment of its inhabitants even to this day.

ENDOWMENTS AND TRUSTS

ONE of the most important State departments was that of Endowments and Trusts. Under the Nizām Shāhī régime, its rulers, ministers, and public-spirited men had created a very large number of endowments and trusts for the public benefit; see e.g., the inscription on the Mangalwar Gate, Aḥmadnagar [published in the *EP. I. M.*, 1933-34, pp. 10-11, Plate V (a) and (b), and *Ibid.*, 1935-36, pp. 37-38, Plate XXV (a)]. The

1. Ferishta, p. 279.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*; *Muzda-i-Aḥmadnagar*, Pt. I, p. 82; Ṭabāṭabā, *loc. cit.*, pp. 542, 585.

5. Ferishta, *loc. cit.*, p. 279.

management of these public charities was entirely in hands of their respective Mutawallis, who were under the supervision of the Head of the Department of Endowments and Trusts.

ROYAL MINTS ESTABLISHED BY ŞALĀBAT KHĀN II

ANOTHER important measure adopted by Şalābat Khān II was the establishment of mints, where gold, silver, and copper coins¹ were struck with the name of the Nizām Shāhī ruler.² These mints continued to exist up to the reign of Burhān Nizām Shāh II,³ but the department does not seem to have flourished so well as it did under Şalābat Khān II, who had mints at Ahmadnagar, Burhānpūr (now known as Burhān Nagar, a desolate place at a distance for about two miles from the city of Ahmadnagar) and Daulatābād. The first Muslim rulers who struck coins in the Deccan were the Bahmanids. Prior to their coinage, coins of the early Hindū kings and those of the Tughluqs and other Muslim rulers of India were current in the Deccan. At the time when the Bahmanids introduced their coinage, there were no less than thirty-five varieties of gold Huns, Pratābs, and Fanams.

ŞALĀBAT KHĀN AS A PATRON OF MEN OF LEARNING

HIMSELF a good poet⁴ and lover of Arabic and Persian poetry, Şalābat Khān II was a zealous patron of poets, artists, and men of learning. In

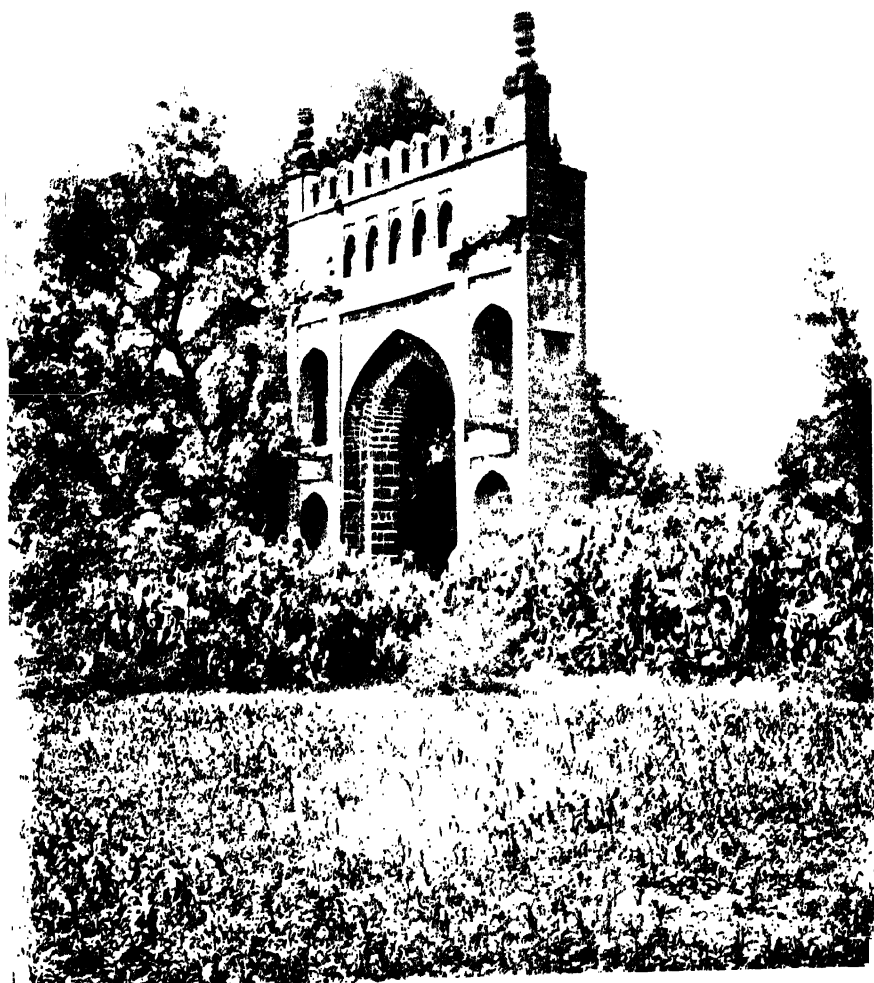
1. *Ibid.* (Newalkishore edition), I, p. 283; *Mahbūb-u'l-Waṭan*, I, pp. 229-430.

2. *Ibid.* The first king to mint coins in the Nizām Shāhī kingdom was apparently Burhān Nizām Shāh I. (d. 1553), two of whose copper coins have been described by Mr. Thānawāllā in the *Numismatic Supplement*, No. VII (article No. 48), pp. 51-52. The earlier of the two is dated 929 Hijri, and is recorded to have been minted at Nagar (Ahmadnagar).

It is however strange that Firishta (*loc. cit.*, I, p. 229) speaks of Şalābat Khān II as the first person who minted coins of gold, silver, and copper during the reign of Murtaḍā Nizām Shāh I. Mr. Thānawāllā also describes (*ibid.*) a copper coin of Murtaḍā Nizām Shāh I said to have been minted at Murtaḍā Nagar in 993/1584, evidently during Şalābat Khān's régime as Wakil and Pishwā. The same writer further describes a copper coin of Burhān Nizām Shāh, but is not certain to which Burhān, the I or the II, it refers. In this connection it may be pointed out that Firishta (*loc. cit.*, I, p. 283) and the author of the *Mahbūb-u'l-Waṭan*, I, p. 230, mention that coins were minted during the régime of Burhān Nizām Shāh II (1590-1594) in 1001 A.H., evidently at Burhānābād (locally known as Burhān Nagar, a village now in a ruinous condition lying about two miles east of Ahmadnagar). Mr. Rodgers, in the *Journal*, A. S. Bengal, Part I, Vol. LXV (1896), describes "Some Rare Mughal Coins" from Burhānābād mint as coins of Akbar of the year 1001 A.H.. But evidently he has been led astray by the year of minting, for Burhān II, who was contemporaneous with the Mughal Emperor, had coins minted at Burhānābād in the same year. The coin which Mr. Thānawāllā describes in *Numismatic Supplement*, No. VII, p. 53, and which is complete in every detail, merely confirms the statements of Firishta and the author of *Mahbūb-u'l-Waṭan* referred to above.

3. Firishta, *loc. cit.*, I, p. 283; *Mahbūb-u'l-Waṭan*, I, pp. 229-230.

4. In my paper "Some Literary Personages of Ahmadnagar," published in the *Bull. D.C.R.I.*, Vol. III, I have given the introductory part of a Qasida which Şalābat Khān himself composed.



Tisgāon, Gate No. 5— from the North-East.

(*Vide p. 199*).

[*By courtesy of the Archaeological Survey, Government of India.*

addition to other poets and men of letters whom he was instrumental in getting introduced to the Nizām Shāhī court, he himself patronised a number of poets of whom the following may be mentioned :—

1. Mullā Malik Qummī, a native of Qumm as his name implies, had from his childhood inclinations towards poetry and spent most of his time in the company of poets of his native place. He then went to Kāshān just to avail himself of the company of the poets of that place.¹ From Kāshān he went to Qazwīn where he resided for a period of four years.² By that time he had started composing tolerably good poetry. Learning of the fame of Şalābat Khān II as a patron of poets, he came to Aḥmadnagar in Ramaḍān A.H. 987 (1579 A.D.).³ Here he was patronised first by Şalābat Khān II and his master king Murtaḍā Nizām Shāh, and then after them by Burhān Nizām Shāh II (1591-1595). Here it was that he received as guest the more versatile Mullā Nūru'd-Dīn Żuhūrī, to whom he gave his daughter in marriage. When Faiḍī, the talented brother of Akbar's minister Abu'l-Faḍl, visited Aḥmadnagar in connection with a political mission, he was delighted to meet Żuhūrī and Malik Qummī, both of whom were considered by him to be noteworthy poets of Aḥmadnagar.⁴

After the trouble that shook the very foundations of the Nizām Shāhī kingdom, that is, the murder of Murtaḍā Nizām Shāh I and the subsequent risings of the people of the Deccan under Jamāl Khān Mahdawī, Żuhūrī and Malik Qummī repaired to the patronage of the 'Ādil Shāh of Bijāpūr,⁵ where most of Malik Qummī's illustrious work was done, either in collaboration with Żuhūrī or on this own account.

Of the works of Malik Qummī the following may be mentioned.

- (i) *Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm*, composed in collaboration with Żuhūrī.
- (ii) *Khwān-i-Khalīl*, also in partnership with Żuhūrī.
- (iii) *A Mystical Mathnawī* in the style of Sanā'ī's *Ḥadiqa*. It begins :
ای طرب ساز غم نگارنده هم نگاری و هم نگارنده

Described by Sprenger, *Cat.*, p. 482.

- (iv) Another *Mathnawī* beginning with :

بنام آنکه در دلها وطن ساخت صنم را قبله گاه بر همین ساخت

described by Ethé, *Cat.*, I, p. 820.

- (v) *Manba'-u'l-Anhār*, a *Mathnawī* divided into seventeen *nahrs*, which Sprenger⁶ ascribes to Malik Qummī, is claimed by Ethé⁷ to

1. Āzād, *Sarw-i-Āzād*, p. 30.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. Āzād, *Darbār-i-Akbarī*, pp. 397-417, where a full account is given.

5. *Sarw-i-Āzād*, p. 30.

6. *Oudh Catalogue*, p. 482.

7. *Cat.*, I, p. 821.

be the composition of Zuhūrī. Ethé bases his contention on the authority of the author of the *Khulāṣat-u'l-Kalām*, who gives extracts from the above poem under Zuhūrī's name. The poem was perhaps the joint effort of Malik Qummī and Zuhūrī. Be that as it may, the poem begins :

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم اهدنا الصراط المستقيم

(vi) *Asrār-i-A'imma*, another poem, some fragments of which I chanced to find in the MS. copy of Mullā Malik's *Kulliyāt*, No. 851, of the Aṣafia State Library, Hyderabad-Deccan. The first part is missing but in the concluding lines the name of the poem is given thus :

این دفتر را تمام کردم اسرار ائمه نام کردم

There are also Qaṣīdas, Ghazals, Rubā'iyāt, Tarjī'āt, etc., found in all MSS. known to us. A typical Qaṣīda of Malik Qummī in praise of the Bāgh-i-Faraḥ Bakhsh of Aḥmadnagar has been cited by Ferishta as well as by Ṭabāṭabā. I published this Qaṣīda with an English translation, the introductory part in my paper, "Some Literary Personages of Aḥmadnagar," *Bull. DCRI*, II, pp. 394-396.

Malik Qummī died in the Deccan in 1025/1615-16, as is pointed out by the chronogram "اوسراهل سخن بود" ¹

2. More versatile than Malik Qummī was Mullā Nūru'd-Dīn Zuhūrī Turshizī, who was well-versed in all the branches of learning then known to the Muslims. He started his career as a Kātib, and is reported to have made no less than a hundred copies of the *Rauḍat-ū's-Safā*.² But the calling did not satisfy his pecuniary needs ; and, gifted as he was, he soon realised that eulogising people was more lucrative than his earlier profession of a scribe. Leaving his native place he came to Aḥmadnagar and stayed as a guest with Malik Qummī,³ as we have already stated. Malik Qummī brought him to the notice of the minister Ṣalābat Khān II, who was immensely pleased with his poetic composition and conceived a great liking for him. As long as Ṣalābat Khān's glory lasted Zuhūrī was his favourite. After Ṣalābat Khān's death Zuhūrī remained at the Nizām Shāhī court until Jamāl Khān's oppression of the 'new-comers' compelled him to go to the 'Ādil Shāhī court at Bijāpūr.

1. This chronogram is the composition of Abū'l-Ṭālib Kalīm and reads thus :

که نامش سکه نقد سخن بود	ملک آن یاد شاه ملک معنی
که حدملکیش از قلم تا دکن بود	چنان آفاق گیر از ملک معنی
که دالگیر از هوای این چمن بود	سوی گلزار جنت رفت آخر
بگفتا اوسراهل سخن بود	بجسم سال تاریخش ز ایام

(A.H. 1025/A.D. 1615-1616.)

2. *Bahārīstān* (quoted in the *Tadhkira-i-Shu'arā-i-Dakan*, II, p. 764).

3. *Tadhkira-i-Hamisha Bahār* (quoted in the *Tadhkira-i-Shu'arā-i-Dakan*, II, p. 764).



Dharmshala at Tisgam - North

Zuhūrī's *Sāqī Nāma*, the best of its kind in Persian literature, was dedicated to Burhān Nizām Shāh II.¹ At the 'Ādil Shāhī court he produced a number of works which are well known to the students of Persian literature. His *Kulliyāt*² has been printed in India a number of times and need not detain us. He is said to have died along with Malik Qummī in 1025/1615-6.³

3. Another notable poet who received Şalābat Khān's patronage was Maulānā Şirafī of Sāwa.⁴ Ṭabāṭabā⁵ mentions him among the renowned poets of Aḥmadnagar who had assembled to sing the praises of the Bāgh-i-Faraḥ Bakhsh at the Opening Ceremony, which Şalābat Khān held on the completion of the garden. At that time Şirafī had also composed a *Qaṣīda*, but in view of the excellence of Mullā Malik Qummī's *Qaṣīda* to which we have already referred, he tore up the roll on which his *Qaṣīda* was written. When Şalābat Khān heard of this incident he called Şirafī and rebuked him for this act. Şirafī died at Aḥmadnagar in 999/1590.⁶

4. Mīrzā Şādiq Urdūbādī, famous as a warrior and officer of rank and ability, was also a good poet whom Şalābat Khān raised to a high post under him.⁷ Ferishta,⁸ who was his contemporary, considers him an "unrivalled Munshī and a good poet." Some of his quatrains are cited by the historian, and from them we can form some idea of his poetic skill.⁹

After the fall of Şalābat Khān, Mīrzā Şādiq Urdūbādī was created joint Wakīl and Pīshwā with Bihzād-u'l-Mulk.¹⁰ The latter attempted to oust him but was ordered to be put in prison, from which he was afterwards liberated. As he was recalled Bihzād-u'l-Mulk believed that he would be reinstated in his former post, but this was not to the liking of Mīrzā Şādiq Urdūbādī, who wanted him to be sent back to prison. But since at that juncture the Bijāpūr forces had advanced on the Nizām Shāhī frontiers, Mīrzā Şādiq abandoned his plan and requested the king to pardon Bihzād-u'l-Mulk. This uncalled for intercession on the part of Mīrzā Şādiq Urdūbādī only displeased the king, who now ordered Bihzād-u'l-Mulk to have him arrested and imprisoned in the fort of Dandā Rājpurī.¹¹ Mīrzā

1. Sarw-i-Āzād, p. 30. When the *Sāqī Nāma* was presented to Burhān Nizām Shāh II, he was so pleased with it that he sent a costly reward, consisting of elephants, horses, pearls, and money, for Zuhūrī. This reward reached Zuhūrī when he was sitting in a 'Qahwakhāna.' When the carriers demanded a receipt, Zuhūrī scribbled on a piece of paper 'Taslim Kardand, Taslim Kardam.' تسلیم کردند تسلیم کردم

2. His prose works have been annotated by Abu'l-Yamin 'Abdu'r-Razzāq as-Sūrati (Lith. Cawnpore, 1873).

3. Sarw-i-Āzād, p. 32.

4. *Tadhkira-i-Shu'arā-i-Dakan*, II, pp. 711-712.

5. *Loc. cit.*, p. 539.

6. *Tadhkira-i-Shu'arā-i-Dakan*, II, p. 712.

7. *Ṭabāṭabā*, *loc. cit.*, p. 539.

8. *Loc. cit.*, II, p. 292.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 292-293.

10. *Ibid.*, II, p. 285.

11. *Ibid.*

Šādiq's régime as Wakil and Pīshwā lasted only for nine days. He was killed in Aḥmadnagar by the order of Jamāl Khān Mahdawī in 998/1589.¹

5. The last to be mentioned in the list of poets who were patronised by Šalābat Khān II is Shāh Aḥmad Murtaḍā Anjū, whose name has come down to us in connection with the following chronogram² which gives the date of the completion of the Bāgh-i-Faraḥ Bakhsh :—

ارباب نشاط را خبر کن شاها بر باغ فرح بخش گذر کن شاها
نعمت خان راز بر نارنج بنا از باغ فرح بخش بد رکن شاها

ŠALĀBAT KHĀN'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE ARCHITECTURE OF AḤMADNAGAR

THE period in which Šalābat Khān II flourished was singularly favourable to art and architecture, for not only in Aḥmadnagar but throughout the Deccan, e.g., in Bijāpūr and Golconda also, there was an irresistible tendency to construct monuments, public gardens, and other edifices, which have withstood the ravages of time and destiny and are today an everlasting and unforgettable testimony to the greatness of their creators. Changīz Khān and Šalābat Khān II at Aḥmadnagar, Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh in Bijāpūr, and many Quṭb Shāhī rulers in Golconda, vied with each other in constructing monuments in the Deccan. But while the tendency to construct continued to exist for a longer time in Bijāpūr and Golconda, it more or less died out with Šalābat Khān II in Aḥmadnagar.

Among the various monuments which were constructed under Šalābat Khān II, mention must first be made of the Bāgh-i-Faraḥ Bakhsh. This famous garden was originally entrusted for construction to the then State engineer Ni'mat Khān Samnānī by the minister Changīz Khān. Ni'mat Khān completed it, as is evident from the inscription³ which is found at present on the western wall of the District Judge's Court, Aḥmadnagar. It reads :

نام این از خوبی آب و هوا شد فرح بخش این چنین مشهور باد
بود نعمت خان ساعی بنا سعیهای او همه مشکور باد
خواست تاربخش از پیر خرد گفت یارب تا ابد معمور باد

When Murtaḍā Nizām Shāh went to inspect this edifice, it did not appeal to him. He therefore dismissed Ni'mat Khān from his post and ordered Šalābat Khān to have the building demolished and a new one built in its place. This new building was completed in 991/1584 A.H. On this occasion Shāh Aḥmad Murtaḍā Anjū composed the

1. Tabātaba, p. 292.

2. Ferishta, loc. cit., II, p. 279; Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (Supplement), 1933-34, p. 12; Muḍda-i-Aḥmadnagar, pt. 1, p. 36.

3. Published with notes and translation by Dr. Nāzīm in the Ep. Indo. M. (Supplement), 1933-34, pp. 11-12.

chronogram to which we have already referred. A full description of this garden is to be found in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, XVII, pp. 703-4; Mirikar's *Ahmadnagar chey Prāchīn Itihāsa*, pp. 47-51; *Muzda-i-Ahmadnagar* (which also contains a hand-drawn picture of the garden), etc.

Another monument of Şalābat Khān is his Tomb, locally (though wrongly) known as *Chānd Bibi kā Mahal*, situated on the Shāh Donger, a few miles east of Ahmadnagar. This Tomb was built by him during his rule as Wakīl and Pīshwā, and commands a view of the surrounding country, not to speak of the capital of the kingdom. From the architectural point of view also the building is remarkable. I refrain from giving a description of it here as it has already been well described by Campbell¹ and others.²

Şalābat Khān was also the person who not only founded the village of Shāhāpūr but built there a Jāmī' Mosque, which bears his name.³

The town of Tisgāon,⁴ which was founded by him during the reign of (Mirān) Husain Shāh II, and named Husainābād, possessed a number of monuments built by Şalābat Khān II, as will be clear from the fact that he had to take a special Qawnāma from Jamāl Khān Mahdawī with a view to completing some of the buildings which he had left incomplete at Tisgāon. Of these the five Gates, which were probably the different entrances to the town and a Sarāi have survived. Of the other buildings only traces have remained.

Among Şalābat Khān's architectural contribution to the Deccan must be mentioned the Gateway of the Taltam fort,⁵ although it is quite probable that even the fort with the palace and the Dūdyā Tālāb and the Machhli Tālāb within it might have been actually constructed by him. It is, how-

1. *Bombay Gazetteer*, XVII, pp. 705-706.

2. Mirikar, *Ahmadnagar chey Prāchīn Itihāsa* (अहमदनगरचे प्राचीन इतिहास, अहमदनगर १९१९), pp. 55-60.

3. *Bombay Gazetteer* XVII, p. 705; Mirikar, *loc. cit.*, p. 57; *Muzda-i-Ahmadnagar*, pt I, p. 82.

4. Briggs, Vol. III, wrongly reads this as *Tulegaon*, a town in Poona District. Relying upon Briggs, Campbell (in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, XVII, p. 378) and Mirikar (*loc. cit.*, p. 57) state that Şalābat Khān also founded the town of Tulegaon. The Bombay edition of Ferishta as also the *Burhān-i-Ma'āthur* correctly give Tisgaon.

5. "..... Taltam Fort is situated some ten miles west of Ajant, in the same range of hills which contains the Ghatotkach (Jinjāla) caves. The fort has three gateways, and it is defended by a large number of bastions. The names of the gateways are : (1) The Baitālbāri Darwāza, facing the East ; (2) the Jinjāla Darwāza, facing the South ; and (3) the Jerundi Darwāza, facing the West. The area inside the fort is not very large, and the buildings situated therein are in a ruinous condition. The remains of a palace may be seen in the Northern part of the Fort. The palace walls are defended by four massive bastions, one of which has the figure of a tiger having four elephants under his paws, one elephant being under each paw. There are two tanks, styled the Dūdyā Tālāb (the Milk Pond) and the Machhli Tālāb (the Fish Pond), besides a large well, called the Mārūti Bā'oli. There is a mosque towards the east of the palace and an 'Idgāh towards the west of it. The latter building is at a considerable distance from the palace. The Murtaḍā Shāh's inscriptions are on the Jerundi Darwāza and the Aurangzēb inscription on the Baitālbāri Darwāza. The Taltam Fort is now called Vaisagarh and also 'Abbāsagarh." *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1935-36, p. 20, footnotes.

ever, definite that the Gateway to the Taltam fort was built in 989/1581 by him, as the inscription on the Jarandī Darwāza of the fort clearly shows. The inscription in question has been published by Mr. G. Yazdānī,¹ in the *Ep. I. M.*, 1935-36, pp. 20-21, Plate XII (a) and (b) and reads thus :—

درعہد شاہ مرتضیٰ کردہ بنا عمارت دروازہ قلعہ تلم شہاب خان صلابت
تاریخ این عمارت از ہجرت رسالت نہ صد گذشتہ بود و ہر ہشتاد نہ زیادت

Ṣalābat Khān II is also reported to have built the fort on the hill of Manjar-sumba in Aḥmadnagar, and constructed springs of fresh water and gardens.² It has been regarded as one of the most pleasant places in the world, and, according to Campbell,³ would make a fine health resort.

The account of Ṣalābat Khān's contribution to the architecture of the Deccan would be incomplete if we failed to mention the various tanks, water-ways, and channels that he constructed during his régime. The Bhātodī Tālao (or lake) was constructed by him and is still in good repair.⁴ It was probably his intention to carry water from the above lake to the town of Tīsgāon,⁵ which was founded by him. Ṣalābat Khān was also responsible for digging the Shāhāpūr Channel,⁶ which has its source at foot of the hill known as Shāh Donger, on which is situated Ṣalābat Khān's Tomb. This channel joins the Farah Bāgh (or Bhingār) Channel, which was dug by Ṣalābat Khān's State Engineer, Ni'mat Khān Samnānī, with a view to supplying water to the Bāgh-i-Farah Bakhsh, and was repaired in 1876 at a cost of ten thousand rupees.⁷

Although Ṣalābat Khān has disappeared from our midst, his name will ever remain with us as that of one of the greatest men of Aḥmadnagar.

SHAIKH CHAND HUSAIN.

1. I am indebted to Mr. G. Yazdānī, ex-Director of Archaeology, H.E.H. the Nizam's Government, for sending me photographs of the Taltam Fort and of the inscriptions carved on it, to which reference has been made.

2. Ṭabāṭabā, *loc. cit.*, p. 542; *Bombay Gazetteer*, XVII, p. 728.

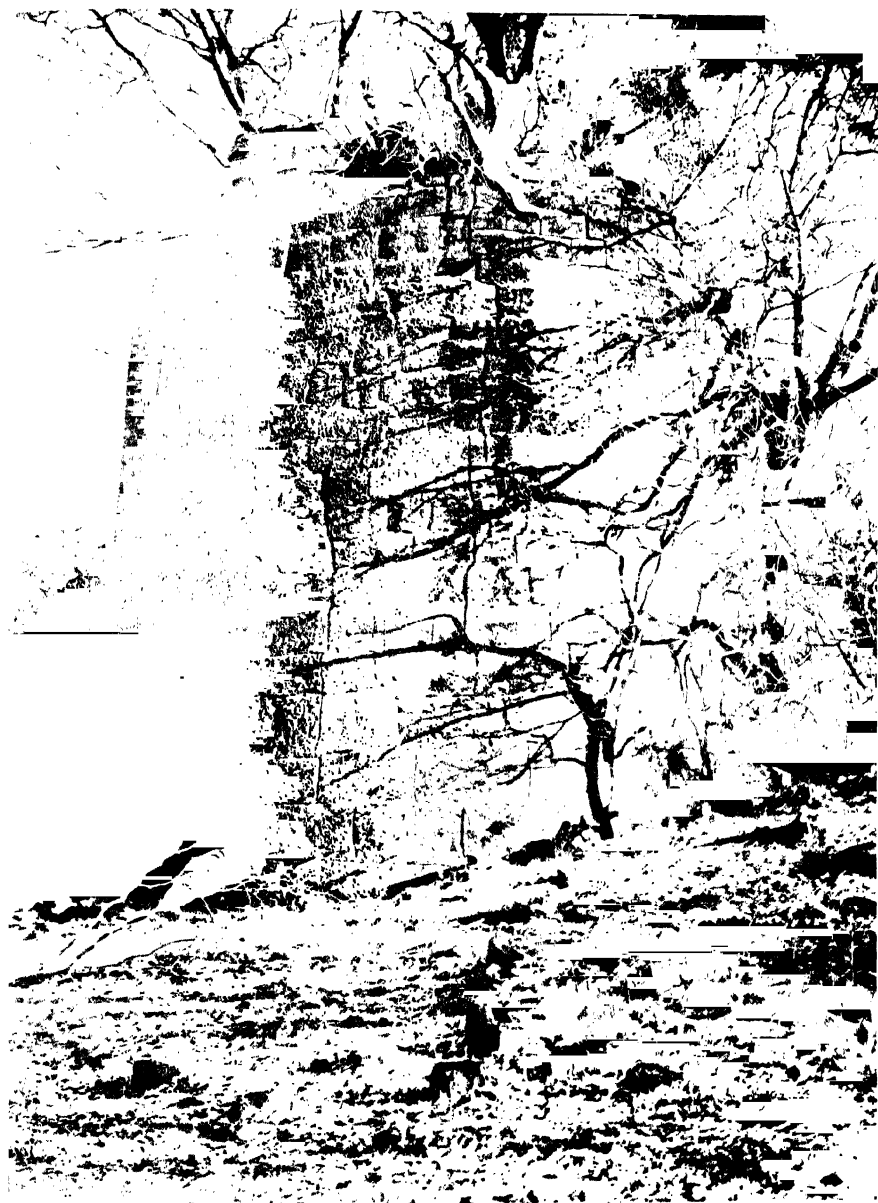
3. *Bombay Gazetteer*, XVII, p. 728.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 713.

5. *Muzda-i-Aḥmadnagar*, pt. I, p. 82; *Mirīkar*, *loc. cit.*, p. 57.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Bombay Gazetteer*, XVII, p. 672.



A Bastion: Taltam Fort, Aurangabad District.

(*Vide pp. 199-200*).

[*By courtesy of the Director, Archaeological Department, H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions*].

AN ANONYMOUS ENGLISH-ARABIC FRAGMENT ON MUSIC

ONE of the sources of a minor character from which I have occasionally culled in my books on Arabian music is one which I have entitled the *Huth MS.*¹ It was acquired by me in 1923 in Bristol among a number of Oriental books, manuscripts, and papers which came from the library of Frederick Henry Huth of Bath. It is now in the Farmer Collection in the Library of the University of Glasgow and is worthy of attention as a whole if only in the hope that its authorship may be traced.

The manuscript comprises only two leaves and is written in English on 17th or 18th century paper, the construction having clearly marked features of being a literal translation from some Arabic work. The manuscript starts abruptly, the script beginning at the same distance from the left edge as the succeeding lines, which leads to the conjecture that it is not the beginning of the original treatise but is a fragment of a larger work.

The transliteration of Arabic words is quite unusual and is certainly not modern. Indeed, many examples of similitude with that of Meninski (17th century A.D.) can be seen. Although the style of the translator (following the Arabic rather slavishly it would seem) reveals a striking similarity to that of al-İşfahānī, the author of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī al-Kabīr*, the passages cannot be traced in this work; but since the musicians mentioned all lived prior to the late 10th century the work is possibly one of the popular treatises mentioned in the *Fihrist* (Fann 3 of Maqāla 3).

I give the whole manuscript verbatim reserving all elucidations for the concluding commentary.

I. THE TEXT

“AND Haesen the Naesyby, he mixed with all the best tale-tellers and he knew the lives of the musicians. He said that the singers in the days of idolatry were many and that they knew the ancient songs and stories but knew² the stops.

1. *History of Arabian Music* (1929), p. 17; *Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments* (1931), 1, 100.

2. A word is obliterated here. Perhaps the word is “not.”

And Ishak of Musul was told by his father, by Seeyat, by Jonos the Secretary, he said, there are eight notes and two long finger notes, except that the people of the country use other notes like the people of old. Then the finger melodies were collected out of the notes, some in the eight notes right through, and some in the long fingers.

And Omer bin Bane, he was not a player but only a singer, had little information of the tracts of the fingers, but his voice was good, and gifts of many kinds he received from the khaleefs. Then when he was the friend of Ibrahim, he wrote a book which was composed only part by him and part by Ibrahim. And he did not.....¹ the ancient rules, and the book was wrong on that account.

And sometimes they call the fingers by Arabian and Persian names. And they had other music called stops which come out of the fingers.

And now we will speak of the instruments of music. And the lute is the oldest and best of the instruments, and Moder found it. And Yaehya of Musul said that the lute has four strings, four sides, four parts, and four tied places. And Ishak and Zelzel and Berbud the Persian were the best of people of work upon this instrument. And the pandor came from the Saebyans who measured the earth, and so it was called the measured *tumbur*. And it has two strings or more, and it is made of a gourd by the peasantry who play the songs of idolatry upon it. And the *syng* is an instrument of strings. Khaleel says that it sounds like the bell of the drums. And Aesha sang to the Cæsars upon it. And the *mizher* is a lute with more strings, and the slave girls sang upon it in the days of idolatry. And the *rebab* is an instrument of the people of Khorasan and Khaleel says that the ancient Arabs sang their poem [s] to its voice. And the *thal* and *duff* are used in war.....² the Arabs, and similarly the *mizmar*, which is the *ney* and the *gosba*....."

II

COMMENTARY

I do not think that there can be the slightest doubt that the above is a very literal translation from some Arabic treatise. It is so literal in some places that clarification is necessary, whilst most of the names are so truncated or so altered in their transliterated form that they are not easily recognized, and it is the purpose of this commentary to remove some of these obscurities.

1. Another obliteration, possibly covering the word "know."

2. The obliterated word is possibly "among."

"Haesen the Naesyby."—He may be identified with Hasan ibn Mūsā an-Naṣībī (d. c. 860 A.D.), the author of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* 'alā'l-*Ḥurūf* and the *Kitāb Mujarradāt al-Mughannīn*. See *al-Fihrist*, 145.

"Songs and stories."—An-Naḍr ibn al-Ḥārith (d. 624 A.D.) was one of the pre-Islamic poet-minstrels whose "songs and stories" were preferred by the Meccans to the revelations of the Prophet. *Sūra*, xxxi, 5-6.

"The stops."—This must refer to the frets (*Dasātīn*) on the finger-board of the lute and pandore. The term "stops" was used by 17th century (A.D.) English writers on music for "frets." The Arabs of the *Jāhiliyah* did not use frets until they adopted the Persian lute, when they also borrowed the Persian word *Dasātīn*.

"Ishak of Musul."—This was Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mausilī (d. 850 A.D.), a prolific writer on music. See my *Sources of Arabian Music*, 16.

"Seeyat."—Properly Siyyāt, Abū Wahab 'Abdallāh ibn Wahab (d. 785 A.D.).

"Jonos the Secretary," is Yūnus al-Kātib or Yūnus ibn Sulaimān (d. c. 765), the author of the *Kitāb fi'l-Aghānī* and the *Kitāb an-Naghm*, both being the first books of their kind in Arabic. See *Aghānī*, IV, 113-14, and *al-Fihrist*, 145.

"Eight notes and two long finger notes."—These comprised the ten notes out of which the one-octave (*al-bu'd alladhī bi'l-kull*) Arabian scale was made up. Here is the fretting of the old Arabian lute ('ūd) showing these ten notes :

Nut (anf)	A.	-----	D.	-----	G.	-----	
Sabbāba fret	B.	-----	E.	-----	a.	-----	
Wuṣṭā fret	C.	-----	F.	-----		-----	
Binṣīr fret	C. sharp	-----		-----	sharp	-----	
Khinṣīr fret	D.	-----	G.	-----		-----	
	Bamm		Mathlath		Mathnā		Zīr
	string.		string.		string.		string.

The Wuṣṭā notes were the two "long finger notes," the remainder being the "eight notes."

"Finger melodies" were the *Aṣābī'* (sing. *Aṣba'*), so frequently quoted in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* of al-Iṣfahānī.

"Omer bin Bāna."—This was 'Amr ibn Bāna (d. 891 A.D.), the author of the *Kitāb Mujarrad al-Aghānī* and the *Kitāb fi'l-Aghānī* mentioned in the great *Aghānī* (XIV, 50) and the *Fihrist*, 145. The "tracts," which he did not know, were the two divisions of the modes, something like our major and minor species, known as the Majrātain. In fact the word "tract" is but a literal translation of Majrā (tract or duct), and the mediæval Latin musical term 'conductus' may have been derived originally from this source. That 'Amr ibn Bāna was not a skilled theorist in music although a good vocalist is confirmed by the *Aghānī* (*loc. cit.*).

"Ibrahim."—Doubtless this indicates Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī (d. 839), the author of the *Kitāb al-Ghinā'*. See *Fihrist*, 116. That he and 'Amr ibn Bāna collaborated in a book is not mentioned elsewhere.

"Arabian and Persian names."—It is likely that this means that the finger modes (Aṣābī') had, even at this early period to which I have assumed that this fragment belongs, other names, such as the Arabic 'Ushshāq, 'Irāq, Ḥusainī, and the Persian Kuwāsht, Zankūla, Naurūz, which we do not find mentioned until the time of Ibn-Sīnā (d. 1037 A.D.).

"Other music called stops."—The stops, as we have seen elsewhere, refers to the Dasātīn, but we read in the *Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm* (10th century) that the Persians also used certain modes or melodies called Dastānāt.

"Modar."—Here we have Almodad of the Old Testament, whom the Arabs called Muḍar ibn Nizār ibn Ma'add, the inventor of the Ḥudā' or caravan song. See al-Mas'ūdī, *Prairies*, VIII, 92. No mention is made elsewhere that he "found" the lute, a discovery which the Arabs attribute to Lamak.

"Yaehya of Musul" must be Yaḥyā ibn Abī Mansūr al-Mauṣilī (9th century), mentioned in the *Kashf az-Zunūn* of Hājī Khalifa as the author of (*Kitāb*) *al-Aghānī*, and elsewhere as having penned a *Kitāb al-'Ūd wa'l-Malāhī*.

"Ishak and Zelzel and Berbud."—The first is the famous Ishāq al-Mauṣilī already mentioned, the greatest lutanist of his day. Zalzal (d. 791 A.D.) was an uncle of the latter's, and is placed by him in the forefront of lutanists, whilst in the *'Iqd al-Farīd* it is said that "he was without an equal either before or after his time." (III, 190). Bārbad was the famous performer on the Persian lute (Barbat) in the days of Khusrau Parwiz (d. 628 A.D.), the Sāsānid king.

"Measured tumbur."—Elsewhere (*Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments*, II, 34). I have shown that this must be the Tunbūr Mīzānī mentioned in the *Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm* (p. 237), also called the Tunbūr Baghdādī, as is confirmed by al-Fārābī (d. c. 950), who especially mentions its "Pagan frets" (Dasātīn al-Jāhiliyya) which facilitated the performance of the "songs of idolatry" (Alḥān al-Jāhiliyya). See D'Erlanger, *La Musique Arabe*, I, 227.

"Syng."—This is the *Şanj* of the Arabs (sometimes called the *Jank*) and the *Chang* of the Persians. Both were harps. That *Khaleel* or *al-Khalīl ibn Ahmad* (d. 791 A.D.) said that the *Şanj* was like the "bell of the drums" is a reference to the metal plate (actually plates) in the rim of the *tambourine* (*Duff*), as quoted by the author of the *Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm* (p. 237).

"Aesha."—Here we have the famous poet *al-A'shā Maimūn* (d. ca. 629 A.D.), who was nicknamed *aş-Şannājat al-'Arab*, but this latter may not actually refer to an instrument of the harp family but is rather an allusion to the fine rhythm of his verse, which, in music, would be emphasized by the *Şunūj*.

"Mizher."—Here we have a repetition of an old blunder that the *Mizhar* was a lute, as I have shown elsewhere. See *Encyclopædia of Islam*, (sub voce "Duff").

That the "rebab" was used by the ancient Arabs to accompany their poems is mentioned elsewhere. *Tbal* (*Ṭabl*), *Duff*, *Mizmār*, *ney* (*Nay*), and *gosba* (*Qaşaba*), are the well-known instruments of percussion and woodwind. It is worthy of note that neither the *Būq* nor the *Nafir* are mentioned among the instruments of battle, a circumstance which may throw some light on the early date of this interesting musical English-Arabic fragment.

HENRY GEORGE FARMER.

ON THE MARGIN:

THE ORIGINAL COMPILER OF AL-MUFADḌALIYYĀT

WAS it that al-Mufaḍḍal, the so-far acknowledged compiler of the famous anthology of Arabic verse called *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* after him, only made a redaction, may be with his annotations, of some seventy or eighty pieces of poetry originally selected by a scion of the House of 'Alī, 'Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdullāh (a brother of an-Nafs az-Zakiyya), and to them probably also added some fifty or forty pieces of his own choice a little later? Such is the question posed by Professor 'Abdul-'Azīz al-Maimanī of the Aligarh Muslim University in the course of a short note in Arabic made out quite recently, of which, in view of the high importance of the subject, an English translation is given below.

Prof. al-Maimanī says: "I have come across a tradition, hitherto quite unnoticed, which is handed down to us on the authority of four Shī'ite scholars, and purports to ascribe to al-Mufaḍḍal a confession that the original compilation of the greater part of the anthology as we have it today belonged not to himself but to 'Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdullāh (b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī). (1) It is related by Abu'l-Faraj in the *Maqāṭī' at-Ṭālibiyyīn* (Irān, 1307 H., p. 119; Najaf, p. 229) that 'Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdullāh (who, following his brother, an-Nafs az-Zakiyya, led a revolt against the caliph al-Manṣūr at Bākhmrā and was killed there in the year 145 H.) "put up with al-Mufaḍḍal aḍ-Ḍabbī during the period of his abscondence. Al-Mufaḍḍal, the narrator adds, was a Zaidite. 'Ibrāhīm said (to al-Mufaḍḍal), 'Bring me some of your books so that I may read them because I feel bored when you go out (to your estate). So he brought to him some (collection) of the poetry of the Arabs out of which 'Ibrāhīm selected a few odes and transcribed them separately in book. Al-Mufaḍḍal says, 'So when 'Ibrāhīm was killed, I brought out the odes which the people ascribed to me. It is these odse, seventy in number, which are known as the *Ikhtiyār-ul-Mufaḍḍal*. Thereafter, I added to them and completed the number 120.....' There is another similar tradition in the same source (Irān, p. 131; Najaf, p. 251) which is also quoted by Ibn-Abi'l-Ḥadīd (I, 324). (2) Quoting

from the *Fawā'id of an-Najirāmī*¹, written in his own handwriting, as-Suyūṭī records in *al-Muzhir* (ed. 1282 H., II, 165; 1325 H., II, 202) Al-'Abbās b. Bakkār ad-Ḍabbī says: "I said to al-Mufaḍḍal, 'How good your selection of the verses is! I wish you could give us some more of your selections. He replied: "By Allāh this selection is not mine. As a matter of fact, Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdullāh hid with me.....'" The report only mentions that Ibrāhīm had marked the odes selected by him and not that he had transcribed them separately as is given in the previous tradition.

This report is also recorded with variation by Ibn al-Muhanna al-Ḥasanī (ob. 828 H.) in the *'Umdat-ut-Tālib* (Bombay, 1318 H., p. 85). It says that Ibrāhīm marked eighty odes which were brought out by al-Mufaḍḍal after his murder. Later on the odes were read out to al-Aṣma'ī who added to them."

Prof. al-Maimanī continues: "Let us now review in the light of the above-mentioned tradition the better-known reports recorded by al-Qālī, al-Marzūqī and Ibn an-Nadīm on the subject. According to the reports of al-Qālī (*Dhail al-Amāli*, p. 131/130; cf. also comments thereon, *Dhail al-La'ālī*, p. 61) and al-Marzūqī (Berlin MS., fol. 5a), al-Mufaḍḍal brought out only eighty (the number 'thalāthina' occurring in the latter source being undoubtedly an error for 'thamānina') odes for al-Mahdī to which forty more were added when they were read out to al-Aṣma'ī, thus raising the number to 120. In the commentary of at-Tabrizī of which I have seen several MSS. in Istanbul and Egypt, the number of *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* is 124. The author of the *Fihrist* puts the number at 128 and adds that the number and order of the poems often vary according to the difference in transmission and are only authentic in the version of Ibn al-'Arabī.

"It will be seen that from all the conflicting reports quoted above there emerges one agreed point which is that, unlike the *Aṣma'īyyāt*, the Collection of al-Mufaḍḍal is preserved for us in its entirety in the recensions of al-Anbārī, al-Marzūqī and at-Tabrizī. Further it can be taken as almost certain that in the first instance al-Mufaḍḍal brought out only eighty poems which were originally selected and compiled by Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdullāh in circumstances reminiscent of the compilation of the *Hamāsa* by Abū-Tammām at a later time. These eighty pieces stood at the head of the larger collection which came to be known as *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* but the order might have been disturbed in the course of transmission to us." (*Vide* the words of Ibn an-Nadīm, quoted above).

"There only remains the all-important question as to who made the subsequent additions, some forty pieces, included in the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, al-Mufaḍḍal or al-Aṣma'ī? Obviously the explicit assertion contained

1. Two men bearing the surname 'an-Najirāmī' are known to us: (1) Abū'l-Ishāq Ibrāhīm, the author of the *Aimān-u'l-'Arab*, noticed in *al-Udabā'* and *al-Bughya*, p. 181, and (2) his pupil's pupil, Abū-Ya'qūb Yūsuf, noticed in *al-Bughya*, p. 425. The author of the *Fawā'id* is probably the former one.

in the report of Abu'l-Faraj militates against the contention of my friend, Dr. S. M. Husain, that the additions must be ascribed to al-Aṣma'i, thus strengthening the contrary view originally taken by Sir Charles Lyall."¹

"Anyhow," asks Prof. al-Maimanī in conclusion, "is it not meet that the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* be renamed *al-Ibrāhimiyyāt*, *Ikhtiyāru-Ibrāhīm-wa-Ṣan'at-u'l-Mufaḍḍal*² after the name of its original compiler just in the same way as the other collection has been called *al-Aṣma'iyyāt* despite the contributions made to it by several scholars, known as well as unknown?"

S. M. Y.

1. The report of al-Qāli, referred to above, mentions that the number of *al-Aṣma'iyyāt* increased enormously as a result of contributions made by al-Aṣma'i's pupils. Ahlward's edition (based on the Kuprulu MS., from which have been transcribed the Vienna MS. and the copy of *ash-Shinqīṭī* in the Dār al-Kutub al-Misriyya) comprises 77 pieces while the second part of the *Ikhtiyārāin* contains 72 additions plus 2 found in the MS. of the British Museum. Besides the poems lost in the first part of the *Ikhtiyārāin*, there are a number of verses, pointed out by me in the *Dhailu'l-La'ālī* and referred to by Dr. S. M. Husain in the *Introduction to Ancient Arabic Odes*, p. 200, which are mentioned as part of *al-Aṣma'iyyāt* but are not to be found in any of these editions.

2. It will be remembered that al-Mufaḍḍal is also reported to have commented on the verses, as it is mentioned by al-Anbārī in several places and has been pointed out by me in the *Iqlīd al-Khizāna*.

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

HYDERABAD

Fifth Quinquennial Conference of Indian Universities.

DURING the past few years the Osmania University has by its incessant efforts at gathering eminent scholars and educationists for solving intricate questions of advanced knowledge attracted the attention of the learned world. Great scholars, educationists, literary and scientific societies have gathered under the roof of this great monument of culture and learning in order to lay down policies for the post-war education. In December 1943, the fifth session of the Quinquennial Conference of the Universities of India held under the Presidentship of Sir S. Radha Krishnan, Vice-Chancellor of the Benares University, was inaugurated by His Excellency the President of H.E.H. the Nizam's Executive Council. Opening the session His Excellency the Nawab of Chhatari, President of the Executive Council, conveyed H.E.H. the Nizam's gracious message of welcome to the delegates of the Conference. In his presidential speech Sir S. Radha Krishnan dealing with future policy of all-India education pointed out, "We need a re-education of human nature and a reorganization of our political and economic institutions. If victory is not to prove a mockery, if the crisis before which civilization stands is to be tided over, if the forces of evil and retrogression which have caused wars are not to appear in other forms in other lands, fundamental changes are required in the structure and spirit of society." Sir S. Radha Krishnan also referred to the Osmania University and recalled it as a great University whose progress was being watched with the utmost sympathy and interest. We hope that this great University will set an example and lead the way for the advancement of knowledge over the country.

It is gratifying to note that at this distinguished gathering of the educationists, the importance of Islam has been duly observed and the following resolutions bearing upon Islamic studies have been passed.

1. "This Conference recommends to the Universities that provision be made for the study of Muslim philosophy, Indian philosophy and Muslim history as optional subjects for graduate and post-graduate courses."

2. The Conference recommends to the Universities to give to their activities an ethical, social, and spiritual outlook."

Convocation of the Osmania University.

This year the Convocation ceremony of the Osmania University was distinguished from the previous years in that the great public leader Mr. C. Rajagopalachari was made a member of the Fraternity of the Osmania graduates and was awarded the honorary degree of LL.D. Dr. C. Rajagopalachari delivered the Convocation Address and said : " The Osmania University is unique in all India in that the highest scientific education as well as the teaching of the Humanities are done through an Indian Language, the rich joint product of Muslim and Hindu contact." Addressing the graduates, he said : " Yours is an achievement of which not only you but all India should be proud. The only language that can claim to be an all-India language is Hindustani and that is the medium of instruction in this University. Yours then is the true Vidyapith, the Swadeshi University of all India." Referring to the complicated problem of introducing a mother-tongue other than Urdu in the secondary stage of Hyderabad educational machinery, Dr. C. Rajagopalachari justly observed, " If up to the last point in secondary school, the instruction should be given through the medium of the mother-tongue other than Urdu, it may be feared that a large body of the students would be ill-equipped for the University course to which they may legitimately aspire. If the Government of Hyderabad made the apparently good rule that in the Kannada, Telugu and Marathi areas secondary education shall be imparted through these languages respectively, what would the parents of the best boys and girls say as to the necessary consequence of this, viz., that they would be practically excluded from higher courses available in the Osmania University and from the chances in life open to the Osmania graduates."

Oriental Publication Bureau.

Dā'iratul-Ma'ārif is as usual engaged with the revival of the culture of Islam. The following works have just come out of the press and will be soon available to the public at large.

1. مسأله ای عوانه Vol. II : A note about this work has already been published in October, 1943, issue of this Journal. This part deals with the subject of prayer.

2. التاريخ الكبير للإمام بخارى : This history consists of four volumes and each of them is divided into two parts. This is the second part of the first volume.

3. مخاربات لابن هبل الموفى سنة ٥٦١ هـ Vol. II : This well-known work on the science of Arabic medicine is divided into three parts. The first part deals

with general principles, second with medicaments and third with the treatment. This work is published after its collation with a number of MSS. Besides these works, the following dissertations have been published. Except Nos. 4 and 5, all these valuable works have been dedicated to the name of the great savant al-Bīrūnī.

- (١) رسالة الابداع والاعمال للامام ابى الحسن كوشيا رابن لبنان الجبلى (فى القرن الخامس)
- (٢) رسالة جدول الدقايق لآبى نصر منصور بن على بن عراق مولى اميرالمومنين
- (٣) رسالة جدول تقويم لآبى نصر منصور بن على بن عراق
- (٤) رسالة الاصول لابى نصر منصور بن سنان المتوفى سنة ٥٣٥ هـ
- (٥) مقالة فى رسم القطوع الثلاثة للعلاء ابراهيم بن سنان بن ثابت المتوفى سنة ٥٣٥ هـ
- (٦) رسالة ابى الوفا محمد بن محمد البوزجاني المتوفى سنة ٥٣٤ هـ فى اقامة البرهان على الدائر من الفلك

Al-Ihyā'ul-Ma'ārif an-Nu'māniya.

It is regrettable that all the manuscripts announced to have been prepared by this society in the January 1942, issue of this Journal, could not be published up till now owing to the war. But thanks to the efforts of this learned body, the following MSS. have been secured for preparing them for publication and some of them are already under collation :—

- (١) تقويم الادلة للامام ابى زيد الدبوسى
- (٢) شرح الصدر الشهيد لكتاب ادب القاضي للامام ابى بكر احمد الخفاف
- (٣) الشروط الصغير للامام الطحاوى
- (٤) اصول النجاص لآبى بكر احمد بن على الرازى المسمى بالفصول
- (٥) الايثار فى رواة الآثار للحافظ ابن حجر الهيتمى
- (٦) مسند الامام الاعظم للامام ابى محمد عبدالله بن محمد الحارثى البخارى
- (٧) مسند الامام الاعظم للامام ابى خسرو البلخى
- (٨) اخبار ابى حنيفة واصحابه للامام ابى عبدالله الصيمرى

DECCAN

Some Tenets of Islam.

S. Muḥammad Husayan Nainar contributed one monograph on *Some Tenets of Islam* to the *Annals of Oriental Research*, University of Madras. He intends to point out to the reader what Islam has to say on these points, viz., Islam. Its Significance, Sectarianism condemned, Creed of Islam, Idea of Brotherhood, Exhortation to Unity, Exclusiveness not approved, Code of Islam, Responsibility of Man, Service to fellow-beings, Work and

Charity, Duty of Man, Toleration. He has attempted to find out an answer to these topics from the teachings of the Qur'ān and the sayings of the Prophet. No better expression can be given to these ideas than the original language in which they have been expressed, but as the object is to approach all those who are not acquainted with Arabic, they are conveyed in English without further attempting to paraphrase them.

Migration of Paper from China to India.

Mr. P. K. Gode, Curator of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, publishes an important paper on this heading in the *Paper Making as Cottage Industry*. In the beginning he has divided his thesis into six points. One of these is this : ' The introduction of paper is only due to the Muhammadans.' Then he proceeds with the history of the paper in the East from the very early times and thus comes to the period of 751, A.D. where he quotes from the Encyclopædia Britannica thus : 'We are told that in 751 A.D. Samarkand, then in charge of an Arab governor, was attacked by the Chinese. The governor repelled the attack of the Chinese and pursued them, making prisoner of some Chinese, who knew the art of making paper. These prisoners imparted the art to their Arab masters and in this manner the Arabs began to manufacture paper.' Sulaimān (851 A.D.), the Arab geographer refers to the Chinese use of paper for sanitary purposes. Here for further information it will suffice to remark that the late Prof. M. Jamīlū'r-Rahmān of the Osmania University, Hyderabad-Deccan, contributed a detailed paper under the heading of *Qirṭās aur usca Isti'māl*—Papyrus and its use, to the *Majmū'a-Taḥqīqāt-i-'Ilmiya, Jāmi'a Osmania*, Hyderabad-Deccan, 1940, pp. 1-25. He has ably discussed all pros and cons of the problem. As far as India is concerned, it is also noted here with confidence that the Deccan stands first where at Daulatabad the Musalmans from the very early days began to manufacture paper and even to this day there is one small village, which owing to the manufacture of paper here, is named Kaghzipura, town of paper.

Persian Version of the Mahabharata.

The fifth volume of the *Bulletin* of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, is devoted to the memory of the late Dr. Sukhtankar, who died last year (Islamic Culture, July 1943, p. 338), with a view to celebrate his first anniversary. The staff and scholars of the Deccan College have contributed articles on the themes connected with the Great Epic of India, i.e., *Mahabharata*. Prof. C. H. Shaikh writes on the *Translations of the Mahabharata into Arabic and Persian*. He has fully discussed its Persian version at Akbar's court and appended the Persian text of Abu'l-Fadl's introduction to this translation of the *Mahabharata* along with its English translation. Dr. Chaghatai's article on the *Illustrated Edition*

of the *Razm Nāmā* (Persian Version of the Mahabharata at Akbar's Court) provides a description of the imperial illustrated edition of the same which was prepared for Akbar and furnishes a brief account of Akbar's patronage of the art of painting. He asserts that the illustrations of the *Razm Nāmā* can claim to be a faithful picture of Akbar's India in many respects. It also consists of six full-page illustrations from a contemporary manuscript. He has appended four appendices:—*a*. List of Mughal or Indo-Persian Miniature-painters; *b*. The Index of the Persian Version; *c*. Statement showing the contents of Persian manuscripts of the *Razm Nāmā* in various collections; *d*. List of books translated into Persian from Sanskrit at Akbar's court.

Dastūr-ul-Aṭibbā' of Muḥammad Qāsim Firishta.

Muḥammad Qāsim Firishta is well known for his compendious historical work, the *Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīmī*, written in the Deccan. He had also composed one work on medicine known as *Dastūr-ul-Aṭibbā*. One of its MSS. has recently been brought to light from the collection of the Gujrat Vernacular Society of Ahmadabad. The writer of this note (*Ma'ārif*, Dec. 1943, pp. 446-52) asserts that Muḥammad Qāsim mentions in its introduction that he had come to Ahmednagar from Astarabad at the court of Murtadā Nizām Shāh where he composed this work on medicine. The MSS. of this work of Firishta are very common (Kutub Khana Asafiya, State Library, Hyderabad-Dn. List, V. ii, pp. 950, No. 407) from which this information is not available. Moreover, the same work of Firishta has already been published at Amritsar in 1901 (vide *Tārikh*, ed. by S. Shamsullāh Qādri, Vol. I, pts. ii-iii, p. 17).

Sources of the Mir'at-i-Sikandari.

The *Mir'at-i-Sikandari* by Shaikh Sikandar, one of the courtiers of Jahāngīr, is described by Dr. M. A. Chaghatai in the recent issue of the Journal of the Gujrat Research Society, Bombay. He has particularly based his thesis on the sources of this important history dealing with the Sultāns of Gujrat (1403-1572 A.D.). Most of these sources are not now-a-days available.

Marrakesh and Rabāt.

Mr. Ghulām Yazdāni contributed an illustrated article to the latest issue of the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay, under the title of *Twenty Days in Marrakesh and Rabāt*. In 1923,

by the generous help of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government Mr. Yazdāni was able to devote three months to the study of Arab monuments in North Africa. During this period Marrakesh caught his imagination the more. His contribution is not only a sort of recollections of an archæologist but also full of other cultural aspects of Islam. He has given a brief history of the place which is very interesting. Particularly as to the history of the Almohades (*Unitarians*) he says: "The Almohades, like their predecessors, were in the beginning a religious community and the history of Morocco to a large extent is the history of the development and variation of Islamic doctrine in that country. The Almohades were strict followers of the Malakites school and considered the allegorical interpretation of the verses of the *Qur'ān* as heresy. Ibn-Tumart, the founder of the Almohades group of the religious thinkers, had travelled extensively in the Middle East and other countries and was familiar not only with the view of al-Ghazali and the Ash'arite, but had also studied the writings of the Spanish Zāharite, Ibn-Hazm." Mr. Yazdāni traces an up-to-date history in brief, but in the domain of archæology he describes the minaret of the Kutubiya Mosque of Marrakesh which occupies a dominating position. The original mosque was founded by 'Abdu'l-Mo'min (1123-63 A.D.). The other monument of Marrakesh described by him is the so-called Madrasa of Abū-Yūsuf built in 1343. He has also appended Arabic inscriptions with their English translations which are found on the graves in the courtyard of the Madrasa. The next part of his article concerns Rabāt, styled *Ribāt al-Fath*. The description of the Great Mosque of Rabāt, called Masjid Hassān or Burj Hassān, is full of useful informations. In one place, Mr. Yazdāni says: "A week's stay in Marrakesh among such surroundings has now become a dream, but a dream which has left deeper impression upon my mind regarding the spirit and teachings of Islam than hitherto made by the study of any historical text, or by attendance at any religious sermon."

Tāju'd-Dīn Fīrōz and the Synthesis of Bahmani Culture.

The establishment of the first Muslim kingdom in the Deccan under the name of the Bahmanides started from Hasan Bahmani in A.H. 748/1347, A.D. Since then the Deccan had become independent of the central Delhi kingdom even in the lifetime of Muḥammad Tughluq, but it was not so fully acknowledged and known outside till Tāju'd-Dīn Fīrōz occupied the throne in 800 A.H./1397. A.D. Prof. H.K. Sherwāni's account of this illustrious ruler in the *New Indian Antiquary* is full of all details of his period and he has ably based his account on authentic sources. Particularly in the domain of archæology of the Deccan of this period, Prof. Sherwāni's contribution contains very valuable data. A similar contribution on Sultān Fīrōz by M. A. Majīd Siddiqi, in the *Majmu'a-Maqālāt-i-Ilmiya*, No. 5, Hyderabad Academy, is also worth studying.

Progress of Urdu.

The Urdu Conference, held at Kalikat (Malabar) by the end of the last year, was a special feature in the development of Urdu language. It was presided over by Maulvi 'Abdul-Haq. His presidential address contains more of Muslim cultural history of the place than of the expansion of Urdu in Malabar. According to Maulvi 'Abdul-Haq this important part of India from Muslim point of view is not so well-known by the Muslims of India at large. The main fault lies in the non-complying of one condition ; that the language of the people of this part of India is not common with that of other parts of India. Simply to achieve this end the education in Urdu language by starting schools was essential. Maulvi 'Abdul-Haq Şahib traced the early history of the place and its relations with Arabia through trade. In this respect he based his information on the *Tuhfat-ul-Mujāhidīn* of Shaikh Zainu'd-Dīn. He has also given a brief account of the hostile attitude of the Portuguese towards Muslims, who had a hatred for the Muslims from the very beginning, although they owed a great deal to Musalmāns. It was due to one Arab mariner, Aḥmad bin Mājid, who had steered the ship of Vasco de Gama to India. Maulvi 'Abdul-Haq exhorted the citizens of Malabar to learn Urdu which would give them a means of communication.

At Nagpur the All-India Urdu Conference attracted people from far and near. Nawab Şadr Yār Jang Bahādur Ḥabību'r-Raḥmān Khān Sherwānī gave a brief account of the establishment of the Anjuman-i-Taraqqī-i-Urdu in his presidential address since its inception in 1903 at Delhi, when Maulana Shiblī Nu'mānī was selected its first Hon. Secretary. According to him it was founded at a place which could be regarded as the centre and home of Urdu. He also gave some account of the educational activities of the Central Provinces. Seventeen resolutions were passed at this session and there was also an All-India Urdu Women's Conference which was presided over by Prof. Kurshid Ara Begum, who emphasised the need of Urdu education among the women of the Central Provinces.

The Bangalore Urdu Society held its first meeting. Principal Dr. M. Bazlu'r-Raḥman, Ismā'il Yūsuf College, Bombay, spoke on *Educational Needs of the Musalmans*. His speech was mostly based on his own personal experiments and observations. Prof. N. A. Nadvi dealt with many important problems of Urdu language, and Prof. A. Q. Sarwari gave a short account of the development of Urdu in Mysore.

Dārā Shikoh.

In continuation of the note appearing in the last issue of the Islamic Culture on *Dārā Shikoh* (p. 88) it will also interest the readers to know that the libraries and collections in the Deccan possess very valuable

treasures which are not found anywhere else. Fortunately one MS. of the *Commentary on Diwān-i-Hāfiz* (in the Kutub Khāna Āṣafiya State Library, Hyderabad-Deccan, List V. i, pp. 738-39, No. 474), by one 'Abdullāh known as 'Ubaidullāh, is calligraphed by the Prince Dārā Shikoh, who has put his name at its end thus :

تحریر فی التاريخ ہفدہم صفر سنہ ۱۰۹۰

کاتب الحروف فقیر حقیر دار اشکوہ

مرید سیاد آدم رسول نما

ساکن ماوراء النہر

'Written on 17th Şafar in the 19th regnal year (of Shāh Jahān) by the calligraphist, the most humble, Dārā Shikoh, disciple of Sayyid Adam Rasūl Numā, a native of Māwarāu'n-Nahr.'

So far our knowledge as regards Dārā Shikoh's interest in mysticism seems very limited for which it requires a further critical study. The mention of Sayyid Rasūl Numā is found in the *Khazīnat-u'l-Aṣfiyā* of Mufti Ghulām Sarwar (Vol. I, pp. 630-32). It also records that this saint came to Lahore in 1052 A.H./1642 A.D., with a large number of Afghans during the reign of Shāh Jahān.

M. A. C.

DELHI

Anjuman-i-Taraqqī-i-Urdū.

THIS society has been working successfully under the efficient leadership of its secretary Maulvī 'Abdul-Haq. It has, according to its latest report, 266 branches and runs 62 Urdu schools in various parts of this sub-continent and a college for teaching Urdu in Delhi. It has rendered great service to the Urdu language by publishing translations of some celebrated and authoritative books. This tradition has been preserved in spite of great difficulties caused by the war, even during the last few years. The following are some of the more important items appearing on the list :—

- (i) *Kitāb-u'l-Hind* by al-Bīrūnī, now completed.
- (ii) *Alf-Lailah-wa-Lailah*, three volumes have now been published
- (iii) Plutarch's *Times*, first volume has been published.
- (iv) *Hikāyāt-i-Aghāni*, first volume.
- (v) *Māndū*, Mr. G. Yazdāni's well-known book on this deserted city.
- (vi) *Akhbar-i-Majmū'* a history of Muslim Spain.

The following are some of the more important original works published by the *Anjuman* :

(i) *Adabiyāt-i-Fārsī men Hindū'on kā Hiṣṣah* (the Share of the Hindus in the Literary Output of India) by Dr. 'Abdullāh ;

(ii) *Tanqīd-i-Shi'r-u'l-'Ajam*, a learned commentary on Shibli's classical work by Professor Maḥmūd Shīrānī which adds greatly to our knowledge of the history of Persian literature besides removing certain erroneous conceptions ;

(iii) *Firdawsī par Chār Maqālē* by the same author who throws a great light on the great epic poet and particularly on the myth of his writing a poem vilifying Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznah ; and popular books on Biology, Botany, Banking and Buddhism.

The society has also published the *Dīwān* of the famous poet Naẓīr Akbarābādī which has been edited by Mīrzā Farḥatullāh Bēg.

The total number of publications for the year 1942 number 20 volumes of 6,500 pages, which is no mean record.

Some of the books under preparation are :

(a) Translations of (i) Dante's *Divine Comedy*,

(ii) Barthold's *Islamic Civilization*.

(b) A summary in Urdu of 'Awfī's famous *Jawāmi'-u'l-Hikāyāt*.

(c) A summary and criticism of *Prithvi Rāj Rāsa* of Chānd Barda'i by Professor Maḥmūd Shīrānī and a critical edition of *Nawādir-ul-Alfāz* considered to be the oldest dictionary in Urdu.

The society's quarterly *Urdu* has maintained its usually high standard ; the last number has three good articles, one on the new tendencies in Urdu literature, another on certain historical faults which have crept into the errors of some well-known Urdu writers and the third on the Urdu literature of the 13th century A.H. Similarly *Science*, a monthly journal, and the popular bi-weekly *Hamārī Zabān* have been doing excellent work.

Nadwat-u'l-Muṣannifīn.

The literary organ of this body, the *Burhān* has kept up its standard. It has recently concentrated much of its attention to sociological problems in Islam and has published two articles : one under the caption *Islāmi Ma'āshyāt* and the other on *Islām men Dawlat wa Iflās kā Tawāzun*. Another article discusses various Urdu translations of the *Qur'ān*. It is regrettable that a journal of the standard of *Burhān* should have published an uncritical article on Maulānā Abul-Kalām Āzād's writings, which has nothing but fulsome adulation.

An Islamic History Week.

The Historical Society of Anglo-Arabic College organized an Islamic History Week which in spite of bad weather, drew crowded audience. Some papers attained a good standard; the most notable contribution was the paper on the social conditions in the golden age of the Abbasids by Maulvi Sa'īd Ahmad of St. Stephen's College, Delhi. The Anglo-Arabic College is ideally situated for extension lectures on Islamic subjects and, it is hoped, will hold such weeks in the coming years. A little more prudence and elaborate planning could greatly enhance the utility of such functions.

A Muslim Poet of Hindi.

Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Lachhmi Dhar, M.A., M.O.L., head of the Department of Sanskrit in the University of Delhi, has recently published *Pem Prakāsh* which is a collection of the Hindi poems of Ḥadrat Shāh Saiyid Barkatu'llah, a renowned saint of the historical town of Marehra, now in the Etah district of the United Provinces. The saint used Pemi and 'Ishqī as, his *nom de plume* in Hindi and Persian poems respectively. According to his Persian *Dīwān*, he was born in 1070 A.H.; Mīr Ghulām 'Alī Āzād records in his *Ma'āthir-i-Kirām* that the saint died in 1142 A.H. Āzād also mentions that Saiyid Shāh Barkatu'llah wrote Hindi poems and that his Hindi verses are included in his *Pem Prakāsh*. Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Lachhmi Dhar's edition is based on a unique manuscript which has come into his possession as a sacred legacy from his ancestors. The manuscript is called *Majmū'ah-i-Barakātī* and has the saint's Persian and Hindi poems in a single volume. The editor was able to collate the Persian poems with a lithograph copy in possession of Saiyid Muḥammad Aḥsan, Assistant Registrar, Muslim University, Aligarh, and a descendant of the saint. But *Pem Prakāsh* seems to have been saved for posterity only through the manuscript in possession of the editor. The Hindi section of this volume has the title of the book *Pem Prakāsh* in the beginning and a colophon saying that the *Risālah Pem Prakāsh* comes to an end there. This book was finished by the author in 1109 A.H. in the reign of Aurangzib. The scribe of the manuscript on which this edition is based is the poet's disciple Ḥusain Bairāgī. The Mahamahopadhyaya's edition gives the text-book in Persian and Devanagiri scripts; Ḥusain Bairāgī's script is only in Persian characters. The saint also wrote (i) a *Tarjī-band*, (ii) a *Dīwān*, (iii) *Mathnavī Riyād-i-'Ishq*, (iv) *Risālah Chahār Anwā'*, (v) *Risālah Sawāl wa Jawāb*, (vi) *Naṣā'ih*, and (vii) *Risālah 'Awārif-Hindī*. All these works have "love divine" for their topic and deal with various aspects of mysticism. About the quantity of poetry in *Pem Prakāsh* the learned editor says :

" Indeed the *Pem Prakāsh*, now brought to light for the first time, is the richest treasure of the mystic poetry in Hindi ; and all Ṣūfī poetry

in Hindī, known to this day, pales in splendour before its light. In the freshness and vigour of thought, in exuberance of a rich feeling and the forceful imagery, in the happy choice of words and delightful turns of expression and poetic excellences, and above all, in that deep spiritual fervour which makes imagination a reality, our poet in the *Pem Prakāsh* stands out high and supreme! Each of the *Kabīts* is a polished gem of poetry, and each *Dohā* a string of radiant pearls. Our poet's command over the Hindi language is so perfect that he is able to express the most obtruse philosophical ideas, with perfect ease, in living Hindi speech taken from the mouths of the people."

This is a high tribute from a competent scholar who is familiar with the works of Kabīr, Dādu and other great poets of the Bhakti school and who is conversant with the beauties of Tulsī Dāsa and 'Abd-u'r-Rahīm.

Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Lachhmi Dhar's edition has a fascinating introduction, explanatory and critical notes and various appendices. The editor has earned the gratitude of all lovers of mystic poetry for bringing this jewel to light, though one cannot help wishing that the get-up ought to have been worthy of the excellence of the book. For this probably the war is responsible.

I. H. Q.

NORTH-EASTERN INDIA

The Shibli Academy.

The Urdu literature has been greatly enriched by the publication of *Hayāt-i-Shibli* (Life of Shibli), from the Shibli Academy, Azamgarh. This voluminous work, consisting of 847 pages, has been written in a scholarly, forcible and delightful style by Maulana Shibli's closest pupil, Maulana Sayyid Sulaimān Nadvi. It begins with a very admirable review of the promotion of learning in the eastern part of the United Provinces, and then there follows the description of the chequered and eventful biography of Maulana Shibli, who was a towering personality of his age. The details of his life as a man of letters, educationist, teacher, publicist, leader, and reformer have been described with a minuteness worthy of Boswell. This biography will ever remain a monumental work in Urdu literature, for it may also be read with interest as a history of the literary, educational, religious, and political activities of the Muslims of India from the post-Mutiny period till the second decade of the twentieth century A.D. Its second volume, which will deal with Maulana Shibli's literary contributions, is in preparation.

The Shibli Academy has also brought out *Tārīkh-e-Daulat Uthmāniya*, Vol. II (History of the Ottoman Empire, Vol. II), which covers in 468 pages Chronicles of Turkey from 1808 to 1919 A.D. The latter part of

The book deals chiefly with the administration, education, literature, culture, civilization, society, and morals of the period. This will be followed by another volume of the survey of modern Turkey.

The monthly journal of the Shibli Academy, the *Ma'ārif* has, in a series of much appreciated articles, been making a critical study of the book *Tārīkh-i-Afkār-wa'-Siyāsīyāt-i-Islāmi* (History of Islamic Politics and Thoughts) by A.W. Khan of Lucknow. The author of this work tried to analyse the changes and consequences of the religious, political, and intellectual developments of the Muslims of the world during the last thirteen hundred years. But in this analysis he erred in making historical researches and failed in interpreting Islamic Sharī'at, which led him to cast sad reflections on the deeds and achievements of most of the Muslim rulers, reformers, scholars and Šūfis. Shāh Mo'inuddīn Ahmad, a Fellow of Shibli Academy, in the above articles, has very remarkably sifted the errors of this book, and has at the same time presented the real picture of the currents and cross-currents of political and religious history of Islam during the various centuries. Other noteworthy articles of the *Ma'ārif*, published during the last three months are the following: (1) *Imām Abul-Hasan Ash'arī*: It deals with the life and the works of the well-known Ash'arite leader of the third century A.H. It also discusses in detail the reason of Imām Abul-Hasan's secession from the group of the Mu'tazilite theologians. The writer of the article believes that most of his dogmas quoted by Ash'arite writers are not based on his genuine faith, for they have been introduced only for the sake of scholastic discussions. The Imām did not really differ from the Sunni school of theology, (2) *Ṭib-e-Firishta*: This article throws light on one of the neglected works of the famous historian of the Muslim period of India, namely, Muḥammad Qāsim Firishta. The *Tib-e-Firishta* entitled also as *Ikhtiyārāt-i-Qasimī*, is a work on medicine compiled by Firishta for Murtada Nizām Shāh I of Bijapur, who died in 996 A.D., (3) *Ibn Manzūr Afriqī and a Glance on his Lisān'ul 'Arab*." It treats with the life of the African lexicographer, giving importance to his compilation *Lisān'ul-'Arab* which is regarded as the most standard and exhaustive Arabic lexicon. 'Two oldest Urdu Books of Delhi: In this article the writer has tried to show that the *Mathnavi Wāqī'āt-i-Imāmiya* compiled by Shāh Ghulām Rasūl in 938 A.H. and *Diwān Mun'am* of Tajawar (Alwar State), compiled by Shāh Muḥammad Ashraf Mun'am at about the same period, may be said to be the oldest works in Urdu literature, (4) *Why there is Sadness in Life*: It is a philosophical study of life in the light of the Holy Qur'ān.

The reconstituted Hindustani Academy, Allahabad, has resumed its work vigorously. In order to make the work attractive, the Academy has created a special fund for the award of prizes to authors. Twelve prizes of Rs. 1,200 each for works in creative literature had been announced before and it has also been decided to allot the preparation of nearly twenty-five other works on literary criticism, history, biography, and scientific

subjects to authors who would be paid suitable honoraria for their labours. The Academy is also trying to revive its annual conference at which writers of all Indian languages could meet together for exchange of views on various subjects.

The quarterly journal of the Academy, *The Hindustani*, has published the following articles in its January Number: (1) *Soviet Literature of the Central Asiatic Nations*, (2) 'Abdur-Rahīm Khān Khānān's *Hindi Poetry*, (3) *Theory of Life*, (4). *Nāfa'is, ul-Lughāt* which is a Hindustani lexicon compiled by Uḥud'uddin Bilgrami in 1253 A.D.

The illustrious Urdu writer, Mr. Enayatullah, B.A. (Alig.), died on 22nd october 1943 at Dehradun, where he had settled after retiring from the post of Nazim, Dār-ut-Tarjuma, Osmania University, Hyderabad-Deccan. He began his literary career by translating into Urdu T. W. Arnold's *Preaching of Islam* at Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan's instance, after which he developed a wonderful capacity of rendering English classics into his mother-tongue. His name will ever be cherished as the greatest and the most meritorious translator of Urdu literature. He translated about sixty-five English books into Urdu some of which are *Constantine* by John B. Firth, *Greek Imperialism* by William Scott Ferguson; *Timur* by Harold Lamb, *Chingiz Khān* by H. Lamb, *Spanish Islam* by F. G. Stokes, and a good number of the works of Shakespeare and Rider Haggard. His '*Historical Geography of Spain*' will always remain the most precious treasure of the Urdu literature. The *magnum opus* of his works is his translations of Sir Henry Howorth's *History of Mongols* in 4 volumes, which are still unpublished.

The twenty-sixth volume of the *Catalogue* of the Khuda Bakhsh Khan Oriental Public Library, Patna, is now in the press. It consists of about two hundred manuscripts included in eighteen volumes of mixed contents. The following manuscripts deserve special notice:

(1) A valuable and considerably old copy of Ibn-Ḥājib's (d. 646 A.H.) *al-Imālī* الإمالي consisting of his lectures on various topics of grammar, philology, and literature; (2) مفتاح الغيب A very rare and valuable copy of an authoritative gloss by Ṣadr'uddin al Qaunvi (d. 672 A.H.) on some difficult passages of his own commentary on سورة فاتحه entitled كتاب التوحيد الأعظم المبلغ من لا يعلم الى ترتيب من يعلم (3) ; اعجاز البيان في كشف بعض اسرار القرآن by Ṣafi'uddin, a great Ṣūfī of Yemen (d. 665 A.H.). It is a rare copy of a mystical work dealing with the attributes of God, prayers, piety, sermon and various other points connected with Ṣūfism; (4) بلوغ العرب في لطائف الادب. It is a work on ethics consisting of moral precepts and instructions by Muḥammad bin Ahmad al-Maqri; (5) A complete *Dīwān* of Muḥammad bin Nūr'uddin bin Muḥammad of Damascus, containing lyrical poems, Qaṣīdas, Muwashshahāt, and other forms of verse composition. The poet died in 1065 A.H. and the manuscript is

dated 1074 A.H.; (6) ابن حجر الهيتمى by Abu-Bakr ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abdullāh. It is a composition on the life and works of ابن حجر الهيتمى throwing fresh light on the achievements of this renowned scholar of the 10th century A.H. The author is Ibn-Hajar's favourite pupil, who was attached to him till his death.

The *Nadeem*, a monthly Urdu journal of Gaya (Bihar) has brought out a special number to commemorate the achievements of Khan Bahadur Syed 'Alī Muḥammad Shāh 'Azimābādī who was the most talented poet of Bihar. In a number of articles the journal has presented an appreciative study of the lyrics, elegy, and odes of this reputed poet, who died in 1927 A.D. Some of the contributions in this special issue are the following: (1) *Yādgār-i-Shād* by Dr. Sayyed Sulaimān Nadvi, Shibli Academy, Azamgarh; (2) *Shād 'Azimābādī and the Elegy*, by the Hon'ble Sir 'Abdul-Qadir, Chief Justice of the Bahawalpore High Court; (3) *Shād 'Azimābādī as a Scholastic of Islam* by Maulana Manāzīr Aḥsan, Chairman, Theology Department, Osmania University, Hyderabad-Deccan; (4) *The Lyrics of the late Syed 'Alī Muḥammad Shād* by Dr. Zubair Siddiqi, Chairman of Islamic Studies, Calcutta University; (5) *A Critical Study of Shād 'Azimābādī* by 'Abdus-Salām Nadvi, Shibli Academy, Azamgarh; (6) *The Evolution of Urdu Poetry after the Mutiny and Shād 'Azimābādī's role* by Shāh Waliur-Rahmān, Deputy Magistrate and Collector, Bihar.

MAULANA Mājid Daryābādī has begun writing a series of articles on the life and works of Maulānā Ashraf 'Alī Thanvi. This laudable endeavour is the result of persistent demand from the enlightened public that the life of Hakimul-Ummat Ḥaḍrat Ashraf 'Alī should be written by Maulānā Mājid Daryābādī.

Khauja Aḥsan, ex-Inspector of Schools, U.P., one of the most favourite pupils of Hakimul-Ummat has already written a very voluminous book on the life of his Pir entitled *Ashraf-us Sawāneḥ*. Ḥaḍrat himself approved of this book as, beside other things, it had clearly laid down his principles and his new outlook on Sufism. The existence of this book was one of the reasons why Maulana Mājid hesitated in writing his life-study. Urged by the public he has started writing the life of Ḥaḍrat Ashraf 'Alī Thānvi, entitled *Hakimūl-Ummat*. It mainly consists of his impression and his expression of the great and pious soul.

Md. Ilyās Mujibi, the author of *aṣ-Ṣaḥabiyāt*, has compiled and edited a series of booklets on *Siyar-uṣ-Ṣaḥāba* mainly depending on Dārul-Muṣan-nifin's *Siyar-uṣ-Ṣaḥāba*. He has already written several works and as many as eight are before us. In two of the books the life and history of Ḥaḍrat 'Alī and Ḥaḍrat 'Uthmān have been written and in five others the life and history of other Muhajirīn, Anṣar, while in another book the history of Ḥaḍrat 'Umar ibn 'Abdul-'Azīz has been written. The books are very useful for school-going boys.

Professor Sayyed Nawab 'Ali has written a very informative book entitled *Qaṣaṣ-ul-Ḥaq*. This book pointed out the untruths which have gathered round the stories about the creation of man, Noah's Ark, and innumerable other prophets mentioned in Bible and other ancient and divine books of Jews and Christians. After a thorough research the author has proved the stories in the Qur'ān to be correct and genuine. It has brought to light the distinctive features of Qur'ānic stories. He has taken pains to prove the historical truth and the moral elevation of Qur'ān, a labour which speaks of his extraordinary zeal and insight.

A small book on *Rūḥ-e-Islam* by Syed Hasan Ārzū of Phūlwāri Sharīf, Patna, also deserves mention. He has explained in this book the spiritual benefit derived by fasting, prayer, Ḥaj and Zakāt and also the worldly truths hidden in these religious matters.

S. S.

NORTH-WESTERN INDIA

The All-India Philosophical Congress.

THE 18th Session of the All-India Philosophical Congress was held last December at Lahore under the general presidentship of Professor P. N. Srinivasachari of Madras. Thanks to the organizing capacity and tireless efforts of Secretary of the local Reception Committee, Professor Qazi Mohammad Aslam, M.A. (Cantab.), Head of the Department of Philosophy at the Government College, Lahore, the session proved a great success. There was a separate section for Islamic Philosophy which received about a score of papers contributed by different scholars from all over the country. Some of these papers might suitably be mentioned here.

In a public lecture delivered before a large and distinguished audience, Khwāja 'Abdul-Hamid, M.A., Senior Lecturer in Philosophy at the Government College, Lahore, gave an exposition of "Iqbāl's View of the Human Ego as a Creative Agent." The lecturer pointed out that although Iqbāl's doctrine of Khudī or 'Egohood' was well-known, his view of the human ego as a creative agent had not yet received the attention it deserved. The lecturer dealt with this important aspect of Iqbāl's thought, and argued that Iqbāl's universe is a universe of egos, each ego being 'a finite centre of experience.' The egos, however, are not 'windowless' like Leibnitzian monads, nor are they 'made' once for all, like the atoms of old Physics. Reality is a process of 'becoming'; but this becoming again is not an Heraclitean flux, meaninglessly and mechanically determined. Iqbāl's universe is ego-inspired and ego-determined. The supreme Ego is God, the author but not the moulder of the being of the finite

egos He has created. The human ego is to be self-creative, and its success in this respect is the measure of its destiny. This process of self-creativity is carried on in the midst of a partly sympathetic and partly hostile environment. Interaction results, but the self-creativity of the ego depends on how far it can choose and assimilate its environment in the interests of its own integration. Love is 'the principle of individuality and assimilative activity,' and as such it fructifies the ego. The ego's interaction with its environment is itself a creative process. It transmutes the environment in so far as it is merely physical, and ennobles and spiritualizes it in so far as it is human. Only highly integrated egos, however, are creative in this latter respect. Such an ego is a 'man of faith' مرد مؤمن; and he plays a decisive part in the cultural and spiritual progress of mankind. The moulding of such egos is the divine purpose, which inspired the creation of man.

The learned lecturer illustrated his argument with numerous quotations from the works of Iqbāl, and was much commended for his lucid and masterly exposition of the subject. His exposition was particularly valuable and authoritative in view of the fact that he enjoyed the inestimable advantage of frequently visiting Iqbāl during his lifetime and discussing philosophical matters with him.

Dr. Shaikh Ināyatullāh, M.A., Ph.D., Senior lecturer in Arabic language and literature and Islamic history at the Government College, Lahore, read an interesting paper in the Section of Islamic Philosophy on "Ibn-Hazm and his Psychology of Love as expounded in his work *Tauq al-Hamāmah*." Ibn-Hazm is usually remembered as a brilliant historian, an eminent jurist and a learned theologian; but it is not generally known that he was also a distinguished poet of refined and elevated taste and the author of a treatise on Love and Lovers, which testified to his being something of an authority on the subject of Love. After recounting the circumstances of Ibn-Hazm's early life, which he passed in an atmosphere of ease, luxury, beauty, and culture, and which gave him the necessary experience to write the work under consideration, the lecturer proceeded to give a brief analytical account of the work and a general idea of its contents. He selected a few topics discussed by Ibn-Hazm, and gave a brief exposition of Ibn-Hazm's views regarding them. The lecturer pointed out that the treatise of Ibn-Hazm was remarkable not only for its human interest but also for its earnestness of approach, its decency and elegance of expression and the high level on which the discussion of a delicate subject had been throughout maintained. The interest of the work is further enhanced by the inclusion of many pieces of poetry of great literary beauty, which are mostly the products of Ibn-Hazm's own genius. The lecturer finally declared that the scientific value of the treatise, combined with its literary charm, made it a rare gem of Arabic literature.

In the Section of Islamic Philosophy, which was presided over by Professor 'Umar-ud-Dīn of Aligarh University, Professor Zafar Ahmad

Siddiqī, M.A., of the Islamia College, Allahabad, also read a paper on *Mystic Elements in Iqbal's Philosophy*. According to the lecturer, Iqbāl considers human reason as an insufficient guide to lead us to the Ultimate Reality, and bases his philosophy on intuition or inner experience. He interprets the Ultimate Reality as pure duration in which thought, life, and purpose interpenetrate to form an organic unity. Iqbāl is opposed to the conception of God as universal life devoid of all personality and individuality, as pantheists would consider him. In the opinion of Iqbāl, all life is individual; God Himself is an individual, the most unique individual. Another point which the learned lecturer discussed was the individuality of the human ego as taught by Iqbāl. The human ego is the custodian of individuality and a free personality. The very fact that the Infinite Ego has allowed the Finite Ego to emerge as a self-conscious entity shows that in behaving as a free agent man is fulfilling the purpose of the Absolute as well as of his own. The moral and religious ideal of man, according to Iqbāl, is not self-negation but self-affirmation. Iqbāl is a vehement critic of that passive mysticism which teaches man to escape from the world and its struggles. He on the contrary believes that the human ego realises its infinite possibilities through overcoming the resistance of matter and ruling the world as the Vicegerent of God.

Dr. D. M. Donaldson had also sent a paper from Aligarh, which was read in his absence and was listened to with keen attention. Similarly Dr. Khalīfā 'Abdul-Ḥakīm had contributed in *absentia* a learned paper, in which he had argued that "Systems, when they became closed, became fossilized and degenerated into orthodoxies. The greatest souls in Islam have always struck against stereotyped orthodoxies. Islamic Theism and the Islamic Idea of the dignity of man, into whom the spirit of creativehood was infused, is a sure guarantee of that eternal and creative dynamism which is the Essence of Life. Every stage which man has attained has to be transcended. Man lives and moves and has his being in the Infinite Creativeness of God. Man is made in the image of God; and if God remains eternally creative, man must do the same."

New Publications.

Mr. Muḥammad Shafī' Kambōh of Lahore has recently edited and published a version of *Bhagvat Gīta* in Persian verse. Manuscripts of this version are found in several libraries of India and England, and even a lithograph edition had lately appeared at Lahore; but its text was so unsatisfactory and its general get-up so wretched, that we are grateful to Mr. Kambōh for giving us this valuable and interesting work in a decent and elegant form. Both the print and *format* are pleasant and attractive. The editor has also supplied a useful introduction in which he gives the spiritual and historical background of the Gīta. He attributes this translation

to 'Allama Faiḍī, the poet-laureate of Akbar the Great ; but this view is not supported by sufficient evidence, and is open to serious doubt. This disputed point, however, does not detract from the intrinsic interest of this work, which holds a unique position in the religious literature of India and has influenced the thought of many generations of Indians. It is also valuable as an indication of the interest which Persian-speaking Muslim scholars took in the religious thoughts of India.

Shaikh Mubarak 'Alī, the well-known Oriental book-seller and publisher of Lahore, has recently brought out *Tadhkirat Kalimāt ash-Shu'arā'* of Muḥammad Afḍal Sarkhush, who lived in the reign of the Emperor 'Ālamgīr Aurangzēb. The work consists of biographical sketches of poets who wrote in Persian from the time of the Emperor Jehāngīr to that of the author, along with specimens of their poetry. The author mentions many poets who were his contemporaries and whom he had personally known and met in life. He himself was a poet of no mean order. The work has been ably edited by Mr. Ṣādiq 'Alī-Dilāwar, M.A., a research scholar of great promise now working in the Punjab University. The text is based on five manuscripts, in the collation of which the editor has taken great pains. As a result, he has succeeded in producing an accurate and readable text. He also furnishes a brief Introduction to the text, wherein he gives a short life-sketch of the author and an account of the manuscripts he has used. Professor Muḥammad Iqbāl has supplied a Foreword in which he assesses the value of the *Tadhkirah* as a source of historical and literary information and welcomes its appearance in print, in view of the deplorable fact that very few *Tadhkirahs* of Persian poets of India have so far seen the light of day. The learned professor deplors the fact that the scholars of Iran and the Orientalists of Europe do not attach sufficient importance to the Persian poetry produced in India, which is consequently ignored by the learned world. He ascribes this depreciation and indifference to the narrow provincialism of the Iranian writers and the bad taste of the European scholars. But may we, in this connection, respectfully inquire when will our Indian Professors of Persian awake to their duty and start to retrieve from oblivion and rehabilitate the vast and varied contributions which India has made to Persian literature during the last thousand years ?

Sh. I.

NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

HINDUSTANI TAMADDUN (in Urdu)
by Dr. I. Topa, published by Azam Steam
Press, Hyderabad-Deccan; price Rs. 3-8-0.

IN the present days of war, it is pleasant to see that scholars are carrying on their work with constant zeal and earnestness; and their publications have placed us under a deep debt of gratitude. Among them we find Dr. Topa who is well known for the publication of historical books dealing with India, viz. "*The Growth and Development of National Thought in India, Politics and Pre-Moghul Times, Our Cultural Heritage*, etc.

In publishing this book, *Hindustani Tamaddun*," the author explains in his introduction that this volume is the first of the series which is intended more for the layman than for the students of history. We know that the average Indian has neither taste nor appetite for voluminous works, but nevertheless he would like to know the cultural development of his mother country. This volume admirably fulfils the purpose of supplying to the average reader essential information in a compendious and digestible form. Besides, the book is written in a simple, clear and cogent style. The author shows us a thorough grasp of facts and marshals them with much skill.

From 1922 our knowledge of ancient period of Indian history has increased very much on account of the discovery of the Indus Valley civilization. Scholars are trying to convert the process, that is, study Indian history as a process of Indianisation of the Aryan civilization.

This has revolutionised the whole aspect of the study of history so much that we find that Dr. Mazumdar has been trying to prove and identify the Indus Valley civilization with the Dravidian civilization.

In this book the author gives us a clear study of the complex details of the various elements composing the ancient civilization and also that each such element contributed to the production of the complex and the compound synthesis of the name of Ancient Civilization. He has traced the general trend of this process and brought many a problem to light.

The author thinks that it would be quite an erroneous way of looking at the ancient civilization as static. The ancient society of India was never static and even from its inception it was not intended to be that, while all through the ancient period it was flexible and developed according to the circumstances reacting to socio-cultural influences of different patterns.

It is unfortunate that the book is impaired by many mistakes due to printer's carelessness. We also feel that this work could have been more authoritative if references to the sources had been given, wherever relevant, and also a bibliography could have been added. In spite of these drawbacks we feel sure that this book would prove very useful to the college students. In fact, it is only this book which deals with the cultural aspects of ancient India in Urdu language for which the author deserves our best compliments.

K. S. L.

THE ARABIC CIVILIZATION by Joseph Hell; translated by Khuda Bakhsh; published by Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf; Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore, pp. 140; price Rs. 6.

THIS is a reprint, with rather a high price for a book of Indian standard, of a well-known work by a German Orientalist, first rendered into English in 1925. The original is now out of date. Anyhow it gives an initiation to the beginner in the vast realm of Arab civilization. Unfortunately, however, the German author shows himself the worst type of a Christian missionary, and does not care to be consistent even when speaking of the Prophet. So, when forced by facts, he has to admit :

"Against heathenism he strove, in the name of Allah, to improve marriage laws, to humanize material conditions; to end the worship of idols; to stop the killing of new-born girls; to unite the tribes into one close-knit work of amity and concord; to bar the dreadful gates of war...to usher in an era of peace, happiness, good-will." (p. 34).

Or, at the capture of the City of Mecca,

"Mohamed treated the town with extreme leniency." (p. 33).

Or, again —

"In the face of these facts there is no question of the propagation of Islam by the sword." (p. 48).

Yet in the field of conjectures and surmises not a touch of responsibility is found in his pen. For instance, he asserts without blush :—

"About this time we clearly find, writ large 'love of power and vengeance' as cardinal points in the Prophet's programme." (p. 30).

Here and there the cryptic notes of the translator, "I do not accept this view" or "I do not agree with this," and the like, fall pathetically short of what was required.

Again, the translator does not make any distinction between footnotes in the original and those added by himself.

The German author has no great geographical perspective specially of Arabia. So, according to him, there is only four days' journey between Mecca and Madīna (p. 21), whereas it is 12 days' journey in fact. Or "the valley of Arafā—(read: 'Arafāt)—some miles north-east of Mecca, in Muzdalifa two hours journey from Arafā (sic), and in Mina 2 hours' journey further still..." (p. 13). In fact it is just the reverse. Leaving Mecca, one comes first to Mina, then Muzdalifa, and lastly to 'Arafāt.

Madīna does not command the two high roads of North Arabia (as the author would have us believe on p. 27). Madīna is much in the interior, otherwise the Prophet would not have required pacts with the tribes inhabiting Yanbū' and the adjoining country before closing the caravan route of the Meccans.

There are numerous misspellings, e.g., Saja'ah (p. 39) instead of Sajāh; Wadiul-Qur'a (p. 48) instead of Wādīl-Qurā; Ghorash (p. 50) instead of Jurash; Uqaz and Dhul-Majas (p. 14, etc.) instead of 'Ukāz and Dhul-Majāz. On page 66, line 11, he must mean Khālīd the learned prince and not Yazīd, his father.

The statement that "The collection of Bukhari (d. 872), and that of Muslim, are the oldest in point of time" (p. 91)—is a misleading assertion! Even in the motherland of the author, the Staatsbibliothek of Berlin possesses the copy of *Ṣaḥīfah* by Hammām ibn Munabbih, who died sixty-three years before the birth of al-Bukhārī. It can authentically be said that works lost to posterity are of much earlier date. Not only the *Ṣaḥīfah Ṣādiqah* of 'Abdullāh ibn 'Amr ibn al-'As was composed in the very lifetime of the Prophet but Anas ibn Mālīk was reported, on the authority of *Mustadrak* of al-Ḥakīm, to have read his compilation, from time to time, to the Prophet and ascertained that nothing was recorded mistakenly there. (Vide the article of Prof. Manāzīr Aḥsan in the *Osmania University Journal of Research*, Vol. VII, for further details).

The assertion that "through conquests Muslims had become acquainted with the laws of Justinian," (p. 92),—is a mere wishful thinking!

Some interesting data are no doubt disseminated in the book, which deserve being brought into relief, e.g. :

"Gibbon says that in 1039 'it was found necessary to transcribe an Arabic version of the *Canons* of the Council of Spain for the use of Bishops and clergy in Moorish kingdoms.' The version in question is dated 1049, and is inscribed 'for the use of the Most Noble Bishop Daniel' (*Casiri*, Vol. I, p. 54)."

M. H.

WHY WE LEARN THE ARABIC LANGUAGE? by Shaikh Inayatullah, M.A., Ph.D.; published by Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore.

THE importance of Arabic language has been fully acknowledged by its forming popular subject of study among the Orientalists of 17th and 18th centuries. Edmund Castell, Simon Ockley, William Bedwell and others have written papers and emphasized the significance of Arabic studies from different points of view. The main object of European people in embarking on the study of Arabic seems to have been confined in its early days to its philological value in understanding the difficult passages of Bible and Old Testament which later on helped them to understand the spirit of Islam and Muslim people. This booklet presents a Muslim view-point on the importance of the language. This is a revised second edition of a paper which was originally published in this Journal. The main subject is divided into following headings :—

1. Arabic, a living language.
2. Arabic as the religious language of the Muslims.
3. Arabic as an international language.
4. Arabic as a corner-stone of Semitic philology.
5. Value of Arabic for Biblical studies.
6. Arabic, the language of the Jews.
7. Arabic studies among Jewish orientalists.

8. Greek authors in Arabic translations.

9. Importance of Arabic for universal history.

10. Importance of Arabic for the history of science.

11. Arabic in relation to other Islamic languages.

12. Relation of Arabic and Persian.

13. Relation of Arabic and Turkish languages.

14. Arabic element in Romance languages.

15. Arabic language in relation to Christianity and Christians.

This edition is distinguished from the first in that it provides greater information and useful footnotes, though, unfortunately, there are more misprints in this edition than in the previous one. The author has put together considerable relevant facts in answer to the question "Why we learn Arabic language?" The brochure is, therefore, worth studying for the Indian students in particular, who know little about the importance of Arabic.

As the author has invited suggestions for the next edition, it may be pointed out here that there is no reference to the characteristics of the Arabic language which could make it possible to express an idea of modern inventions without seeking help of other languages. Nor does it throw light on the intrinsic qualities of the Arabic language, and its effect on the mentality of nation. Moreover, this booklet does not touch upon the highly important yet complicated question, why Arabic language rooted out the local language of Egypt and prevailed upon the Spanish in Spain in the middle ages, but failed to do so in Iran and North-Western India, although Persian and Urdu have adopted principles of Arabic grammar, prosody, considerable glossary and even Arabic script? The solution of this problem might have added more to the value of this useful pamphlet.

M. A. M.

NOTICE.

All manuscripts, letters, etc., meant for the Editor, should be addressed to the Secretary, Editorial Board, and business correspondence to the Manager, ISLAMIC CULTURE, Hyderabad, Deccan.

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[*And say : My Lord ! Increase me in knowledge.—Qur'ân*]

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In Memoriam

I

MUHAMMAD BAHĀDUR KHĀN

PLUNGED as we still are in the first poignancy of personal bereavement, it is difficult for us as yet to assess rightly the full measure of the larger public loss sustained by the untimely death of one who had become in his lifetime almost a legendary figure.

This intrepid young Pathan warrior, so tragically stricken down in the splendour of his early manhood, so deeply loved, so widely mourned, had more than the characteristic virtues of his virile and valiant race. Nature had endowed him prodigally with dynamic and outstanding qualities of personality, mind and character that held a universal appeal: courage and candour, sincerity, simplicity, a warm and generous humanity, which endeared him to countless men and women of diverse communities and divergent creeds.

His was a magic gift of speech which thrilled the hearts of multitudes with its brilliant eloquence and beauty. His was an undefeatable passion for freedom and a dauntless devotion to the various causes he championed with such untiring zeal. And, rarest of all gifts in any generation or country he had an authentic gift of leadership which, had he lived, time and experience would have enriched and mellowed into an even nobler asset—not only for the service of Islam but also for the greater service of India.

But, men like Bāhādur Khān do not really die. They fulfil their hopes and dreams and ambitions through the innumerable lives they have touched and influenced by their magnetic power and enthusiasm. Many of the world's potentates might well envy the spontaneous tribute of love that was paid to him by thousands upon thousands of his fellow-citizens who followed his bier in a magnificent pageant of grief. That was the greatest of his triumphs : it was his crown of immortality upon earth.

Sarjini Naide

*Hyderabad-Deccan,
5th July 1944.*

II

MUHAMMAD BAHĀDUR KHĀN

(Recalled Rajab 3rd 1363 H.)

*Not him, but our own loss we mourn,
Who, great in soul, with faith endowed,
Could teach men's conscience to be proud
Of Right, through trials calmly borne.*

*A brave and righteous leader sent
By Providence men's hearts to guide—
Not his the voice of power and pride,
But of great deeds and high intent.*

*In every uttered word his breath
Flashed forth a pure heart's truth as light ;
He saw the dawn beyond the night,
And chose the way that conquers death.*

*When God resumes what He bestows,
And hopes lie withered in their prime,
As wrecks amid the wrecks of time—
The purpose of His will, who knows ?*

*We know not ; all that knowledge lends
Flits like frail shadows on a screen ;
Behind, the Master's hand unseen
Shapes every movement to His ends.*



30th June 1944.

III

THE LATE NAWĀB BAHĀDUR YĀR JUNG

ON Monday the 25th June 1944, was announced the sad and gloomy news of the death of Nawāb Bahādur Yār Jung. The whole of Hyderabad was plunged into sudden grief, and hurried in bewilderment to pay the last tribute to their beloved leader. "Irreplaceable loss" was on the lips of even those who differed from him in their political views.

Bahādur Yār Jung was born in 1905 in a Jagirdar family. He received his early education in different high schools of Hyderabad. As his father died when he was only eighteen years old, he had to look after his estate and Jagir affairs and therefore could not continue his school studies. But he attained proficiency in the Arabic and Persian languages and in Islamic theology under the guidance of the well-known Hyderabad scholar the late Maulānā Shamsī Šāhib. He received further command of the Arabic and Persian languages when he went on pilgrimage to Mecca and on return journey visited various Islamic countries staying there for some time in order to exchange views with the political leaders of these countries. When he returned to Hyderabad, he began his career as an orator. His God-gifted talents and unique masterly command over the language brought him on to the public platform whence he could move his audience to ecstasy or tears. He had such perfect command over the resources of the Urdu language and enjoyed so much public confidence owing to his absolute sincerity and straightforwardness that he could easily suppress whenever required the indignant emotions of an excited mob and hypnotise them by the charm of his soothing words to stand still just as well as he could on other occasions, persuade them to enlist devoutly in the service of their country.

Bahādur Yār Jung was not only an orator, he was a deep thinker, scholar and brilliant commentator of the Qur'ān. His interpretation of the Islamic faith and Islamic politics was largely based on the teachings of Dr. Sir Mohd. Iqbal. He had also developed his own theory for Hyderabad as a Muslim State. His organising ability was very great. In almost every Taluk of Hyderabad local branches of his Society had established libraries, gathered all youngmen to study the Qur'ān and stimulated the public at large with a sense of political awakening. It goes to his credit that within fourteen years of his political life he had brought peoples of different sects and shades of opinion to one common stage and inspired them all with one ideal. In sincerity, tenacity of purpose and self-sacrifice in the service of humanity he had set an example which for the past twelve centuries had been almost forgotten by representatives of the Muslim community. It is sad indeed that he could not live even the natural span of life to fulfil his mission. Die one must; but premature death is heart-rending and unbearable. May God bless the work he has left behind and preserve his soul in Mercy !

إِنَّا لِلّٰهِ وَإِنَّا إِلَيْهِ رَاجِعُونَ

“ We (live) for God and unto Him we return.—Qur'ān.

MOHD. 'ABDUL MU'ID KHĀN.

THE POLITICAL THOUGHT OF SIR SYED AḤMAD KHĀN

THE BACKGROUND

THE first part of the nineteenth century was a time when the remnant of the great Mughal Empire was fast heading towards extinction.

The titular emperor was the second of the name of Akbar, but one who had nothing in common with his great ancestor the like of whom the world has rarely seen. After the fall of Delhi to the arms of Lord Lake in 1803 the Empire of the Mughals had been confined to the great fort, the decimated buildings of which surrounded by their magnificent enclosure, are still the wonder of the traveller.¹ Still the Court etiquette, the *entourage* of the Emperor, the titular nobility and the patronage of the throne, however nominal they might have become, were guarded with jealous and punctilious care. This was the atmosphere in which Syed Aḥmad was born on October 17th, 1817. His paternal grandfather was a Hazāri and enjoyed the title of Jawwād-ud-Daulāh Jawwād 'Alī Khān, while his maternal grandfather had seen service under the East India Company as an attaché to Lord Wellesly's embassy to Iran in 1799, and then as a political officer at the court of the king of Burma at Ava. He then returned to the court and was appointed prime minister by Akbar II. On the death of Syed Aḥmad's father, Syed Muḥammad Taqī, who had lived a life more or less of a recluse, Akbar II's son and successor, Bahādur Shāh II, the last of a great line, gave the Syed the titles of Jawwād-ud-Daulah 'Arif Jung, the first of which had been left vacant by the death of his maternal grandfather.

But the future leader of men could not be content with life at the court of a nominal emperor, and he joined the service of the Company as a Sarishtadār at Delhi when he was twenty, and was later appointed a Nā'ib-Munshī at the commissioner's court at Agra, rising soon to the office of Ṣadr-Amīn or subordinate judge of his own home town, Delhi.

1. As is well-known the palaces within the Fort covered practically all the grounds on which the barracks now stand and the lawns which were laid out after their destruction. Fergusson has given a full description of the buildings of the Fort in pre-Mutiny days as well as a complete plan. For this see his *History of Indian and Eastern Architectures*, II, 309-312; also Sir Syed Aḥmad Khān, *Āthār-uṣ-Ṣanādīd* (compiled in 1847), Cawnpore, 1904, pp. 284.

It was now that he wrote his first considerable work, the *Āthār-u'-ṣ-Ṣanādīd* or the Archæological History of Delhi, which made such a mark that it was soon rendered into the French language by that great orientalist Garcin de Tassy and found its way to England. The writer was transferred from Delhi to Rohtak and thence to Bijnor in 1855, and it was while he was stationed at the latter town that he had to undergo the trials of the great revolt known in history as the Indian Mutiny.¹

1857 A. D.

THE storm and stress of any great upheaval is in itself a period of tremendous turmoil, especially when it closes a chapter in the history of a people. The Mutiny saw the end of a long trial and the final disappearance of the reigning house of the Timūrids, including the nobility which had been the mainstay of the people for centuries. The old was no more and the new had not yet arrived, with the result that the harvest of the Mutiny was a great chasm personified in the mutual distrust of the new *de jure* rulers of the land and the followers of the religion of the ex-emperor. While the English continued to regard the Indians, in particular the Muslims, with grave suspicion, the Muslims on their part considered everything British—their way of life, their mode of dress, their food and even their language—as something unclean, something to be shunned. The old days of the happy-go-lucky merchant-adventurer from England who set up his establishment in the Indian style, dressed *indienne*, ate as his fellow-men did in India, spoke the language of the country, and even composed poetry in Rēkhtah or Urdu, had passed, and there were signs that all would not be happy with the Indian and the Englishman in spite of the Proclamation which Queen Victoria issued on her assumption of the sovereignty of India in 1858.²

As Syed Ahmad was a pioneer in the archæological description of Delhi, so he was the first to write the history of the Mutiny in his *Tārīkh-i-Sarkashiye-Bijnor*, in which he has delineated with great vividness all that passed before his eyes in that Mutiny-ridden town.³ But this need not detain us. Probably, again, the first effective political pamphlet ever written in an Indian language is his *Risāla Asbāb-i-Baghāwat-i-Hind* which was written while Syed Ahmad was a subordinate judge at Muradabad. The brochure was compiled in Urdu in the year of the Mutiny, 1858, and was not translated into English till fifteen years later by Sir Auckland

1. For the early days of Sir Syed see Graham, *Life and Work of Syed Ahmad Khan* (written during his life-time in 1885) and the fuller *Hāyāt-i-Jāwīd* by Maulānā Hāfī. The reviews of the former were published separately in a book-form at Aligarh in 1886.

2. For the conditions of pre-Mutiny English Society in India see T.G.P. Spear, *The Nabobs*, Humphrey Milford. For some lines of Urdu poetry composed by a European see quarterly *Urdu*, 1927, 633.

3. For this see *Hāyāt*, 57.

Colvin and the Syed's English biographer Lt.-Col. Graham. The pamphlet is a unique piece of work, having been written in an atmosphere of great tension by one who, besides being a government servant, had no political education worth the name. Here was this man of forty, undaunted by what he had seen around him, analysing the causes of the Revolt and putting the blame on the English for not having admitted Indians to the Indian Legislative Council.¹

EARLY POLITICAL THOUGHT

THE latest Urdu edition of the work extends to 66 pages, while there are twenty closely printed pages of extracts from the English translation in Graham's *Life of Syed Ahmad Khan*. The author first of all defines rebellion as meaning (1) fighting against the established government of the country ; (2) opposition to the orders of the established authority with a view to defeating its purposes in the end ; (3) helping those who are the enemies of the established authority ; (4) civil war of the subject people among themselves without regard to the disciplinary laws in force ; (5) lack of sincere loyalty towards the government and the desire not to side with it in time of need. He says that during the terrible days of 1857 there was not one of these points which was not found among the people and the *affaire* was a rebellion of the first magnitude.² He remarks : " The primary causes of rebellion are everywhere the same. It invariably results from the existence of a policy obnoxious to the dispositions, aims, habits, and views of those by whom the rebellion is brought about. As regards the Rebellion of 1857 the fact is that for a long period many grievances had been rankling in the hearts of the people. In course of time a vast store of explosive material had been collected. It wanted but the application of the match to light it, and the match was applied by the mutinous army."³

He brushes aside one by one all the supposed causes of the Mutiny and discredits some of them entirely while some he regards as too remote. He then says in a manner so categorical as to be bewildering that he considers the root cause of all the trouble to be one and one only, and that is the non-admission of Indians to the Legislative Council of India. He first of all discusses the question of the admission of his countrymen to the British Parliament and regards this as both impracticable and conducing to nothing beneficial to India. But " there was no reason whatever why Indians were not admitted to the Legislative Council of their own country."⁴

1. *Risāla Asbāb-i-Baghāwat-i-Hind* ; limited and confidential edition printed in 1858 ; second edition, Agra, 1903, profuse extracts from the English translation in Graham, 33-57.

2. *Risāla*, 1.

3. *Life*, 33.

4. *Risāla*, 12.

"It is from the voice of the people only that Government can learn whether its projects are likely to be well received, and this voice alone can check errors in the law and warn us of dangers before they burst upon us and destroy us."¹ He narrates how the government continued to pass laws which were regarded by Indians as repugnant to all they held dear. "At length came the time when all men looked upon the English government as slow poison, a rope of sand, a treacherous flame of fire. . . . There was no man to reason with them, no one to point out to them the absurdity of such ideas. . . . Why? Because there was not one of their own number among the members of the Legislative Council." He goes on to say that there are difficulties in the way in which the "ignorant and uneducated natives of Hindustan should be selected to form an assembly like the English Parliament, but whatever the difficulties such a step is not only advisable but absolutely necessary."²

As may well be imagined, there were bickerings among Syed Ahmad Khan's friends who said that a brochure like this should never be printed and published at all, and one of them, Rai Shankar Das, actually begged him to burn all the copies he had. But Syed Ahmad Khan had the pamphlet printed, sent a copy to the India Government, and 50 copies to members of Parliament. There were men in the Government of India, like the Foreign Secretary Mr. Cecil Beadon, who began to consider him as a fire-brand, but even they had to change their opinion when it was known that the book was not published in India at all.³ It is significant that in a couple of years after the partial publication of the "*Causes*" came the first India Council Act of 1861, under which Indians were admitted for the first time in the Governor-General's Legislative Council.⁴

Along with his plea for the inclusion of Indians in the Councils of the Crown he had tried to prove that the Revolt of 1857 was not the work solely of the Muslims but of irresponsible members of the whole Indian community. This thesis he further propounds in a series of pamphlets called *The Loyal Muhammadans of India*, which he published in 1860. As Sir Syed's Urdu biographer, the great poet, Hālī, says, "Whatever articles, brochures and books written by Englishmen one opened, they were found to be full of calumnies against the Muslims,"⁵ and Syed Ahmad Khan began to publish in a serial form the episodes in the life of those who had stood by the British during the dark days of the Mutiny. This should

1. *Life*, 36.

2. *Life*, 38, 39.

3. *Hayāt*, 61, 62.

4. Under the Indian Councils Act of 1862 not less than 6 and not more than 12 "additional members" were nominated to the Governor-General's Council, with the proviso that not less than half of these were to be non-officials. The Executive Councillors were ex officio members of this enlarged Council. Syed Ahmad Khan was one of these non-official members from 1878-1882.

5. *Hayāt*, 63. "*The Loyal Mohammadans of India*" was not a pamphlet as Graham says on p. 58 of his book but consisted of a series of pamphlets compiled in 1860 and 1861; *Hayāt*, 64.

not lead us to think that he had digressed one jot from his pan-Indian outlook, and when he began to consider that the panacea for the ills of India was education and nothing but education he was thinking only in terms of Indians. He said once to Col. Graham that the socio-political diseases of India might be cured by this prescription and his first attempt to fulfil this purpose was to open as early as 1858 a school at Murādābād which was to specialise in modern history.¹ In 1864 he had made up his mind that Indians must first be educated and their ignorance obliterated in order that they should be useful to their country, and by education he meant instruction in modern arts and sciences. He was a Ṣadr Amīn at Ghāzīpūr when he inaugurated the Translation Society which was to develop into the Scientific Society of Aligarh.² The work of the Translation Society, as its name suggests, was to have important books on literature and arts translated from English into Urdu and thus to bring Indians not knowing English abreast with modern thought. A short time afterwards he founded the new Ghāzīpūr School, which, by the way, still exists, and in his opening remarks, referring to the recent promulgation of the Indian Council Act of 1861, he said: "Gentlemen, the decision of the British Government that natives of India should be eligible for a seat in the Viceroy's Council both rejoiced and grieved me. It grieved me because I was afraid the education of the natives was not sufficiently advanced to enable them to discharge the duties of their important office with credit to themselves and benefit to their country. The appointment of natives to the Supreme Council was a memorable incident in the history of India. The day is not far distant, I trust, when that Council will be composed of representatives from every division or district and thus the laws which it will pass will be laws enacted by the feelings of the entire country. You will, of course, see that this cannot come to pass unless we strive to educate ourselves thoroughly."³

THE SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY

THIS last sentence sums up Syed Aḥmad Khān's whole future line of action. He began in 1858 by urging the need to associate Indians in the law-making bodies of the Government, but soon perceived that they lacked knowledge in modern sciences and arts and immediately turned his attention to make them worthy of the position they were to hold. He predicted that if they were fully instructed in modern sciences they would have a council almost as wide as Parliament itself, with representatives of every district on it.

It was with this object in view that on his transfer from Ghāzīpūr to Aligarh in April 1864 Syed Aḥmad Khān transferred the paraphernalia

1. *Life*, 70.

2. *Ibid.*, 72.

3. *Ibid.*, 84.

belonging to the Scientific Society to Aligarh. With the help of Col. Graham he persuaded the Duke of Argyll to be its President and the renovated Society was opened by the Commissioner of the Meerut Division on February 14, 1866.¹ But Syed Ahmad was still not averse to bringing home to his fellow-countrymen the need for their interest in political matters. He expressed his ideas in a speech delivered at Badā'un on May 10, 1866, thus: "It is with great regret, my fellow-countrymen, that we view the indifference and want of knowledge evinced by the people of India with regard to the British Parliament. Can you expect its members, gentlemen, to take a deep interest in your affairs if you do not lay your affairs before them?.....I entreat you to interest yourselves in your country."²

It was the same theme which prompted him to start his famous *Aligarh Institute Gazette* on the 30th of March 1866 from Aligarh. The motto crowning each issue of the paper is remarkable; it is: "Liberty of the press is a prominent duty of the Government and a natural right of the subjects." It is noticeable that the first article in the paper is on Parliament, while successive issues of this weekly are full of political news from England and from all parts of the world. In this paper he strongly advocated time and again that Indians should join the British Indian Association, the formation of which was first advocated by the *Englishman* of Calcutta, so that the attention of Parliament might be drawn to Indian affairs. Sir Syed was not mere theorist, and not content with the exposition of his feelings about the matter, he actually formed a British Indian Association at Aligarh on the model of the one advocated by the *Englishman*.³

In spite of his being in Government service Syed Ahmad Khan was an apostle of courage in politics. He says in his Badā'un speech quoted above: "I am afraid that a feeling of fear—fear that the Government or district authorities would esteem you factious and discontented—deters you from coming forward for your country's good.....Believe me that this moral cowardice is wrong, this apprehension unfounded."⁴ Naturally a man with such ideas would proceed on purely democratic lines, and he bursts into eloquence when he envisages further: "The word liberty has for us all a spell which causes the heart to beat more strongly, the breast to heave more proudly.....When we possess an Indian Parliament, legislating mainly for the good of the country, filled by men whose fidelity is beyond suspicion, then shall the bright days of India return, or rather brighter days than ever she possessed in her best times."⁵ In the issue of the 28th December 1866 he actually advocates the institution of an Indian Parliament. He quotes from the Hindi paper,

1. *Hayāt*, 83; *Life*, 82, 88.

2. *Life*, 91.

3. *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, 3-5, 1866.

4. *Gazette*, 1866, p. 112.

5. *Ibid.*, 1866, p. 399.

Shakya Darpan, that the present representation of Indians in the Council is like a toy given to a child. The paper says that most of the noblemen and Rājās who have the honour of sitting in the Council are by no means fit for that high position, and either they do not open their mouths at all or else make proposals which are useless to the welfare of the country. It is therefore urged that the councils should be so constituted as to include a good number of capable men from the middle classes of society. There is a remarkable plea for the establishment of a House of Commons, the seats of which should be filled by those who are recommended by petitions from the inhabitants of different districts.¹

QUESTION OF SCRIPT AND LANGUAGE

If there was a certain partiality towards his co-religionists in his series *The Loyal Muhammadans of India* in 1860, it had entirely disappeared in 1866, and whatever Syed Ahmad Khān was advocating then in the shape of political and general education was for the Hindus as well as Muslims. He was all along working hand in hand with his Hindu fellow countrymen, and his greatest friend was Rājā Jaikishan Dās Bahādur, whom Syed Ahmad Khān made the first Secretary of the Aligarh Scientific Society which contained almost as many Hindus as Muslims among its members. The disillusionment came not in the political arena but in the matter of script, and that not from the Syed but from an unexpected quarter. He was fully convinced that Urdu was an embodiment of the synthesis of cultures which was the hall-mark of the Mughal period, and was perhaps the greatest man after Ghālib who, by his own example, had put that language on a sound footing by making it a literary language and a language of every day correspondence in cultured circles. Up till then in Upper India correspondence was carried out both by Muslims and Hindus in Persian, and it was regarded as something uncultured to carry it on in Urdu.² Syed Ahmad would have none of this and the fashion he set was taken up eagerly by the country. He had himself developed a style of his own and had given a tremendous impetus to the language by his Translation Society at Ghāzipūr, which later developed into the Aligarh Scientific Society and which was the bureau of the translation into Urdu of some advanced and technical books on the history of Greece, China, India and Egypt, Political Economy, Mensuration, Trigonometry, Algebra, Euclid, Geometry, Calculus, etc.³ He began to have a definite bias in favour of

1. *Gazette*, 1866, 644.

2. Even the Rājā of the far flung Travancore State used to write to the Governor-General of the East India Company in Persian. Some of these letters written towards the end of the eighteenth century are to be found in the Imperial Records Office at Delhi; see paper by I.H. Baqai, *Some Unpublished Persian Letters of the Rajah of Travancore*, Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission, Vol. XIX, 121.

3. For a list of some of the books translated at Aligarh see *Life*, p. 83.

English education but at the same time he sought to enrich the Urdu language, so as to prepare the way for the institution of the great Urdu University which he had in mind and which was later propounded in great detail by his worthy son Syed Maḥmūd.¹ In all these early attempts he had the active support of sincere stalwart Hindu gentlemen who were at his elbow to do everything towards the fulfilment of the object he had in view. In this as well as in all other matters he had never shown the slightest inclination towards sectarianism and maintained that the welfare of India demanded that Hindus and Muslims should work together hand in hand for the common good of the country. The scheme of a Urdu University was first mooted as early as 1867, when the Syed sent to the Viceroy on behalf of the N.W.P. branch of the British Indian Association on August 1, 1867, a request to the effect that a "Vernacular University" should be established which should arrange for complete instruction in all the sciences and arts, and that examinations should be held in all the subjects in which examinations were held under the auspices of the Calcutta University.² The representation further urged the establishment of a Bureau of Translation which should undertake the translation of University textbooks into the Urdu language. This proposal was sent by the Syed while he was stationed at Benares, and even in that city the attitude of the people was so placid and conciliatory that the murmur of the counterproposal of having two Universities, one for Muslims where Urdu should be the medium of instruction and the other for the Hindus where the characters used should be Devanagari, was not heard till the end of the year. Not only that, but certain well-placed Hindus of Benares made the demand that Urdu script should be entirely replaced by Devanagari script in the courts and the language used there should in future be Sanskritised Bhasha.³ Syed Aḥmad Khān's Urdu biographer, the late Maulānā Hālī, says that all this was a great shock to the Syed as he thought that the question of language was elemental, and if an artificial demarcation were made between the two sections of Indian people on the basic question of a vehicle of thought, it would not be possible to have any common ground in the higher affairs of life. The change in the Syed's outlook was so sudden and complete that when he spoke to the commissioner of the Benares, Division about the need for denominational education for the Muslims, the commissioner was greatly surprised and remarked to him that it was the first time that he was hearing something about just one section of the population of the country from his lips, for up till now he had not allied himself to the question of the progress of any particular community but had made the cause of the whole of India his own.⁴

1. Scheme of an Urdu University; *Hayāt*, p. 91. The whole scheme is detailed in *Tahzīb-ul-Akh̄lāq*, (Mohammedan Social Reformer), 15-6-1290 H. (10-8-1873), pp. 91-102, and in my father, Mr. H.M. Mūsā Khān Sherwānī's booklet, *Muslim University ke Bhūlayhuḥ Uṣūl*.

2. *Hayāt*, 89.

3. *Ibid.*, 93, 94.

4. *Ibid.*, 96, 97

CHANGE IN OUTLOOK

THIS digression from the Syed's political views was necessary as from now onwards he practically left the political field and began in right earnest to think of the educational progress of his own co-religionists, even to the extent of advising them not to take part in politics altogether. It is significant that the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* which began in 1866 by educating the Indians in the politics of England and the Empire and the world at large, becomes absolutely silent about politics in 1869 and its pages are full of the Urdu-Hindi controversy, the Syed, however, taking good care to print both sides of the picture. There was still very little of the purely communal spirit in him and when he sailed for England in April, 1869, along with his son Syed Maḥmūd, who later became famous as the first Indian judge of the Allahabad High Court, he left the Aligarh Scientific Society as well as its organ the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* in the hands of Rājā Jaikishan Dās. But the whole organisation was fast segregating itself from politics and becoming more and more social and literary in its outlook.

Syed Aḥmad Khān is said to have been "working for Anglo-Muslim friendship ever since the Mutiny,"¹ but whenever there was the least fear of his fellow-countrymen or co-religionists being misunderstood, he did not fail to take up his pen in support of their cause. When a high officer of the government of his province, Sir W. W. Hunter, wrote a book entitled *The Indian Muhammadans, are they bound in Conscience to rebel against the Queen?* and tried to prove that the Wahhabīs were rebels and that they represented the principles on which Islam was based, Syed Aḥmad Khān wrote a most denunciating review in *The Pioneer* which was reprinted in the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* from November 24, 1871 to February 23, 1872.² There are one or two remarkable sentences in this long review which show the Syed's frankness and outspokenness and form a background to his political thought of the period. Thus he says: "Dr. Hunter stands convicted either of intentionally misleading the public or of profound ignorance."³ And, again, "Like begets like, and if cold acquiescence is all that the Mohammedans receive at the hands of the ruling race, Dr. Hunter must not be surprised at the cold acquiescence of the Mohammedan community."⁴

1. Gurumukh Nihāl Singh, *Presidential Address of the Indian Political Science Conference, Fifth Session* Indian Journal of Political Science, Vol. IV, p. 382. Sardār Šāhib seems to think that the change in Sir Syed's political outlook was due to the "subtle and powerful influence of Principal Beck," although he did not come out to India till 1883, and the change in the Syed's views had already begun to take place in 1857. See *Tārīkh-i-Madrasat-ul-'Ulūm*, Aligarh, 1901; *Muslim University Handbook*, 1931, p. 4.

2. The review has been reprinted almost in extenso in *Life*, pp. 205-243, and in *Hayāt*, 122-128.

3. *Life*, 232.

4. *Ibid.*, 237.

BIAS TOWARDS MUSLIM EDUCATION

THE Syed had now put his whole heart in to the upliftment of his own co-religionists, and began to work for the establishment of an educational institution at Aligarh. The scheme was mooted in a meeting in February 1873, but the actual school was not started till the 1st of June 1875. The foundation-stone of the M.A.-O. College was laid by the Viceroy, Lord Lytton, on January 8, 1878, i.e. exactly one week after the Imperial Durbar at Delhi, and was the first public function of Lord Lytton as the newly created Viceroy of India. The address which was read by Syed Maḥmūd is remarkable in many ways. Politics were not, of course, touched upon, but the Syed thought fit to say to the Viceroy that the new masters of the soil "should make it the first principle of their Government to advance the happiness of the millions by establishing peace, by administering justice, by spreading education and by introducing comforts of life," for only then can there be "a long life to the union of India and England."¹ The new College may be said to be a Muslim institution in that it was founded by a Muslim and the committee which ruled the institution was composed of Muslim members, but it is remarkable how on the one hand it was thrown open to Hindus as well as their Muslim brethren and on the other was actively helped by the money donated not only by the rulers of Indian States like the Maharajas of Patiala and Vizianagaram but by the middle class Hindus as well. There was not a tinge of communalism in the institution, and when Syed Ahmad Khān went on his famous tour in the Punjab early in 1884, out of hundreds of addresses presented to him was one by the members of the Indian Association of Lahore which was read by its President, Sardār Dayāl Singh. The address says among other things that not the least remarkable feature of the Syed's public career had been the breadth of his views and his "liberal attitude towards sections of the country other than your own co-religionist." It goes on to say, "Your conduct throughout has been stainless of bigotry. The benefits of the noble educational institution you have established at Aligarh are open alike to Hindus as well as Mohammadans. Our unhappy country is split up with petty jealousies and had suffered so much in the past from sectarian and religious dissensions, that the advent of a man of your large-hearted and liberal views is a matter of peculiar congratulation at this time. Your highly useful career in the Legislative Council of India can only be touched upon here. Your impartial care for all classes, your manly and faithful representation of national views and your vigilant regard for national interests while acting in that body deserves the warmest acknowledgements from us and our countrymen."²

This is the view of the President and the members of an association which consisted mainly of Hindus and Sikhs, and gives an idea of the

1. *Addresses and Speeches relating to M.A.-O. College, Aligarh, 1922, 30.*

2. *Sir Syed kā Safarnāma-i-Panjāb, Aligarh, 1885, p. 157.*

feelings which the M.A.-O. College aroused at that moment in the minds of the thinking men of India.

WORK AS A MEMBER OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S COUNCIL

THE feelings of the non-Muslims towards the Aligarh Movement was to a large extent due to the Syed's own attitude while he was serving as an additional member of the Viceroy's Council from 1878 to 1882. He justified his nomination by speaking practically on every important Bill that was laid before it and expressed sentiments which would do credit to any nationalist in this country. Thus, speaking on October 18, 1879, on the Vaccination Bill, he said that the liberty of the subjects was one of those great rights which have been given to the people by the advent of the British rule.¹ Later, speaking on the Central Provinces Local Self-Government Bill, he said that he was one of those who thought that the success of Local Self-Government would be achieved in proportion to the powers which would be delegated to the Local Boards and District Councils.² But when he touched high politics, he was swayed by the lasting impressions he received during the unfortunate Urdu-Hindi controversy and said that while borrowing representative institutions from England we must bear in mind the differences which existed between India and England in matters political and social. India, unlike England, was caste-ridden, and members belonging to different religions and different communities were staunch in their individual rites and ceremonies. He therefore warned the Viceroy against the introduction of simple electoral machinery on the English pattern into India, for this was bound to do tremendous harm to the country. He was almost prophetic and said that to copy the political institutions of the other land without regard to the conditions prevailing in the country was bound to lead to even greater prejudices and to an increase in the differences which already existed.³

When, however, it came to be a question of Indian self-respect in the matter of the famous Ilbert Bill, he delivered a vigorous speech in the Council on March 9, 1883. He first of all brushed aside the argument of the Anglo-Indian community that the Council could not discuss the Bill at all. He said that the arguments brought forward were exactly the same as those propounded when the Indian judicial officers of the East India Company were given jurisdiction over Eurasians and Anglo-Indians in civil matters, and warned the Government that if the jurisdiction of the courts was based on pure racialism, it was bound to lead to unfairness and injustice. He ends his speech with these words: "My Lord, I am fully

1. *Majmū'a Lectures wa-Speeches* p. 138.

2. *Ibid.*, 140.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 140-145.

confident that the time has come when the people of India, whether Hindu, Mahomedan, European or Eurasian, will begin to understand that they are equally the subjects of the Queen and that there is no difference whatever between their political rights or constitutional position."¹

ON THE EVE OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

He delivered a remarkable address at Patna on January 27, 1883, which contains his considered views on the position of the Muslims in India, and in all probability, in spite of what he said later on in regard to their share in the politics of the country, they were the views he held up to his death. He prefaced his lecture by the observation that he was standing before the audience to express his views not on an abstruse matter which required much thought but on facts of merely everyday occurrence which have a direct bearing on the prosperity of the country. "The primary duty of those who were striving towards that object was that they should aim at the welfare of the country as a whole. Friends, just as the higher caste Hindus came and settled in this land once, forgot where their earlier home was and considered India to be their own country, we also did exactly the same thing—we also left our former climes hundreds of years ago, we also regard this land of Ind as our very own.....Both my Hindu brethren and my Muslim co-religionists breathe the same air, drink the waters of the sacred Ganges and the Jamuna, eat the products which God has given to this country, live and die together. Both of us have shed off our former dress and habits and while the Muslims have adopted numberless customs belonging to the Hindus, the Hindus have been vastly influenced by the Muslim habits and customs. I say with conviction that if we were to disregard for a moment our conception of Godhead, then in all matters of everyday life the Hindus and the Muslims really belong to one community (قوم) as children of the soil and not two, and the progress of the country is only possible if we have a union of hearts, mutual sympathy and love.....I grieve at the sight of those who do not understand this basic point and inculcate views which would ultimately lead to a permanent cleavage between two sections of the Indian community.....I have always said that our land of India is like a newly-wedded bride whose two beautiful and luscious eyes are the Hindus and the Muslims; if the two live in concord with one another, the bride will remain for ever resplendent and becoming, while if they make up their mind to destroy each other she is bound to become squint-eyed and even one-eyed."²

These were the views of Syed Ahmad Khan on the eve of the establishment of the Indian National Congress in 1885. The British Indian

1. *Majmū'a*, 168.

2. *Ibid.*, 149-151.

Association with which he had identified himself had all along urged, the "representation of the voice of the people, their views, their wishes or their wants"¹ i.e. more or less the same stand as he had taken in his vigorous pamphlet, *The Causes of the Indian Revolt*. But it was felt in some circles that there was too much of the aristocratic about the constitution of the Association, and even a proposal to lower its subscription was negatived.² A large number of Bengalis whose names were to become prominent in connection with the early sessions of the Indian National Congress were dissatisfied with this state of affairs and started an Indian League in 1875. Prominent among the supporters of the new move were Sisir Kumar Ghose, Motilal Ghose, Shambhu Charan Mookerji, Surendranath Banerji, Kristo Das Paul and many others whose names were to shine in the early annals of the Congress. The new Indian League completely overshadowed the old British Indian Association, but in its turn lost its importance with the institution of the Indian National Congress, which met for the first time in Bombay in December 1885.³

It seems strange that with all that has been said, Syed Ahmad Khān should have set his face against the Congress from the very beginning. But if we look objectively at the matter, it is not difficult to understand the point of view which he adopted, and the crux of his reasoning lies in the educational problem of the country as he understood it. Calcutta had been the seat of the British Government for eighty years and was the centre of the new educational policy which began in Macaulay's educational minute and developed into the establishment of the Calcutta University in 1858. Thus, in 1885, there was a whole generation of Bengalis which had taken full advantage of English education and which was filling the offices of the Central Government, at the same time filtering into the Upper Provinces where English education had not developed to any great extent. The earlier efforts of Syed Ahmad Khān were towards the end that in spite of the fact that there was no University in the Upper Provinces, a centre of education for the people of those provinces should be formed, where education should be imparted on more or less the same principles as in the Calcutta University with this difference that it should be in the Vernacular, meaning thereby Urdu. But that had been brought to naught by the springing up of the Hindi-Urdu controversy. Of all the classes of Indian society the Muslims were the most backward, and that for two reasons: one, that most of them had been employed in various capacities during the latter days of the Mughal Empire and had lost everything with its downfall, and secondly, that whole families had been wiped out by the recriminatory process after the Mutiny. Syed Ahmad Khān realised that a whole generation of the Hindus in general and Bengalis in particular had imbibed what was available in western knowledge, and if ignorant

1. Petition to the Parliament, 1858; Andrews and Mookerjee, *Rise and Growth of the Congress*, 108-109.

2. *Rise and Growth*, 109.

3. For the early history of the Congress see Sitaramayya, *The History of the Congress*, pp. 20 ff.

Muslims were to dabble in the politics of their Hindu compatriots, they would not be able to cope with the situation. He, therefore, immediately suggested to the Muslims that they should give up politics for the present till they were sufficiently instructed, otherwise they would be swept off the board altogether.

LATER POLITICAL THOUGHT

It was with this object in view that he formed the Muslim Educational Conference organisation, the first meeting of which was held at Aligarh on December 12, 1886, just one year after the institution of the Indian National Congress. Speaking on the very first resolution he said that those were grossly mistaken who thought that the conditions of the Muslims would in any way be bettered by arguing in political matters, and what was needed for the present was education and nothing else than education.¹ Exactly one year after this he delivered a speech at Lucknow on December 28, 1887 and detailed his views on the subject. Just as the writer of *Thoughts on the Present Discontents* and author of the two speeches on America had been awed by the turn of events in France, so the Syed, an ardent espouser of political reform, fears that merely copying of the principles of the west without paying heed to the circumstances ruling the country would bring more harm than good to India in general and Muslims in particular. He is afraid of the man in the street, the under-man, whether a B.A. or a M.A., who would take the place of those belonging to aristocratic families who had the tradition of government instilled into them. He assures his hearers that those sitting in the Viceroy's Council state their views without fear or favour, without regard as to whether the person sitting on the Presidential chair is the Viceroy or only a statue of marble, and without consideration for what others think about them. He says that the fullest heed is paid to representations and memorials which are received from the subjects and nothing is left unconsidered. It is the business of the Government to preserve law and order, as well as to preserve life, property and rights, and for these sacred purposes to institute courts of law. He enumerates the 49 grievances which the Congress had placed before the Government and is very clear and explicit in his point of view as regards the method of election. The Congress had even in its early days resolved that the "Councils should be expanded by the admission of a considerable proportion of members,"² which should be elected presumably on the English model on the comparative majority system. Knowing, as he did, the backwardness of the Muslims and being a thorough realist as he was, he dealt with the whole question

1. *Majmu'a*, 280.

2. *History of Congress*, 36.

and analysed it fully. He gives four alternative methods of election to the Council :

(1) There may be joint electorates based on universal suffrage, with the proviso that Muslims should vote for the Muslim candidates and the Hindus for the Hindu candidates ; under such a system naturally the Hindu candidate would be elected as he would have a majority of 4 : 1.

(2) The second alternative put forward is that there should be a property limit to the right of vote ; if this be so, he laments that there would be few of the audience who could equal their Hindu brethren in point of wealth and income, and ordinarily no Muslim would have a chance of getting in the Council.

(3) He supposes a third alternative that a certain number of seats in the Viceroy's Legislative Council should be reserved for Hindus and Muslims respectively and that the proportion should be fixed according to their respective population in the country; even then the Muslims would inevitably form the minority.¹

(4) Lastly, he considers the possibility of separate electorates and a reservation of seats, and supposes that the proportion of the Muslim seats is increased even to the extent of making them equal to the Hindu seats; even then, says he, there would be few Muslim members as well versed and as efficient as the Hindu members, and there would be few of them indeed who would leave off their business to serve on the Council at their own expense at Simla or Calcutta.²

Thus, standing before his audience as early as December 1887, he analysed all possibilities and considers each of them derogatory to the Muslim interests. *En passant* he says in a vigorous passage that there are some who liken Ireland to India. "Let us suppose that the conditions of Ireland are similar to those of this country. We must remember that there are thousands of Irishmen who are willing to sacrifice their lives for the good of their beautiful country. They do not fear prison bars nor bayonet charges and the whole land is standing as one man against the present system. I ask you the names of even ten of my countrymen who can face a bayonet charge for a patriotic cause; if there are none, the whole agitation becomes utterly inappropriate and useless."³ Dealing with the question of the Budget, especially under military heads, he asks very pointedly how many who wish to have a decisive voice in army expenditure know anything about implements of war, or even what artillery charges are like. He, therefore, says that Indians should begin by joining the forces as volunteers and blames the Government for not allowing them

1. Although in this case he probably means joint electorates, he does not say that the Muslim members so elected would not represent their co-religionists.

2. These schemes in *Majmū'a*, 304-305.

3. *Majmū'a*, 306

to do so.¹ He finishes by the remark that for the present Muslims should pay the fullest attention to education in general and higher education in particular, which would raise their status and take them to the highest positions in the country.²

The next and the last great speech on politics delivered by the Syed was that of March 16, 1888, ten weeks after the Madras Congress of 1887, when he addressed a large audience of Muslims at Meerut.³ He warned the Hindus that unity was to be achieved not by a make-believe in politics that there is no distinction between Hindus and Muslims, but by toleration, friendship, and mutual sympathy, which were the hall-mark of India in days gone by. He advised the Hindus and Muslims of the Upper Provinces to stand united, for "both drink from the same wells, breathe the same air, and each is dependent on the other," so that everything which might cause a rift between them was not to the good of either of them.

In this speech he put certain definite problems before his audience. He asked them the direct question, who would take the place of the English if they were to leave India, the Hindus or the Muslims? He further asked them if there was any precedent in the whole history of the world that a conquering nation had granted full representative government to the conquered nation especially when the conqueror and the conquered did not belong to this same race. Under these circumstances how would it be possible for the Government to hand over the powers to elected representatives, as is demanded from them? Then the man who once demanded the establishment of full parliamentary institutions for India goes on to say that no one has a right to vote on the Budget since the responsibility for it depends solely on the Government. He reiterated the view that all the agitation which was on foot emanated from the Bengalis, though he is very careful in pointing out that all that the British Government was doing might not be to the good of the country, and that it was only natural that Indians should have a bill of complaints against a foreign Government. But the demands must be reasonable. Moreover he goes to the crux of his thesis and asks the Muslims to consider that they were wanting in knowledge, wanting in higher education, wanting in wealth, and they would help nobody if they were to dabble in politics. On the other hand what was needed was that they should pay the fullest attention to their education and their education only. They should further strive to make themselves rich both morally and materially, and should take to trade and commerce, especially foreign trade. Even that, however, depended on education. At the end of his lecture he says that just then it would be injurious to the interests of the Muslims to join hands with

1. *Majmū'a*. 308, 309.

2. *Ibid.*, 310.

3. The speech was printed separately as well as included in the *Majmū'a*, 311-315. The speech contains a vehement denunciation of the word which was passed round that the Muslims joined the Madras Congress.

"the Bengalis," and if the Muslims were to do so they would be crushed by the Government with a far stronger hand than the Bengalis would be, for, says he, the Government are aware that the Muslims "are braver, more soldierly and greater born fighters."

This was probably the last speech Sir Syed Ahmad Khān delivered on a purely political theme. The rest of his life he spent in promoting the great institution he had founded at Aligarh, in furtherance of the object which he had so much at heart. He had refused the offer of a whole Jāgīr which had been wrested from a rebel after the Mutiny, for it was beyond him to "take advantage of the downfall of a whole nation," and died a pauper in the house of his friend the late Nawāb Hājī Ismā'il Khān Sherwānī, at Aligarh.¹

GENERAL REVIEW

If we briefly review Sir Syed's political thought we find that outwardly there is a marked contrast between his earlier and his later views, for while in 1858 he was a vehement supporter of political reform and representative institutions of a parliamentary type for India, he ended by opposing that system. The explanation of this strange phenomenon will be found in the objective study of the Syed's mind and, in spite of what may be said to contrary, of the mind of great bulk of the Muslims.² Sir Syed was a theorist as well as a realist. The basic argument of his *Causes of the Indian Revolt* is that the Mutiny was the work not of the Muslims only but of misguided Hindus and Muslims, and the chief reason for the catastrophe was the lack of means with which it was possible to make known the Indian viewpoint to the British Parliament. The whole burden of his argument was that the interests of the Hindus and Muslims were the same and he championed the cause of a united India in politics, in social reform, and in educational matters, both in word and deed. The shock came in 1867, with the beginning of the Hindi agitation which soon developed into extreme separatist tendencies, and the Syed felt that if there was a difference in the matter of language—for it was maintained that the question of script would automatically lead to the introduction of uncommon words—then the Indians of the same province would ultimately not be able to make themselves understood to their own neighbours.³ Sir Syed felt the situation with such anguish that he thought it best to join issues with the new school of thought and try to keep his hold on the minds of the people of whatever creed, and we see that when he was away

1. Speech on the History of the M.A.-O. College in the Mohammedan Educational Congress (Latest Conference), fourth session, held at Aligarh in December 1889, *Majmū'a*, 343. For a graphic account of the last days of his illness see *Hayāt*, 202.

2. Badr'ud-Din Tayabji opined as the President of the Indian National Congress session held at Madras in 1887 that the view of a large body of the Muslims was that they should work for the common benefit of all jointly with members of other races and creeds, see *Rise and Growth*, 173.

3. All correspondence between Syed Ahmad Khān and Saroda Prosād Sandal of the Allahabad Institute published in the *Gazette* of 27-12-1868 and 19-2-1869.

in Europe, his organ *The Aligarh Institute Gazette*, which had now become a champion of the cause of Urdu, was run by his right-hand man Rāja Jaikishan Dās.

On his return from Europe, however, nationalist and votary of the unity of India as he was by temperament, he was greatly shocked at the turn the matter of language had taken in his own province and in Bihar, and he viewed with dismay the rift which was widening between the two sections of the Indian population of the Upper Provinces. Nothing daunted however, he delivered his great speech at Patna on January 27, 1883 and once again enunciated his love for the unity of the land. But there was no response from what was fast becoming the other camp, and he sat down to consider what it was best to do under the circumstances. He knew that the Muslims had lost all during the period of the downfall of the Mughals culminating in the tragedy of 1857—their learning, their culture and their position in Indian society—while their Hindu brethren, especially of the province of Bengal, had taken large strides in education and general uplift. The Syed, therefore, came to the conclusion that if the Muslims took active part in politics while they were inferior to the sister community in every way, they would not prove equal to the task and would not only suffer themselves but prove a burden to their partners as well. It was for this reason that he turned his whole attention to educating the Muslims on modern lines, and warned them of their mistake if they immediately joined the newly-formed Indian National Congress. Instead of that he formed another purely educational organisation, the Muslim Educational Congress—later renamed Conference—and invited his co-religionists to better their cultural and educational status before venturing on the stormy sea of politics, especially when they had to deal with others who held views diametrically opposed to their own. This was in 1886, and from now onwards he became more and more a social and a religious reformer, so much so that when we talk of the “Aligarh Movement” we mean thereby the movement for the modernisation and rationalisation of the life of the Muslims rather than a movement which had a political objective before it. Aligarh became the centre of Islamic culture and Muslim education to such an extent that when the first Muslim political association was formed there in the shape of the Muslim Social and Political Organisation in 1903,¹ it had to be shifted to Lucknow almost as soon as it had acquired a permanent status in the shape of the Muslim League. But Sir Syed continued to be a nationalist even in educational matters and threw open the portals of his foundation, the M.A.-O. College, to the young men of all communities alike, this being perhaps the first instance in India of a purely denominational institution having on its rolls young men belonging to both the great sections of the Indian people.

H. K. SHERWANI.

1. *Report of the Inaugural Meeting at Aligarh*, by Mr. Hājī Muḥammad Mūsā Khān Sherwani.

AL-HIJAZI THE AUTHOR OF *NAWADIR* *AL-AKHBĀR*

I

THE AUTHOR

ABŪ at-Ṭayyib Shihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm, author of *Nawādir al-Akḥbār*, drew his origin from the Khazrajites of Madīna, who embraced Islam and were called the Anṣār. All of his biographers say that al-Ḥijāzī's great-grandfather was Ḥasan. But as-Suyūṭī, though he mentions Ḥasan in the *Ḥuṣn al-Muḥādḍara*, writes Ḥusain in the *Naẓm al-'Iqyan*.¹

Through as-Sakhāwī² we learn that another name of honour given to al-Ḥijāzī was Abu'l-'Abbās Zakīy ad-Dīn, but all his biographers agree that he was known to the public by the appellation of ash-Shihāb al-Ḥijāzī.

Although al-Ḥijāzī studied under professors belonging to different schools of law, he was a leading member of the Shafī'ite school.³

Shihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad al-Ḥijāzī was born on the 27th of Sha'bān,⁴ 790 A.H. (August, 1388 A.D.). From his very childhood he showed a literary trend of mind. He studied different sciences under different teachers. Among the professors of al-Ḥijāzī we find :

(1) The great traditionist Ḥāfiẓ Zayn ad-Dīn Abu'al-Faḍl 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm al-'Irāqī (725-806 A.H.), about whom Ibn Taghrī Birdī⁵ (874 A.H.) remarks : “شيخ الحديث بالديار المصرية” ; (2) the eminent scholar al-Majd al-Ḥanafī; (3) the great genealogist Badr (767-866 A.H.); (4) Al-Burhān al-Abnāsī (725-802 A. H.), about whom as-Suyūṭī⁶ says: “شيخ الشيوخ بالديار المصرية” ; (5) the great litterateur and traditionist al-Kamāl ad-Damīrī (d. 808 A.H.), from whom al-Ḥijāzī heard his commentary on Ibn-Mājah ; (6) Shaykh 'Izzu'd-Dīn ibn Jamā'ah (759-819 A.H.) who was highly renowned in metaphysics, and about whom as-Suyūṭī⁷ observes : “اتقانا بالغا الى ان صار هوالمشار اليه في الديار المصرية

1. Page 63.

2. *Ad-Daw' al-Lāmi'*, Vol. II, p. 147.

3. The *Naẓmu'l 'Iqyan* p. 63.

4. *Ad-Daw' al-Lāmi'*, Vol II, p. 147.

5. *An-Nujūm-aẓ-Zāhira*, Vol. VI., p. 160.

6. The *Ḥuṣn al-Muḥādḍara*, Vol. I.

7. The *Naẓm al-'Iqyan*.

(7) Walīy ad-Dīn al-‘Irāqī (762-826 A.H.), who is called by the biographers : *الامام العلامة الحافظ الفقيه الاصول* ; (8) Al-Basāṭī, the Qāḍī (756-842 A.H.) ; (9) Ibn Abī al-Maǧd ; (10) the great scholar, critic and traditionist, Imām al-Ḥuffāz,¹ Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī (773-852 A.H.), about whom Ibn-Taghri Birdī² says : *”شيخ الاسلام حافظ المشرق والمغرب امير المؤمنين في الحديث شهاب الدين“* قاضي قضاة الديار المصرية وعالمها و حافظها و شاعرها ، ،

An important fact to which the list of al-Hijāzī’s teachers bears witness is that he was sent to school at a very early age. It has been noticed above that one of his professors died when al-Hijāzī was hardly twelve years old. The most astonishing thing, however, is that though the great traditionist Ḥafīz Zayn ad-Dīn al-‘Irāqī, a professor of al-Hijāzī, died in 806 A.H., when his pupil was only sixteen, yet the latter had duly qualified himself in tradition and had received from his teacher the authority (*al-Ijāzah*) for the instruction of others therein. This list also points to the fact that al-Hijāzī acquired learning from the most distinguished professors with world-wide fame in their special subjects.

Having well qualified himself in different branches of Arabic literature, al-Hijāzī devoted himself to legal studies—Hadīth and jurisprudence. But after a certain period, most probably after 816 A.H.,³ he gave up his religious studies and confined himself to literature. In the words of C. Huart, “His over-indulgence in the use of the marshnut or anacardium ruined his health and obliged him to give up his legal studies and confine himself to literature.”⁴

Al-Hijāzī’s prose and poetry gave him the right to his very high place in the Arabic literature of the ninth century of the Hijrah. He was an illustrious poet and elegant prose-writer with immense literary acquirements. Some writers call him a poet, others a litterateur. But as a matter of fact, al-Hijāzī was as good a poet as a prose-writer. He was richly endowed by nature with the poetical faculty, and his poems bear testimony to his originality and power. As-Suyūṭī⁵ calls him “the excellent and distinguished poet” and Ibn al-‘Imād⁶ “the poet of great genius.” In the *Muǧam al-Maṭbū‘āt*⁷ Sarkīs declares him to be “the poet of Egypt.” Jirjī Zaydān⁸ makes mention of him among the poets of Egypt and Cairo, and not among the *litterateurs*. In his opinion al-Hijāzī is more a poet than a man of letters.

1. As Suyūṭī : the *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara*.

2. *An-Nujūm az-Zāhira*, Vol. VII, p. 326.

3. *ad-Daw‘ al-Lāmi‘*, Vol. II, p. 148.

4. *History of Arabic Literature*, p. 356.

5. The *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara*, Vol. I, p. 246. (الشاعر البارح)

6. The *Shadharāt*, Vol. VII, p. 319. (الشاعر المقلق)

7. Page 1151.

8. *Tārīkh Adaba‘l Lughat al-‘Arabiyyah*, Vol. III, p. 126.

It would be doing great injustice to al-Hijāzī's literary achievements to call him a mere poet and ignore all his other merits. No doubt he was an excellent poet, but all the same his numerous works on various topics show the fertility of his pen, and single him out as a versatile writer and an eminent litterateur. As-Suyūṭī rightly assigns to him a place among the poets and men of letters of Egypt. The fact that he excelled and distinguished himself in the domain of literature is borne out by his biographers:

”وقدرناه (ابن حجر) جماعة من الفضلاء والادباء النبلاء منهم الاديب شهاب الدين ابوالطيب (1)

‘حمد’، 1

2 ”وعنى بالادب كثيرا حتى صار احد اعيانه“، (2)

3 ”وعنى بالادب كثيرا الى ان تقدم فيه“، (3)

4 ”كان عالما فاضلا بارعا في الادب“، (4)

”وعنى بالادب كثيرا حتى صار اواحد اهل زمانه و يتميز في فنون لكنه
هجر ماعدا الادب منها“، 2

(6) يا واحد العصر ومن فضله كالصبح في شرق وفي مغرب
ويا شهابا فاق شمس الضحى في كل معنى قد سمى مغرب⁶

” و اقبل على فن الادب وهجر ماعداه حتى غلب عليه وفاق فيه“، (7)

5 ”وطار صيته في فن الادب“، (8)

7 ”وصفه (ابن حجر) بالشيخ الفاضل العلامة فخر المدرسين عمدة البلغاء“، (9)

8 ”والعلامة فريد الادباء الشهاب الحجازي“، (10)

Al-Hijāzī was born in a literary age which was extraordinarily active and productive. Such authors and writers as Ibn-Khaldūn (732-808 A.H.), al-Maqrīzī (766-845 A.H.), Ibn-Hajar (773-852 A.H.), Ibn Taghrī Birdī (813-874 A.H.), al-Qalqashandī (d. 821 A.H.) and as-Suyūṭī (849-911 A.H.) to some of whom the authorship of hundreds of works is ascribed, flourished in that period. This is not the proper place to mention the works of the encyclopædic writers of this age. Nevertheless, al-Hijāzī's devotion to literature and his scholarly works give him a high place among the illustrious poets and notable men of letters of his time.

1. *Lahẓu'l Alḥāẓ* by Ibn-Fahd, p. 339.

2. *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara*.

3. *Naẓm al-'Iqyān*.

4. Ibn-Iyās: *Tārīkh Miṣr*, Vol. II, p. 125.

5. *Shadharāt*, Vol. VII, p. 319.

6. Qāḍī al-'Asqalānī (d. 876 A.H.) pays glowing tribute to al-Hijāzī's literary excellence in a poem which he wrote in the lifetime of al-Hijāzī. See *Naẓm al-'Iqyān*, p. 33.

7. *Ad-Daw' al-Lāmi'*, Vol. II, p. 148.

8. *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 23.

Al-Ḥijāzī was conscious of his high merits, poetical talents and literary eminence. At the same time he was sure of his reward, that he would not be forgotten by the coming generations. He says:

قالوا اذا لم يخلف ميت ذكرا ينسى فقلت لهم في بعض اشعارى
بعد المات اصيحابى ستذكرونى بما اخلف من اولاد افكارى¹

Al-Ḥijāzī was very fond of puzzles and enigmas. His two letters to ash-Shihāb at-Tāib show that enigmatical writings were liked in literary circles in those days. A book of al-Ḥijāzī on this subject shows how skilful in this art he was.

In addition to his educational and literary achievements, his constant study, writing, and good hand, al-Ḥijāzī held a high position in society. His agreeable conversation and pleasing manners won for him a wider circle of friends and associates. He was never sad and morose, nor depressed and unsociable. But on the other he was witty and sociable with a vast knowledge of *Nawādir*.² He was known for his simple habits; he disliked affectation and possessed many other good qualities.³ His letters and poems tell us of his friendly relations with the authorities and scholars.

In the month of Ramaḍān, 815 A.H., al-Ḥijāzī wrote a letter to ash-Sharīf Silāḥ ad-Dīn al-Uṣyūṭī (783-859 A.H.) in which he complains of imposthumes and boils from which he suffered so badly that he spent ten restless days and sleepless nights.⁴

In 826 A.H. he completed his literary work the *Rawḍ al-Ādāb*, an anthology containing the poems of the ancients as well as of the moderns, including some of his own composition, and prose passages in a most polished and elegant style.

In 840 A.H., al-Ḥijāzī copied the *التبصرة والتذكرة في علم الحديث الشريف*, known as *الفية المالک* by his teacher Abu'l-Faḍl al-'Irāqī, which is preserved in Berlin.

In 843 A.H. he made a pilgrimage to Mecca.

In 850 A.H. he wrote the *Hāshiyāt ash-Shifā* in which he explained the obscure words occurring in the book *ash-Shifā fī Ḥuqūq Mustafā*, by Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ.

In 852 A.H. he composed an elegy on the death of his teacher, the great critic and historian Ibn Hajar, in which al-Ḥijāzī pays homage to the memory of the encyclopædic writer of the age. The elegy, for all its beauty of style and exquisite and polished language, is, in its subject and the

1. *Aḍ-Daw' al-Lāmi'*, Vol. II, p. 148.

2. *Tārikh Mīṣr*, Vol. II, p. 125; *aḍ-Daw' al-Lāmi'*, Vol. II, p. 148.

3. *Shadharāt*, Vol. VII, p. 319.

4. *Naẓm al-Iqyān*, p. 66.

essential quality of treatment, kindled by love for his learned professor and high regard for the vast eruditions of the deceased.

In his turn, al-Ḥijāzī taught traditions and delivered lectures. He won great reputation, and notable men of his time spoke of him in high terms. To quote the words of his biographer Ibn al-ʿImād : ¹ "وَأَثْنَى عَلَيْهِ الْكُتُبَاءُ" :²

As-Suyūṭī, while producing al-Ḥijāzī's elegy on the death of Ibn-Ḥajar, calls him شيخنا الأديب in the *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara*, and in the second volume of the same book while discussing the Nile he says :³ "أَخْبَرَنِي" ، ، أبو الطيب الانصارى اجازة عن الحافظ ابى الفضل عبدالرحيم العراقي ، ، "أَخْبَرَنِي الشَّهَابُ أَبُو الطَّيِّبِ أَحْمَدُ بْنُ مُحَمَّدٍ" as-Suyūṭī writes : الانصارى المعروف بالحجازى بقرأتى عليه ، ،

These passages clearly indicate that as-Suyūṭī was a pupil of al-Ḥijāzī ; he attended his lectures and studied under his direction.

Shihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad al-Ḥijāzī died in his native town, on Wednesday,⁴ the 7th of Ramaḍān, 875 A.H.⁵ (February on March, 1471 A.D.). But Brockelmann and Jirjī Zaydān mention 874 A.H. as the year of his death, which is incorrect.

HIS WORKS

No complete and exhaustive list of his works has come down to us. In the following lines I give a list of al-Ḥijāzī's books compiled from different sources :

(1) التذكرة فى الاديب : The author of the *Kashf az-Zunūn*⁶ says that it was written in more than fifty volumes. But as-Suyūṭī's⁷ version fills about seventy volumes.

(2) روض الاداب⁸ : A literary anthology of poetry and prose, divided into five chapters. Only a small portion of this has been published and printed at Bombay, bearing the name of the *Rawdatu'l-Ādāb*, and is very defective. Copies are found in (a) the British Museum, London, (b) the Bankipur Library, and (c) Leyden.

1. *Shadhārāt*, Vol. VIII, p. 319.

2. Page 18.

3. Page 449.

4. Tuesday, the 8th Ramaḍān (Ref. Bankipur Library Catalogue, Vol. XV, p. 151).

5. Aṣ-Ṣakhāwī, as-Suyūṭī, Ibn Iyās, Ibn al-ʿImād, Ḥājī Khalifa, Ahlwardt, Flügel and Sarkis.

6. Vol. 2, p. 263.

7. *Naẓm al-ʿIqyān*.

8. Principal Muḥammad Shafī', formerly of the Punjab University, also possesses a copy of this work which he was kind enough to lend me.

(3) كتاب النيل

(4) حبيب الكتيب ونديم الكتيب : But Hājī Khalifa mentions حبيب الكتيب and at the same place gives the former name on the authority of as-Sakhāwī¹

(5) قواعد المقامات : Hājī Khalifa² says قواعد المقامات and ibn al-'Imād القواعد والمقامات

(6) "و بعد : Hājī Khalifa³ quotes al-Hijāzī : ثلاث النحورى جواهر البحور فانه قد عن لى ان استخرج من الكتاب العزيز ما جاء على اوزان الابحر اتفاقا ، ثم بدا لى ان ابى على كل بحر من البحور بيتا على ما عندى من القصور ،"

A copy of it is preserved in Berlin.⁴

(7) Poetical collection of al-Hijāzī. اللع الشهائيه من البروق الحجازيه

(8) مصنف ادعيه يدعى بها عقب قراة الختات بحسب الوقائع والمقامات

(9) كتاب الغاز Hājī Khalifa⁵ names it مصنف فى الالغاز والاحاجى

(10) A copy of this work is preserved in the Royal Library of Vienna.⁶ اجوبة اعتراضات ابن الخشاب على الحريرى

(11) A commentary on the *Maqāmāt* of al-Harirī. الدرر المنظومه من النكت المفهومة

(12) Jirjī Zaydān⁷ while mentioning this book writes *al-Kinās* instead of *Kans*. كنس الحوارى فى الحسان الجوارى

(13) النبل الزائد من النيل الزائد

(14) مختصر شرح المقامات للشريشى

(15) جنبه الوالدين فى الحسان من الغلمان

(16) كتاب فى العروض

(17) It is also called الدالية الحجازى : الزنجيل القاطع فى طى ذات البراقع an encomium in poetry addressed to the Holy Prophet. A copy is preserved in Berlin.

(18) كتاب الصوت

1. *Kashf az-Zunūn*, Vol. VI, p. 318.

2. Vol. IV, p. 578.

3. Vol. IV, p. 568.

4. Ahlwardt, Vol. VI, p. 348, No. 7159.

5. Vol. V., p. 49.

6. Flügel, Vol. I, p. 380.

7. Vol. III, p. 126.

- (19) حاشية الشفا
- (20) مفاخرة الساء والارض : A copy is preserved in Berlin.
- (21) مفاخرة النيل والبحر : A poetical composition preserved in Berlin.
- (22) نيل الرائد من النيل الزائد : A record of the ebb and flow of the Nile from the beginning of the Muslim era up to al-Hijāzī's time. Copies are preserved in London, Paris, Aya Sufiya and Bankipur. Books No. 3 and 13 seem to be identical with it.
- (23) تخميس البردة
- (24) كتاب نوادر الاخبار وظرائف الاشعار
- (25) كتاب الحمقاء والمغفلين لابن الجوزى was alphabetically arranged by al-Hijāzī.

II

NAWĀDIR AL-AKHBĀR

Now we turn to the unique MS. of the *Nawādir-al Akhbār* preserved in the Panjab University Library.

The work has not been mentioned by the authors consulted by me.

As-Sakhāwī (831-902 A.H.), a contemporary of al-Hijāzī gives the latter's biography in *ad-Daw'al-Lāmi*¹ and mentions some of his works, but takes no notice of this work.

As-Suyūṭī (1445-1505 A.D.), also a contemporary of our author, takes notice of al-Hijāzī in the *Husn-u'l-Muhādara*² and the *Naẓmu'l 'Iqyān*,³ and gives a long list of his works, but unfortunately the present work escapes his notice.

Ibn-Iyās⁴ (d. 930 A.H.) and Ibnu'l 'Imād⁵ (d. 1089 A.H.), the great historians, mention some of his works ; but ignore this book.

The great bibliographer Hājī Khalifa (d. 165 A.D.) too, who flourished about two hundred years later, seems to be unaware of its existence. In his great work Hājī Khalifa mentions more than a dozen books on varied subjects by al-Hijāzī, but the list does not include the book before us.

1. Vol. II, pp. 147-8.

2. Vol. I, p. 246.

3. pp. 63-77.

4. *Tārīkh Miṣr*, Vol. II, p. 125.

5. *Shadharāt*, Vol. VII, p. 319.

The Imperial Library, Berlin, the Vienna Library, the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, do not seem to possess it, though they contain other works of al-Hijāzī.

Even Brockelmann,¹ C. Huart,² Jirjī Zaydān,³ and Sarkis⁴ also seem to possess no knowledge of the existence of this manuscript. All these mention al-Hijāzī's works but say nothing of the *Nawādir-u'l-Akhhbār*.

The manuscript in question which is entitled نوادر الاخبار وظرائف الاشعار is neatly written, though at some places incorrect, and is dated Muḥarrām, 1031 A.H., i.e. a century and a half after the death of al-Hijāzī. The name of the scribe is Muḥammad ibn 'Umar b. Nuru'd-Dīn al-Ahdab.

As to the genuineness of the present manuscript, fortunately the title-page, which very distinctly bears the name of the author, Shihābu'd-Dīn Aḥmad al-Hijāzī, and the name of the copyist at the end, leave no doubt as to its authenticity. Why should some one else ascribe his own work to al-Hijāzī?

Moreover it was very common to write on *Nawādir* from the earliest times, and al-Hijāzī's contemporaries too have left their works on *Nawādir*. He was also noted for *Nawādir*, as Ibn Iyās⁵ remarks : وكان ظريفاً ، لطيفاً ، كثير النواذر ، الذات ، كثير النواذر

The manuscript is in a good state of preservation and the text may almost everywhere be established without any great difficulty, with the exception of a few passages which could not be established without recourse to parallel texts in other works.

THE SUBJECT

The *Kitab an-Nawādir al-Akhhbār wa Zarā'if al-Ash'ār* deals with various subjects. In the words of the author :⁶ "و بعد فهذه نوادر وظرف ، و محاسن و تحف ، مختلفة الترتيب ، يسرح في ربا ضها كل ما هو اديب ،"

At the time of compilation the author seems to have kept in view books like the '*Uyūn al-Akhhbār* of Ibn-Qutayba and the '*Iqd* of Ibn-'Abdi-Rabbihi.

It is a very useful work for the student of Arabic literature. In so small a work the author has condensed much useful matter. The work

1. *Geschichte der Arabischen*, Vol. II, p. 18.

2. *A History of Arabic Literature*, p. 356.

3. *Tārīkh-u-Adabā'l Lughat al 'Arabīyyah*, Vol. III, p. 126.

4. *The Mu'jam al-Maṭbū'āt*.

5. *Tārīkh-u-Miṣr*, Vol. II, p. 125.

6. MS. ff. 1 b, 2 a.

introduces the student to the beauty of the Arabic language and anecdotal writings, and at the same time creates in him a love for Arabic literature. The main point is that this book keeps the reader fresh and untired because of the variety of its subjects. A glance at the table of contents which I have prepared will show the reader that the maxim 'variety is the essence of life' has not been ignored at any stage by the author :

I	II	III
التعنه	عقوبة مبغض الصالحين	من آداب افلاطون
المشاوره والراى	فضلها	من آداب ارسطاطليس
الهوى والعقل	العلم	من آداب ديو جانس الحكيم
السياسة	خطبة علىّ على وفاة ابى بكر	من آداب ابقراط الحكيم
اوقات الحرب	مأعلى العمال	من آداب جالينوس
صحبة السلطان وادابها	اخلاق الملك	من آداب بطليموس
الحاجب	صفة علىّ	من حكم حكماء اليونانيين
تعلم الاولاد	اولاده	الزهد
المحبة والمودة	الولد الحكيم	قصه انس بن مالك مع
المعائب	الغناء والفقر	الحجاج
الزيارة والتلاق	الصبر والتسليم والقناعة	قصه خالد بن صفوان مع
السر : كتبه واعلانه	من آداب هرس الحكيم	ابى العباس السفاح

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE BOOK

Here it will not be out of place to give translation of some passages from the book which may help the reader to understand its nature.

First of all the author quotes a saying of Khuraym about the state of blissful life. The first essential of a blissful life, he says, is : Peace and tranquillity, for a fearful and timid person seldom enjoys life. The second thing is : Health, because, according to him there is no interest in life for the sick. The third and the last component of the blissful life, in his opinion, is : Youth, for an old man becomes disgusted with life.¹

1. MS. (f. 2a). Compare *āl-Kāmil*, Vol. I, page 328, *Kitābul-Ādāb* by Ja'far, pp. 19, 59, *Tadhkira* of Ibn Hamdūn, p. 9, and Mas'ūdī's *Murūj* V : 328.

A word to kings.

Al-Ḥijāzī says that the most essential things for a king are :—

(a) Counsel.

He deduces his argument from the fact that the last of the Prophets (may God bless them all!), being the most superior man in intellect and wisdom, always receiving guidance from the Almighty, took counsel in order to bring home to the world the advantages of counsel and consultation.¹ Our author concludes that the greatest advantage, besides having the confidence of the people, is that it is not only the king who is to blame if the result is unexpected, but that the responsibility becomes divided. He further illustrates this point by quoting the saying of a sage :

A man cannot do without counsel, no matter how great be his wisdom, just as a lady cannot do without a husband, no matter how pious and chaste she be.

(b) Prudence.

For this quality he explains that it is the slow and steady who wins the race.²

(c) Reward and punishment.

A king must adopt a policy of reward and punishment. Both these must go hand in hand. If either of the two is disregarded, the State is likely to suffer evil consequences.³

(d) Forbearance.

At the same time, he says, the most esteemed thing in the sight of God is a king's forbearance and kindness.⁴

Al-Ḥijāzī tells us what persons should have immediate access to a king.

Says a Governor : Four persons must have immediate access to a ruler :—

1. The man who comes at night ; for the business must be of great importance which urged him to visit a king at night.
2. The messenger from the frontier side ; for a minute's delay can upset the whole state of affairs.
3. The man who calls for prayer.
4. The bearer.⁵

1. (f. 2b). Compare Nuwairi's *Nihāya*, Vol. VI: 69, and *Tahrīr-ul-Aḥkām fī Tadbīri-Aḥil Islam* by Badrud-Din in *Islamica* Band VI, Heft 4, p. 406.

2. (ff. 2b, 3a). Compare *Kalīla*, p. 249. ed. Egypt 1927.

3 (f. 3a). (f. 3b).

4. (f. 5a).

5. (f. 5b). Compare *al-'Iqd*, Vol. I, page 23, *al-Kāmil*, I: 170.

According to al-Hijāzī these qualities are as indispensable for a king as a husband for a lady, a father for a child, a teacher for a student, and a commander for an army.

After dropping some more hints about the policy of rulers, our author advises the people and gives certain suggestions as to how one is to behave towards a ruler. He says : Nothing can be had from a king or a woman by force and severity. It is only by humility and gentleness that one can win the favour of a king.¹

Education and Learning.

This book also throws light on the things to which the Umayyads attached greater importance in connection with the education of their children, and what were their tendencies.

The general saying was : All that is incumbent upon fathers in connection with the education of their sons is to teach them writing, swimming, and mathematics.²

Hajjāj, the famous governor under the Umayyads, said to his sons' tutor : Teach swimming to my sons before you teach them writing ; for they may find writers for them, but they cannot find swimmers in their stead.²

Sulaimān, son of 'Abdul-Malik, the renowned Umayyad caliph, said to the tutor of his sons : "Teach poetry to my sons, for it is a sort of soundness for their wisdom, intelligence for their brains, liberality in their hands, and an addition to their glory. Keep them at a distance from the low, because they are the worst of mankind as regards etiquette, and bring them in close contact with the nobles that they may acquire their habits."³

It was said : The only thing that a son owes to his father is not to cut off the ties of relationship with those with whom his father had been on good terms.⁴

It was said to Alexander : Why do you respect your teacher more than your father ? He replied : My father is the cause of my death while my teacher is the source of my life.⁵

It was asked of a Persian sage : Does it behove an old man to learn ? He said : If it behoves him to live, it behoves him to learn.⁶

1. (f. 4b) (ff. 4b, 5a). Compare *'Uyūn-al Akhbār*, I : 19

2. (f. 5b) Compare *Uyūn*, II : 166.

3. (ff. 5b, 6a). Compare *Lubab-ul-Ādāb* p. 230.

4. (f. 6a).

5. (f. 15b).

6. (f. 16b). Compare *Al-'Iqd*, I, 141.

It is said that there is no phrase more incentive to learning than that of 'Alī : The predecessors have left nothing for their successors.¹

The common saying is : He who wants to command respect must learn grammar.²

Christ was asked : How far should one study ? He replied : As long as one lives.

A certain sage said : Everything has life and death. The life of learning is discussion and its death is forgetfulness.

'Alī remarked : Knowledge is better than wealth, for you guard wealth while knowledge guards you. Spending diminishes wealth but increases knowledge. Masters of treasures are no more, but the learned men are alive as long as the world lasts.³

A man advised his son saying : Acquire learning, for the first fruit will be that you will never feel lonely.⁴

An old man wanted to study philosophy but felt ashamed. A wise man said to him : Do you feel ashamed that you would become better in old age than you were in youth ?⁵

Friendship.

As to friendship, al-Hijāzī produces different views of scholars and sages. He quotes the saying of a certain wise man :

He who always expects sincerity from a friend is never pleased, and he who seeks a flawless friend finds none ; and he who reproaches his friends at every fault increases his foes.⁶

Then al-Hijāzī quotes many authorities in support of this theory and concludes :

You want a flawless friend ; but let me know, if you have ever seen a stick burning without smoke.⁷

After this al-Hijāzī produces the arguments of a party that believed in no friendship. Their formula is : Friendship and alchemy never existed.⁸

Discussing the obligations and duties of friends, our author quotes certain verses stating :

1. (f. 17a). Compare *al-'Iqd*, I : 141.

2. (f. 17b).

3. (18a, 18b). Compare 'Uyūn-ul-Akhhbār II : 120. *al-'Iqd*, I : 142, *Nahj-ul-Balāghah*, II, 93, 94.

4. (f. 18b).

5. (f. 18b).

6. (f. 7a), Compare *Wafayāt* I : 187.

7. (f. 7b) Compare Tughrā'i's *Diwān*, p. 68, *Sharḥ Lāmiyat'il 'Ajam'* Vol. I, p. 203

8. (f. 7b), Compare Ibn Iyās's *Tārīkh Miṣr*, II : 30, *Nafahāt-ul-Yaman*, p. 162.

When true friendship is established, nothing of the nature of distance or other hindrances should debar a friend from visiting the other.¹

Miscellaneous.

'Alī said : Have patience ! For it is the resort of the prudent and the grieved.²

It is said : Forbearance brings in its wake reward and praise, while rudeness brings sin and dispraise.³

It is said to be written in the Old Testament : He who has an impious neighbour and does not enjoin upon him good, is his partner.⁴

It was asked of a person : What is the incurable disease ? He replied : A bad neighbour. Whereupon he was asked : What is the remedy ? He said : Either dispose of the house and change the neighbourhood, or have patience and lead a dog's life.⁵

Plato was asked : " In what way should a man lead his life so that he may fear no hunger ? He replied : " If the man is a well-to-do person he should curtail his expenditures, and if he is poor he should practise some craft.⁶

Socrates said : A wise man ought not to be too happy because of his wealth, nor should he feel any grief for want of it. But his real wealth, which is a source of permanent pleasure to him, is his wisdom and good deeds, for he is sure that his deeds will not go unrewarded, nor will he be punished for any other's deeds.⁷

A certain wise man remarked : Oppression and prosperity cannot exist together.⁸

Socrates said : It is better to reform the subjects than to reform the army.⁹

It is said : An act of generosity can win over an enemy, while oppression may turn a friend into a foe.¹⁰

" Keep a secret hidden from your friend which you dislike to disclose to your enemy. Perchance he may become your enemy some day."¹¹

1. (f. 10a)

2. (f. 21b)

3. (f. 22a)

4. (f. 16a)

5. (f. 22a)

6. (f. 23a)

7. (f. 24a)

8. (f. 39b)

9. (f. 40a)

10. (f. 40b).

11. (f. 40b).

"A noble man, when called upon, shows gentleness, while a base fellow, when called upon shows rudeness."¹

It is a truism that the proverbs and anecdotes of a people or country expose their innermost mentality and attitude towards certain things. Our author quotes certain Greek philosophers and their sayings. These sayings help us to a great extent to understand their angle of vision about certain matters.

A philosopher says : Prosperity is the motherland, poverty a foreign country, greediness slavery, and contentment freedom.²

A certain philosopher, observing one of his pupils staring at a beautiful lady said, "Why are you looking at her?" The pupil replied : "I ponder over her beauty." The philosopher answered; "Most harmful is ignorance and most injurious a woman."³

A philosopher seeing a lady perfuming herself remarked : "She is adding fuel to fire."⁴

Aristotle says : "Forbearance is a guard against a fool, a defence against the plots of the enemy, and a shield against the rancours of a malignant person."⁵

A Greek philosopher observing a beautiful lady remarked : "Little of good, and much of evil."⁶

He saw a man teaching a girl and said : "O teacher ! do not increase evil in evil."⁷

A philosopher noticed a lad resembling his father, and remarked : "You bear witness to the chastity of your mother."⁸

Another Greek sage observed : "Wisdom is a tree which grows in the heart and bears fruit on the tongue."⁹

A man advised his son and said : "O my beloved son ! it is better for you to be in good company even if you have to lead a hard life than in bad company which affords you an easy life."¹⁰

1. (f. 40b).

2. (f. 41 b).

3. (f. 41b).

4. (f. 41b).

5. (f. 43a).

6. (f. 44b).

7. (f. 44b).

8. (f. 44b).

9. (f. 45 b).

10. (f. 46a).

A Greek philosopher says : " Three things, if you do not control them, will oppress you. They are : Your son, your wife, and your slave."¹

Another important feature of this work lies in the fact that in it al-Hijāzī has tried to bring about a reconciliation between the two sects of Islam, viz., the Shī'a and the Sunni. Whether there was any controversy or not between these two sects, al-Hijāzī wanted to bridge the ever-widening gulf of difference between them.

The method adopted by al-Hijāzī is very excellent. It seems that to him this difference was only a line of demarcation between Abū-Bakr and 'Umar on one side and 'Alī and his house on the other. Without giving a hint about his aim and without mentioning any argument in favour of or against any party, he proceeds with anecdotes relating to the position of 'Alī and his house in Islam, and at the same time tells from the mouth of 'Alī how great were the services which Abū-Bakr and 'Umar rendered to the cause of Islam. Al-Hijāzī also relates that certain people were severely punished by the lord of justice for speaking ill of Abū-Bakr and 'Umar. He further illustrates how great was the love which 'Alī bore for Abū-Bakr and 'Umar. On hearing certain persons speaking ill of Abū-Bakr and 'Umar, 'Alī punished them severely and some of them he banished, declaring :

" Abū-Bakr and 'Umar are the leaders of righteousness, following in whose footprints is essential after the Prophet."

The *Nawādir al-Akhhbār* contains some historical references. Here I shall not discuss their authenticity. I shall select only one passage which refers to an incident in the reign of 'Abdul-Malik, son of Marwān, the father-caliph of the Umayyads. Anas, son of Mālik, the servant of the Prophet Muḥammad (may God bless him!), complained to the caliph of the ill-treatment which he had received at the hands of Hajjāj. Those who are aware of the services of Hajjāj to the Umayyad House will be surprised to know that no sooner did the caliph hear of it than he lost his temper and at once wrote to Hajjāj rebuking him as if he was a child, and threatening him in very harsh terms if he did not ask Anas's pardon.

This passage corrects a false impression of the Umayyads, who are supposed to have had little regard for religion.

ABDUL QAYYUM.

1. (ff. 47b, 48a).

THE POSTAL SYSTEM DURING THE MUSLIM RULE IN INDIA

THE pioneer of the most regular official postal system in India was Ḥajjāj bin Yūsuf Thaqafi, the Governor of Iraq. He wrote every third day letters to Muḥammad ibn Qāsim,¹ the conqueror of Sind, who received them from Iraq in his military camps of Sind on the seventh day.² This transmission of letters was made on horses, which were exclusively trained for the purpose. At a certain stage there were posts, where fresh horses were changed to cross the distance rapidly. In the second century A.H., when the Arabs prospered in trade and grew familiar with the sea-routes, the following posts were fixed : From Baṣra to the island of Kharak, from Kharak to the isle of Lawan, and from Lawan to Sind.³ In 375 Bashshāri Muqdisi met an ambassador of the Amīr of Maṣṣūrah at the court of 'Izz ad-Dawlah in Shiraz. 'Izz ad-Dawlah and the Amīr of Maṣṣūrah exchanged correspondence through this ambassador. The postal system made by 'Izz ad-Dawlah was probably also in vogue in Sind. The wide conquests of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznī impelled him to make a very efficient arrangement of the postal services throughout his empire. The postal services under him consisted of two kinds : (1) Foot-messengers called سرعان by Farishta,⁴ and (2) mounted couriers called Askudars or Usqudars, by Baiḥāqī⁵ and Khail Tāshān (خیل تاشان) by Farishta.⁶ Foot-messengers were sometimes very useful in the discharge of their duty. When Ilak Khān made a sudden attack on Khorāsān, Sulṭān Maḥmūd was at that time engaged in waging wars in India. The news of the sudden attack was transmitted to Sulṭān Maḥmūd through a foot-messenger who reached India with extraordinary speed.⁷ Important communications were conveyed by mounted couriers. Special messages were carried by special messengers, who were generally chosen from Arab

1. Balādhurī, p. 442.

2. *Tuhfat'ul Kirām*, Vol. III, p. 3, Bombay edition.

3. Ibn-Khurdādhbih, p. 57.

4. Farishta, p. 25, Lucknow edition.

5. Baiḥāqī, p. 139 ; vide also *Mahmūd of Ghazna* by M. Nazim, p. 146.

6. Farishta, Vol. p. 25.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 25.

horsemen, and were paid for each journey in addition to their usual salary.¹ The chief of the postal system was called *Şāhib-i-Barīd*, whose duty was to superintend the efficient arrangement of the system as well as to keep the Sultān in touch with the important affairs of the province. He also reported the conduct of provincial officers and commanders.²

The *Şāhib-i-Barīd* (Master of the Post), which was a post of great importance and confidence, was placed at the headquarters of every province.³ Only trustworthy officers of the Sultān were appointed to it. Some of the ministers of Sultān Maḥmūd like Abul-'Abbās Faḍl ibn Aḥmad and Abū-'Alī Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad held this post before their elevation to the Vizierate.⁴ The *Şāhib-i-Barīd* submitted his report in a cipher, which he had previously arranged with the *Şāhib-i-Risālat* (Head of the Correspondence Department).⁵ This postal arrangement failed when there was a rebellion against the Sultān. The rebel officers either forced the local *Şāhib-i-Barīd* to send false reports or waylaid the mounted couriers or foot-messengers. In such circumstances "the *Şāhib-i-Barīd* took precautions to send information through secret agents who, disguised as travellers, traders, Sufis or apothecaries, carried the news-letter sewn into the saddle-cloth or hidden in the soles of their shoes or the handles of implements of daily use, specially made hollow for this purpose."⁶

The postal system of the Ghaznavid was perhaps, with some changes, followed by the Ghorid. We find very scanty references to the postal system of the Slave Kings of Delhi in contemporary chronicles, except the terms of *دعّاء* (Dhāwa), *اللاغ* (Ulāgh) *قاصد* (Qāṣid), who were the transmitting postal agencies. They usually carried letters to the fighting forces on different fronts. For example, when Balban was leading an attack on Jajnagar, he instructed the Governor of Lakhnauti to send on to the army three or four times every week full particulars of any news which might arrive from Delhi.

Describing further the same expedition, Baranī, the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, says that when the soldiers grew disgusted with the difficult and weary marches, many of them drew up their wills and sent them to their homes, and their near and dear relations exchanged correspondence through *Ulāgh* (اللاغ) and *قاصد* (messenger).⁷

1. *Baihaqī*, p. 139.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 346.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 165, 423, etc.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 166.

5. *Ibid.*, 541.

6. *Vide Maḥmūd of Ghazna* by M. Nazim. For references *vide Baihaqī*, pp. 27, 493, 522, 523.

7. *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī* by Dīā'uddin Baranī, pp. 87, 88, Calcutta text. *اللاغ* means horse-messenger.

In *قاصد و پیک را گویند واسطی که در راهها مجتبه* : *فاطع برهان* , the meaning of this word is as follows : *قاصد* ان گذارند

'Alā'uddīn had an extensive empire, so he required an elaborate postal system to maintain the peace of his kingdom and security of his expeditionary forces. The organisation was officially called *محکمہ برید* (Mahkama-e-Barid). The head of this department was called Malik Barid-e-Mamālik (ملك برید ممالك) and his assistant Malik Nā'ib Barid-e-Mamālik (ملك نائب برید ممالك).¹

Diā'uddīn Baranī, the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, writes : "When 'Alā'uddīn sent an army on an expedition he established, from the first stage, which was Talpat, to the destination of his army, Thāna (تھانہ) wherever it could be maintained. At every stage, he stationed horses of the Ulāgh (اسبان الاغ) and at every half or quarter Kuroh (کروہ) runners were deputed (دھارگان نشستی)² and in every town or place where the horses of the Ulāgh were stationed, officers and reporters were appointed. They reported the progress of the army to the Sultān everyday or after two or three days, and the intelligence of the health of the sovereign was transmitted to the army. This prevented false news from being circulated in the city or in the army. The securing of accurate information from the Court on one side and the army on the other was of great public benefit."³ This version of Baranī has been quoted by Nizām'uddīn Aḥmad, the author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*,⁴ in the following words : "Whenever Sultān 'Alā'uddīn sent an army to any side he stationed at every stage from Delhi to the destination of the army, Dāk Chawki, which in former times was called Yām (يام). At every Kuroh he appointed speedy foot-messengers called in India pykes. And in every town and city he appointed a writer to report to the king the occurrences of every day."

When the efficiency of this system was impaired, the state was put to great trouble and inconvenience. For instance, when Malik Kafūr, entitled Malik Nā'ib, was engaged in expeditions against the rulers of Arangal in the Deccan, 'Alā'uddīn was constantly kept in touch with the military operation of Kafūr. But during its course, the mutiny of the soldiers of Telang disturbed the postal communications and 'Alā'uddīn could not get any news from Arangal for a few days. He grew worried and in his extreme anxiety sent Malik Qarā Baig and Qādī Muḡhīthuddīn to Shaikh Nizām'uddīn, to ask his benediction and enquire from him the fate of his army fighting in the enemy's land. The holy Shaikh had an inspired call from within, and told the Qādī :

ورائے این فتح فتحہائے دیگر نیز متوقع است

1. Baranī, p. 390.

2. Dhāwāh is a corrupted form of the Sanskrit word Dhawak from the root Dhawa, which means to run on. Dhawak means 'a runner.' But the word Dhawa, used by Baranī and others, signifies invariably 'runner' as well as 'post' and 'post-houses.'

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 330, 331.

4. *Ṭabaqāt Akbarī*, Vol. I, p. 166, Farishta (Vol. p. 119) quotes Nizām'uddīn verbatim, except with the variation that "at every Kurōh he ('Alā'uddīn) appointed two speedy foot-messengers called in India pykes." I failed to get the word (Yām) in any history of the pre-Mughal period. The distance from one part to another is recorded by Nizām'uddīn and Farishta as one Kurōh. Baranī says it was half or one fourth a part.

"Beside this victory other victories are also expected." 'Alā'-uddīn was pleased to hear this, and became assured of the conquest of Arangal. In the same afternoon, letters which conveyed the true and glad tidings of the conquest of Arangal, were received from Malik Nā'ib through the Ulāghs (الانان).¹

Sultān Quṭb'uddīn is generally described as a ruler soaked in wine and debauchery. His administration is a history of chaos and disorder, but it is strange to find that the postal system of the period was in very good order. The postal route from Daulatabad to Delhi at this period is vividly described in Ibn-Baṭṭūṭa's *Travels*. He writes: "Daulatabad is situated from Delhi at a distance of forty days, and on either side of the road leading to it.....trees are planted. The passers-by feel the atmosphere of gardens in the course of their journey. In between each mile there are three Dāwāhs, (دورات) (meaning post-houses). In every Dāwāh, passers-by can get necessary things as if they were in a market. This road goes likewise to Telangana and Ma'bar, and it takes six months to reach there. At every stage there is a royal residence and a rest-house for the travellers."² The facility and comforts of the routes helped travellers to cross long distances very swiftly. When Malik Khusro adopted a rebellious attitude against Sultān Quṭb'uddīn by giving himself an air of independence in Ma'bar, the nobles of the court forced him to retreat to Delhi. Khusro was sent on a palanquin, and he reached Delhi in seven or eight days.³ When Prince Muḥammad, entitled Ulugh Khān, was conducting military campaigns in Arangal in 721 A.H., his father Ghiyāth'uddīn Tughlaq had arranged to receive letters from the Deccan and to despatch replies twice a week. This arrangement was disturbed by some mischief-mongers, and Ulugh Khān failed to get any news from his father for about a month.⁴ Irresponsible men in the army spread the rumour that the king was dead and the throne of Delhi was in possession of some other ruler. There was a mutiny in the army and Ulugh Khān had to retreat post-haste to Deogir. But very soon letters were received from Delhi carrying the happy news that the king was alive. Baranī has given a long description of the disorder created in Ulugh Khān's army due to the absence of every kind of news from the Imperial City. The latter part of Baranī's statement is echoed in the following words of Khwāja Nizām'uddīn Aḥmad, the author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*: "At this juncture Dāk Chawki, which in the terminology of those people was called Ulāgh, was received from Delhi, bearing the Farmān that Sultān Ghiyāth'uddīn was alive and well and was, as usual, on the throne of Delhi."⁵

1. Baranī, pp. 331, 332; *Ṭabaqāt Akbarī*, Vol. I, p. 166, Farishta, p. 119.

2. *Riḥlah* by Ibn-Baṭṭūṭa, Vol. II, p. 33, Egypt edition.

3. Baranī, p. 400. Farishta, Vol. I, p. 126, *Ṭabaqāt Akbarī*, Vol. I, p. 181.

4. Baranī's words are (pp. 447, 448); راه الاغ و دهاوه بکلی منقطع شد و هر کس سرخود گرفت

5. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Vol. I, p. 195, Calcutta text.

When Ulugh Khān succeeded his father, bearing the title of Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq, he excelled his predecessors by making the most efficient and regular provision for the postal system. Ibn-Baṭṭūṭa, the itinerant historian, who remained in the service of Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq for eight years, writes of the postal system of the period: "The distance from Siwastan to Multan is of ten days, and it takes fifty days to reach Delhi from Multan. The letters of the news-writer reached the king through the post in five days. The postal system is called برید (Barīd) in this country. It is of two kinds, mounted couriers and foot-messengers. The mounted couriers are called اِلّاق (Ulāq).¹ After each four miles, the horses are changed. Horses are maintained by the State. For foot-messengers, there is the following arrangement. In between one mile, which is called Kurōh, there are three posts. This post is called دَاو (Dāwah).² At each third of a mile there is a populated village, outside of which there are built tower-houses for the runners. In every tower-house runners are found ready to depart. Every runner has a rod two yards long. Bells made of bronze are attached to the rod. When the runner leaves the village, he holds the letters in one hand and the rod in the other, and runs with all speed. The succeeding runner keeps himself ready by hearing the noise of the bells. He takes the letters and sets off. In this way letters are carried to their respective destinations. This kind of post is speedier than the horse-post. Some times fresh fruits are conveyed for the king from Khurāsān. It is by this channel also that great criminals are transported on cot. When I was in Daulatabad, water from the Ganges, which is a sacred river for the Hindus, was also conveyed to the king by this postal process. The Ganges was located from Daulatabad at the distance of forty days. The intelligencers also write to the king in detail about the arrival of a stranger. The king takes full notice of the information. The writers fully describe the stranger, his dress, the number of his companions, servants and beasts, as well as his movements and gestures. Every particular is duly communicated.³ The author of *Masālik-ul-Abṣār* (died in 749 A.H.), a foreigner, but a contemporary of Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq, informs us of a very ingenious system of news-agency in the Sultān's period. He writes that "all through the country, which separates the two capitals of the empire, Delhi and Deogir, the Sultān has had drums placed at every post-station. When any event occurs in a city or when the gate of one is opened or closed, the drum is instantly beaten, and in this manner the Sultān is daily and exactly informed at what time the gates of the most distant cities are opened and closed."⁴

1. Baranī, as we have studied previously, calls it اِلّاق (Ulāgh). بحاجے غین قاف ہم درست است. says برهان طاع (Ulāgh).

2. Baranī and other historians write دَاو (Dāwah).

3. Adapted from *Rihla* (Egypt edition), pp. 2, 3, and the Urdu translation by M. Hussain, pp. 2, 3.

4. Elliot, Vol. III, p. 582. Dr. I. H. Qureshi of Delhi University suggests that the drums could not have been intended to inform the Sultān of the closing and opening of the gates, but the kettle-drums were established so that an alarm sounded in a far-off frontier town could quickly reach the Sultān. (*Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, p. 199).

The drum-beaters were trained how to beat drums for a certain event. The news of victory, defeat, sudden invasion of the enemy, rebellion, murder, plunder, birth of a prince, death, marriage or important functions were thus relayed by particular kinds of beating of drums.

Abu'l-'Abbās Aḥmad Qalqashandī, another foreigner (died in 821 A.H.), while making a critical study of Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq's postal system writes in his *Subḥ'al-A'sha* (صبح الا عشی) : "The organisation of the correspondence department of the Sultān is very excellent. It is of different kinds. For example, from amongst the public, some persons are authorised to be acquainted with the general condition of the people. They report to their superior officers every kind of news, which are ultimately carried to the king. The arrangement of conveying news rapidly to the king is highly commendable. Houses are built on routes leading from different parts of the country to the imperial palace. This has helped to make the provision of the postal system very efficient, like that in Egypt and Syria. In the latter countries the postal system is better because populated localities are not far from one another, but the case of India is different. The inhabited localities are distantly situated there. In spite of this difficulty, there has been constructed a house at every four furlongs. And ten runners on each post are appointed to reach from one place to another. They convey letters, imperial orders, and other things from one end to another at full speed. And by the same process, the mail is carried to the imperial palace. In the postal routes there are situated mosques, markets, and wells, in proper places."¹

The above statement is corroborated by native historians also. The author of the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* (compiled eighty years after Sultān Muḥammad's death) writes, "In 727 A.H. Sultān Muḥammad started for Deogir. He established Dhāwāh (posts) at each Kurōh from Delhi to Deogir and gave lands to the men. The income from these lands was equal to their salary, and they carried mail from one Dhāwāh to another.² At every stage a small palace was constructed and a monastery also, which was placed in charge of a Shaikh. Provisions were made for travellers, so that they might get food, drink, and betel-leaves at any time they arrived there. On either sides of the roads there were planted trees, which exist to this day."

1. *Subḥ'al-A'sha*, Vol. V, p. 98, vide the Urdu extract in *Ma'ārif* (the Journal of Shibli Academy, Azamgarh) Vol. No. 21, No. 6, 26, No. 6.

2. Here the Persian version is very ambiguous. It says (pp. 98, 99) Calcutta text : *وهر الاغی که یابد در کت* وهر الاغی که یابد در کت. The above statement has been recorded by Mullā, 'Abdul-Qādir Badā'ūnī (a historian of Akbar's period) in the following words : "When the Sultān (i.e. Muḥammad Tughlaq) went to Deogir in 727 A.H., he stationed at every Kurōh from Delhi to Deogir Dhāwāh (دھاوہ) i.e., news bearer pykes, and at every stage built a house and a monastery, which had a Shaikh. Here food, drink, betel, and all requisites for a guest were available. And guides of either routes were instructed to save travellers from every kind of hardship. The effects of this order were to be seen for many long years."—(*Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, Vol. I., p. 226; Calcutta edition).

There is every reason to believe that Fīrōz Shāh maintained the excellent system of his illustrious predecessor, although the arrangement was sometimes badly disturbed. For example, when he was returning from Bengal he lost his way in the mountains and woods of Jajnagar. For six months he was entirely cut off from Delhi, and no news was received from either side. After a weary journey and arduous march of six months a road was discovered, and the Sultān determined to send an Ulāgh (a horse-messenger) to Delhi. "The Sultān gave public notice," writes Shams Sirāj 'Afif, the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Fīrōz Shāhī*, "that all who wished to write to their families and friends might take this opportunity. This gave great satisfaction and every man of the army, from the highest to the lowest, wrote some account of his condition. The letters were sent to the tent of the Sultān, and the number of them was so great that a camel-load of letters was sent to Delhi. When they reached the city the Khān-i-Jahān made great public rejoicing, the letters were piled in a heap before the palace, and all who expected letters were directed to come forward and receive them."¹ The postal system of Fīrōz Shāh was once again disturbed when he was lost along with his army in *Konchi Run*. In Delhi no Ulāgh was received from the imperial army, nor did any one get any letter.² Sikandar Lodi also had an efficient arrangement of the postal services. Khwāja Nizāmuddin Aḥmad, the author of the *Tabaqāt Akbarī*, says that the news-agency of Sikandar Lodi gave him such up-to-date information of every home and hearth that people believed that he had some geniū as his agents. And whenever the king sent his army in any direction, he issued two farmāns daily to it. One of these reached its destination in the early morning, giving instructions at what place the troops should halt after the days' march; and the other was received at the time of afternoon prayer or in the evening, giving details of the work to be done by the marching troops. The horses of the Dāk Chowkī were always kept in readiness for this. The king received daily and regularly the reports of prices and occurrences in the parganas and the dominions, and if anything went wrong by a hair's breadth in this process, he made an instant inquiry into it.³

Shēr Shāh's postal system has exacted praise from even the historians of the Mughal period. He built at a distance of every one⁴ or two⁵ kos a rest-house, which had two horses and two riders for conveying news quickly⁶ to the different parts of the State.⁷ 'Abbās Khān Shāwānī, the

1. 'Afif, pp. 172, 173, Calcutta text, vide also Elliot, Vol. III, p. 315.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 211. The actual words are: *الاغی درین مدت از لشکر نیامده و مکتوب کسیه نرسیده*

3. *Tabaqāt Akbarī*, Vol. I., p. 337-38, Calcutta, Farishta, Vol. I, p. 187.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 337.

5. *Tārīkh-i-Shēr Shāhī* by 'Abbās Khān, Elliot, Vol. IV, p. 417.

6. *Ibid.*, Elliot Vol. IV. 418.

7. Nizām-'uddin's version is couched in the following words: (Vol. II, p. 106

و در هر سرائی دوا سبب پام که بزبان هندی بڈاک چوکی مشهور است گذاشته بود

author of the *Tārīkh-i-Shēr Shāhī*, says that Shēr Shāh built altogether 1,700 Sarais (rest-houses), but, according to the version of the author of *Nawādir-ul-Hikāyāt*, there were 2,500 Sarais on the roads from Bengal to the Indus alone.¹ If the latter statement is taken to be true, it means that there were 5,000 horses and riders employed in postal services from Bengal to the Indus; otherwise, according to 'Abbās Khān, there were at least 3,400 horses and riders engaged in this service. The journey of the postal-runners was made easier and swifter by the net-work of different roads, which still exist as the monument of Shēr Shāh's glory. The longest road ran from Sonargaon (Bengal) to the Indus,² covering a distance of 1,500 kos. Another road led from Agra to Mandu,³ a third one went from Agra to the fort of Chitor, and a fourth from Lahore to Multan.⁴ These roads, which had shady trees on either side, were admirably connected with all the strategic frontiers, and the postal messengers were thus helped greatly in traversing the long distance very rapidly and quickly. So the news, through the Dāk-Chowkī, reached Shēr Shāh everyday from the Nilab and the extremity of Bengal.⁵ In an emergency, some horsemen rode with incredible speed. Once Husain Tashtdār (ewer-bearer) was sent on some business from Bengal. He went on travelling night and day. Whenever sleep overcame him, he placed himself on a bed, and the villagers carried him along on their shoulders. When he awoke, he again mounted a horse, and went on his way. In this manner he reached Chitor from Gaur in three days. The distance was about 800 miles.⁶

Bābur devised his own postal system, which was elaborate as well as scientific. The details of it may be learnt in his own words :

"On Thursday the 4th of the Latter Rabi' (935 A.H.), it was settled that Chigmāq Bēg with Shāhī tamghachi's⁷ clerkship, should measure the road between Agra and Kābul. At every 9th Kurōh (*circa.* 18m), a tower was to be erected 12 garis high, and having a char-dara (four-doored, open-on-all sides), on the top; at every 18th Kuroh (*cir.* 36m), 6 post-horses were to be kept fastened; and arrangement was to be made for the payment of post-masters and grooms, and for corn. The order was, "If the place where the horses are fastened up, be near a crown-domain, let those there provide for the matters mentioned; if not, let the cost be charged to the Bēg on whose pargana the post-house may

1. Elliot, Vol. IV, p. 417.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 417.

3. *Ṭabaqāt Akbarī*, Vol. II, p. 106.

4. Elliot, Vol., IV, p. 417.

5. *Ṭabaqāt Akbarī*, Vol. II, p. 106.

6. Elliot is surprised at this wonderful feat of Husain Tashtberdār, and wants his readers not to believe it, but the authors of *Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī*, *Wāqī'āt Mushtāqī*, and the *Tārīkh-i-Dā'ūdī* describe this heroic performance of the horsemen enthusiastically. Vide Elliot, Vol. IV, p. 418.

7. The bearer of the stamp (Tamgha), who by impressing it, gave quittance for the payment of tolls and other dues. Vide *Memoirs of Babur* by A. S. Beveridge, Vol. II, p. 629.

be. Chigmāq Bēg got out of Agra with Shāhī on that same day. ”¹

Bābur always insisted on prompt delivery of messages. Even before he planned the above great strategic road from Agra to Kabul, to facilitate and safeguard the military as well as postal communications, he received messages from the distant provinces of Badakhshān within a month. When Humāyūn was waging war in Badakhshān, Bābur reprimanded him for his carelessness in despatching business by writing to him that it was only a month's journey from Hindustan to Badakhshan, and yet the messengers sent by him (Bābur) took a year to return.²

When Bābur's successors established their rule firmly in India, they developed a full-fledged postal system throughout their dominions. For the sake of convenience we will first study the means and agencies through which letters were transmitted from one end to another, and then the different kinds of staff employed in the department, which was commonly known as Dāk Chowkī.

Akbar stationed two horses and several Mewras on main roads at every fifth Kurōh. By this arrangement whenever royal farmāns or letters of noblemen reached a Chowkī, the Mewras conveyed them on a horse to the next Chowkī. According to Farishta, fifty Kurōhs were thus traversed in one day and night. And he adds further, “Intelligence was carried to Ahmedabad, Gujrat from Agra in five days. And whenever a person was sent somewhere by the king or he wanted to reach the royal court, and it was required of him to finish the journey very rapidly, he travelled on horses of the Dāk Chowkī. Four thousand Mewras, who were well-known for their extraordinary rapid pace, were employed in the State. Many a time the Mewras have travelled on foot seven hundred Kurōhs in ten days.”³

The construction of new roads and the tranquillity of routes in Akbar's reign led to the efficient and extensive development of the postal system in

1. *Memoirs of Babur*, by A. S. Beveridge, Vol. II, pp. 629, 630. Bābur adds some notes on Kurōh and gari. A thousand paces (qadam) were equal to one Kurōh, and each gari was six hand-breadths. William Erskine, the author of *Bābur and Humāyūn* makes, on the basis of the smaller gaz of 24 inches, 9 Kurōhs to be 13.14 miles. According to A. S. Beveridge, each gari was equal to 24 inches.

2. *Memoirs of Babur* by A. S. Beveridge, Vol. II. 626.

3. Farishta, Vol. I, p. 272. This passage of Farishta is rendered by John Briggs in the following words, “Akbar established posts throughout his dominions, having two horses and a set of footmen stationed at every five coss (the Dāk Chowky). They are employed to convey letters on ordinary business or expresses to and from court. The footmen will travel fifty coss within the twenty-four hours, so that letter comes from Agra to Ahmadabad in five days. The distance cannot be less than five hundred miles, and the rate exceeds that of our best regulated posts in India. Four thousand runners were in permanent pay, some of whom, on extraordinary occasions (where there were no posts) have performed a journey seven hundred miles, in ten days, with post horses.” (*History of the Rise of the Mohammedan Power in India*, Vol. II).

Jahāngīr's period.¹ This facilitated trade and commerce also. Jahāngīr received celebrated melons from Karez, Badakhshān and Kabul, grapes from Samarkand as well as Badakhshān, sweet pomegranates from Yazd and the Subacida ones from Farrah, pears from Samarkand and Badakhshān, apples from Kashmir, Kabul, Jalalabad, and Samarkand pineapples from the European sea-ports, and oranges from Bengal. All these fruits were carried for Jahāngīr from hand to hand by the foot-messenger of the Dāk Chowkī, and he writes with exultation and surprise that although Karez and Bengal were situated at a distance of 1,400 and 1,000 miles respectively, melons and oranges were received from there in Delhi quite fresh and in good order.²

Strange to say, the Muslim rulers of India did not utilize pigeons as news-carriers although they were much in use in Iraq, Syria and Egypt. Jahāngīr, however, got some pigeons trained for the purpose, and these trained pigeons transmitted news from Mandu (Malwa) to Burhanpore, ordinarily in one paher (i.e., three hours). But when the weather was bad and rainy they reached Burhanpore in one and a half paher or at most two paher, and some of them got there in four ghari³ (hours).

When Jahāngīr died the news of his death was conveyed by Banarsi Das Mehta to Shāhjahān in Junair (Ahmadnagar), which he reached in twenty days.⁴ The distance was 1,500 miles. Shāhjahān also maintained his postal system through relays of fast messengers, stationed, as usual, at convenient stages. This helped him to have regular and prompt correspondence from Kabul, Balkh, Badakhshān, and Persia. When Prince Murād was leading the campaign in Balkh, Shāhjahān issued at short intervals from his capital detailed instructions regarding the plan of operations, and chided the prince for his tardiness, if there was any.⁵ Shāhjahān had arranged for his sons, deputed to the viceroyalty of distant provinces, to keep in the court their agents and official news-writers, who might communicate to their chiefs the important news of the court. And when the illness of Shāhjahān in the beginning of September 1657, rang the bell for the duel of succession between his sons, Dārā's immediate move was to suppress all news of his dying father's illness. He therefore appointed guards to watch the ferries and stop all the letters going to his brothers in Bengal, Gujrat, and the Deccan. The official news-writers and

1. Describing the postal system of this period Francisco Pelsaert writes "The king's letters are transmitted with incredible speed, because royal runners are posted in the villages four or five kos apart, taking turn of duty throughout the day and night, and they take over a letter immediately on its arrival, run with it to the next village in a breath, and hand it over to another messenger. So the letter goes steadily on and will travel 80 kos between night and day (The Remonstrance of Francisco Pelsaert, translated by Moreland as *Jahāngīr's India*, p. 58).

2. *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, pp. 173, 174, 211, Lucknow edition.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 192.

4. *Shāhjahān Nāmāh* by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kambōḥ Lahauri, p. 212, Vol. I, Calcutta edition.

5. *Bādshāh Nāmāh*, by 'Abdul-Ḥamīd Lahauri, Vol. II, p. 502.

the agents of the princes were interned, and strictly prohibited from communicating or reporting anything to their masters.¹ This created confusion and disorder throughout the empire. But the people of the city contrived to smuggle letters to the princes, so that Aurangzeb, on his way to Burhanpore from Bider, learnt on the 18th October 1657, from a letter of his agent at Delhi, that Shāhjahān had become helpless; on the 21st came another letter saying that the Emperor's illness was decreasing. A third letter, received on the 22nd, brought news of an opposite tenor: Dārā had become supreme at court and was daily strengthening his position. A secret message of a similar nature from the *Collector of Agra* also reached Aurangzeb at this time.²

Aurangzeb, when he got possession of the Crown, kept a strict supervision over the postal system of his kingdom. According to his orders, the postal runners were bound to cover one Jaribi Kurōh in one Ghari. One Jarīb equalled twenty-five Dhar'a (ذرع), and one Dhar'a (ذرع) amounted to forty-two fingers, and one Kurōh was equivalent to two hundred Jaribs, which amounted to five thousand Shāhjahānī Dhar'a (ذرع شاهجہانی). If any runner failed to cover the appointed distance or reached the destination late, he had to pay one-fourth of his salary as a fine. Runners reached Delhi from Ahmadabad ordinarily in twelve days, but special messengers on extraordinary occasions covered this distance in a week. The Zamindars, Thanadars, and the Faujdārs of the various localities were instructed to keep a watch on runners, and facilitate safe swift journey for them from one post to another. They were also held responsible for any delay of the mails. Each province had a large number of posts. There were for example the following twenty-seven posts (Chowkis) between Ahmadabad and Ajmer: (1) Kali, (2) Adalj, (3) Pansar, (4) Jaurang, (5) Mahsama, (6) Bhand, (7) Unj, (8) Sayyedpur, (9) Sated, (10) Jaludi, (11) Palanpur, (12) Shaunri, (13) Dantiwara, (14) Khaunwara, (15) Pantiwara, (16) Bant, (17) Budh Kanan? (18) Dongri, (19) Kodi, (20) Bhilmal, (21) Sount, (22) Torna, (23) Mudra, (24) Jalore, (25) Debadas, (26) Baurani, (27) Khandab. Sixty-two runners (Mewras) were employed between these posts. Their pay totalled two hundred and fifty-five rupees per month. From Ahmadabad to Bharoach, there were the following sixteen posts: (1) Batwah, (2) Barijari, (3) Khainri, (4) Mahmudabad, (5) Andeej, Salod, (6) Naryad, (7) Boryaee, (8) Hadgod, (9) Basad, (10) Ranauli, (11) Baroda, (12) Hantavi, (13) Karwan, (14) Chaurinda, (15) Karhali, (16) Bharoach. Thirty-five runners, at a total salary of rupees one hundred and eight and annas four per month, were deputed between these posts.³

The royal treasury was also transmitted from different provinces to the Centre through the posts, but unlike the royal mail, it changed posts on

1. 'Ālamgīr Nāmah, by M. Kazin, p. 28, Calcutta Edition.

2. Culled from Ādāb-i-Ālamgīrī, by I. N. Sarkar, in *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. I, p. 350.

3. *Mir'at Ahmadi*, Vol. II, pp. 117, 118, Bombay edition.

the frontiers of provinces only. When a carriage of the royal treasury, writes the author of *Riyād-us-Salātīn*, enters another province, the Subedar receives it and carries into his fort under the supervision of his men. He then loads the treasury into another carriage, and sends it off accompanied by guards. Each Subedar follows the same procedure, until the treasury reaches the Centre.¹ A layman despatched his money to distant places through Shroffs. The author of the *Khulāṣta-ut Tawārīkh* (compiled in 1695 A.D.) writes :

“ The people of this country are so honest in their monetary transactions that even if an unknown and strange person deposits one lakh of rupees with Shroffs, without any witness, the latter will return the rupees on demand at any time without any delay and discussion. If any person, owing to the risks of a distant journey, cannot carry money personally, the honest Shroffs take the amount from him, and write on a slip of paper in Hindi, without any seal or envelope, to their agents, who work on their behalf in different parts of the country. This paper is called in this country Hundi (هندی). These agents, who are very true in their dealings, pay the cash, according to the instructions in the paper, without making any argument, even if they are living at the distance of two hundred farsakhs. And it is strange to find that if a person wants to sell the Hundi, which is but a piece of paper, he can do it, and the purchaser, after getting a little profit from the seller, realises the amount from the proper place. And it is still more strange to find that traders, owing to the dangers of the roads, place their goods and commodities at the disposal of these people (i.e., Shroffs), who arrange to convey them safely to their owners. This process is called by the people بيمه (Bima).²

Now let us describe the staff of the postal department as it existed during the rule of the Timurite dynasty. Each of these rulers had a very elaborate secretariat called, دارالانشاء (Department of Letters). This department, according to the instructions of the emperors, sent Farmāns, Shuqqa (letter written by the Emperor directly or in his own person to any other person), or Nishān (a letter from a prince of royal dynasty or any royal person except the emperor), or Ḥasb-ul-Hukm (a letter written by a minister in his own person but under the emperor's direction and conveying his orders), or Sanad (a letter of appointment), Parwānah (an administrative order to a subordinate official), or Dastak (a short official permit), to the Dārogha-i-Dāk Chawkī, who was the chief of the postal system. He despatched royal mails from the Centre to the different parts of the provinces, and in return received them from these parts for the emperor's

1. *Riyād-us-Salātīn*, p. 257, Calcutta edition.

2. *Khulāṣat-ut-Tawārīkh*, a manuscript, preserved in the Library of the Shibli Academy, Azamgarh. It is a general history of India from the earliest times down to the accession of Aurangzeb (1068 A.H. 1659 A.D.). It was compiled by Munshi Sujān Rai Khattri of Patiala in 1107 A.H. (1695 A.D.). A brief note on Aurangzeb's reign, its duration and principal events, was added subsequently.

perusal. He enjoyed great influence and trust. At every headquarters of the province also, there was stationed a Dārogha-i-Dāk Chawki, who in his subordinate position enjoyed the same status and influence as his chief had at the Centre. He received mail from the Central Government for officers deputed to provinces. And for the Centre, besides the official despatches of the provincial officers, he received reports of the Waqā'i' Nigār (روائع نگار), Sawānīh Nawīs or Khufya Nawīs (سوانح نویسی یا خفیہ نویسی), and Harkārah (حرکارہ). Waqā'i' Nigār was a public reporter, who was deputed to a province to report occurrences. He in his turn appointed in the parganas, as well as in the offices of the Nāzim, the Diwān, the Faujdār, the court of Justice and Kotwal's Chabūtra, agents who brought to him every evening a written statement of what had occurred during the day. These reports were then sent to the provincial Dārogha-i-Dāk Chawki, who despatched them to the centre. The Waqā'i' Nigār also accompanied expeditionary troops to report the daily occurrences of the long marches and battles.

The Swānīh Nawīs served as a check on the Waqā'i' Nigār, who sometimes failed in his duty by entering into collusion with the local officers. Accordingly, the Sawānīh Nawīs was appointed with instructions to reside *in cognite* in the province. The local authority did not even know his name. He was also called Khufya Nawīs (خفیہ نویسی). But this Sawānīh Nawīs was later on entrusted with the duty of supervising the postal arrangements within the province. In this capacity he sent to the Central Government weekly reports of the Waqā'i' Nigār and Harkārah, as well as the application of the Nāzim and the Diwān along with the cash balance of the royal treasury. Like the Waqā'i' Nigār, the Sawānīh Nawīs also had his agents in different places. He received from the Centre orders also issued to the Nāzim and the Diwān regarding the appointment, dismissal, or escheating of the property of a Maṣābdār, and then despatched them to the proper places.

The Harkārah was a servant of provincial grade. He reported the news from all sides to the Nāzim of the province. But he sometimes sent letters enclosed in envelopes to be despatched direct to the Imperial Court along with the provincial mail.

Reports of the Waqā'i' Nigār were, as a rule, to be sent once a week and the statement of the Sawānīh Nawīs twice a week, and the Akhbār of the Harkārah once a month. But according to the author of *Mir'at Aḥmadi*, the practice in Gujrat early in the 18th century was to send all these papers to the Emperor along with the dispatch of the provincial Nāzim, Diwān, and cash balance of the treasury once a week. The above reports were sent in a hollow cylinder, the mouth of which was sealed.

The mail, as has been described, was conveyed by Mewras from one post to another. Each post had according to the author of *Mir'at Aḥmadi* two Tārīkh Nawīs (تاریخ نویسی), two male persons, and a Darogha. By Tārīkh-Nawīs is meant perhaps a clerk who wrote the date of the arrival

and departure of the mail. "Two male persons" probably means the postmen, and the Dārogha was in charge of the post-houses. When a postal runner started from the Central Government, he had with him a permit, duly sealed and signed by the Dārogha-i-Dāk Chawki. This served as an obligation for a Faujdār, a Zamīndār or a Thanadār to provide in their localities a safe journey for the postal runner, who was conducted on his route by guides. For his return journey he had the same permit from the Sawānīḥ Nawīs.¹

SYYYED SABAHUDDIN.

1. Gleaned from *Mir'āt Ahmadi*, Vol. II., pp. 116, 117, 118. Le Bon, in his *Civilization of India*, making a general review of the postal system of the Muslim rulers of India, says, "As the emperors of Delhi stood in need of knowing the occurrences of the different provinces, so they had an excellent arrangement of the postal system. Letters and information reached them swiftly and properly. The mail was carried by runners, who were changed at short distances. They passed along the great roads of the country. The roads which were difficult and sparsely populated, had here and there white stones, which showed the way to the runners at night. It appears that the roads were in good order, for the French traveller Tavernier, who toured India in the 16th century, says that the roads were in better condition than those of France and Italy.—(From Urdu translation by Sayyed 'Ali Belgrami, p. 317).

AL-MĀWARDĪ: A SKETCH OF HIS LIFE AND WORKS

THE glorious règime of the Abbasides was really the Augustan period of Islamic history, and is rightly called the Golden Age of Muslim civilization and culture. An intellectual movement carried out to a vast and varied extent marks the literary tendencies of that age. The acquisition of arts and sciences, the translation of Greek classics into Arabic, and the wide-spread patronage of scholars and savants are salient features of that period. The literary history of this particular period richly abounds in great scholars in every science, of which a nation can justly be proud. Among the literary geniuses of that age was al-Māwardī, the subject of our present paper.

Al-Khatīb of Baghdad, on the authority of Abū 'Alī Ḥasan b. Dā'ūd, relates that the people of Baṣra always took pride in their three learned countrymen and their works, viz., Khalīl b. Aḥmad (d. 175 A.H.) and his work *Kitāb-ul-'Ain*; Sībawayh (d. 180 A.H.) and his *Kitāb-un-Naḥw*; al-Jāhīz (d. 255 A.H.) and his *al-Bayān-wat-Tabyīn*. I would add to this the name of a fourth scholar al-Māwardī, the learned Jurisconsult and political economist of Baṣra, whose monumental work *al-Aḥkām-us-Sultāniyah* is a high water-mark in the politico-religious literature of Islam.

BIRTH, NAME, FAMILY AND EDUCATION

His name was 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, Abū'l-Ḥasan¹ being his Kunyah, or patronymic, and al-Māwardī his family surname. He was born in 364/1072² at Baṣra in an Arab family who either carried on trade in rose-water or manufactured it, hence the *sobriquet* al-Māwardī.³

1. In Abū'l-Fidā, Ibn Athīr and Ibn Jauzī, the Kunya is Abū'l-Ḥusain, which is not correct.

2. The biographers of Māwardī agree that he died in 450 at the age of 86 years, and the date of his birth can therefore be conveniently fixed at 364 A.H.

3. Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, fol. 504.

Māwardī had a son named Abu'l-Fāiḍ 'Abd-ul-Wahhāb who died in his father's lifetime, as his death is recorded in the events of the year 441 A.H., by Ibn-Jauzī and Ibn-Athīr.¹ They say that he was appointed as an approved witness,² in 431 A.H., by Qāḍī Ibn Mākūla,³ who appointed him in deference to the high position occupied by his father, al-Māwardī.

Māwardī at first studied jurisprudence under his countryman, Abu'l-Qāsim 'Abdul-Wāhid aṣ-Ṣaimarī (d. 386 A.H.), a learned theologian and a leading Shafī'ite jurist under whom students from far off countries came to receive instruction.⁴ He proceeded afterwards to Baghdad to prosecute his studies further under Shaikh Abū-Hāmid al-Isfrā'īnī (d. 406).⁵ He also read with Abū-Muḥammad 'Abdullāh al-Bāfī (d. 398), an eminent scholar, an eloquent speaker and learned theologian of Baghdād, well-versed in jurisprudence, grammar, literature and poetry.⁶

STUDIES AND ACADEMIC CAREER

MĀWARDĪ was well-read in the Islamic sciences of Ḥadīth, Fiqh, Qur'ānic commentary and Sirah as is amply borne out by his erudite writings on these subjects. He was also proficient in the subjects of politics, ethics, literature and poetry. Here some details regarding his academic attainments are given which have been gathered from different sources.

1. As a Traditionist.

Māwardī lived in an age when Ḥadīth was the order of the day and every scholar, however profound he was, used to receive instruction in Ḥadīth and acquire it from different persons even inferior to him in learning. Māwardī himself was one of the trustworthy guarantors of the

1. *Al-Muntazam*, VIII, p. 142; *al-Kāmil*, X, p. 194. Ibn-Athīr gives his Kunyah as Abul-Qāsim.

2. In the 4th century *Shuhūd*, or notaries or permanent approved witnesses, were appointed by the Qāḍī. They were officials of the Qāḍī who assisted him in verifying legal matters and also decided small disputes. They were young lawyers who later received judicial appointments (*Ency. of Islam*, IV, p. 262; *Mez, Renaissance of Islam*, pp. 228-229).

3. Ḥusain b. 'Alī b. Ja'far (b. 368-d. 447) was appointed Qāḍī-ul-Quḍāt by caliph al-Qādir in 427. A theologian and jurist (*Muntazam*, VIII, p. 167; Subki, III, p. 152).

4. Subki, *Ṭabaqāt*, II, p. 243; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam-ul-Buldān*, V, p. 406; according to Dhahabi (*History of Islam*) he lived as late as 402 at Baṣra (Ibn-Khal, *De Slane* II. 226). The name is derived from Ṣaimara, one of the canals of Baṣra.

5. The prominent Shafī'ite jurist, about whom it has been remarked that had the Imām Shafī'i seen him, he would have been very much pleased with him. Seven hundred students daily attended his lectures on jurisprudence. Ibn Khall., I, pp. 19-20; *al-Muntazam*, VII, pp. 277-278; Subki, III, p. 303, Yāqūt *Mu'jam*, I, p. 229.

6. 'Abdullāh b. Muḥammad al-Bukhārī of Bāf, a village in the district of Khwārizm, Subki II, 233-234.

Prophet's sayings, which he related from and transmitted to many of his contemporaries when he permanently settled at Baghdād, in the quarter of az-Za'farānī.¹

The following traditionists were the masters (شيوخ) of Māwardī in Ḥadīth¹:—

1. Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Jabalī (d. 413).—A traditionist and jurisconsult of Baṣra and a pupil of Abu'l-Ḥalifa.²

2. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Zajr al-Minqarī.

3. Muḥammad b. al-Mu'allā al-Azdi.

4. Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Baghdādī.

Several learned men studied Ḥadīth and Fiqh under him.³

None of Māwardī's works on Ḥadīth proper has come down to us, but a large number of Ahādīth quoted in his printed works, viz., *al-Aḥkām-us-Sulṭāniya*, *A'lām-un-Nubūwah* and *Adab-ud-Dunyā wad-Dīn*, give us an idea of his vast knowledge in this particular branch of Islamic learning.

Subki has related two sayings from Māwardī in his *Ṭabaqāt*,⁴ giving his own Isnād, or chain of guarantors.⁵

Māwardī's vast knowledge of Ḥadīth literature can be gauged from his work *أعلام النبوة* on a special branch of Sirat, discussing the miracles of the Prophet in his words and deeds, their bearing on his mission, the difference between miracle and magic, etc. Many books have been written on this subject but Tāsh Köprüizādeh's opinion is that there is no other book on the subject so informative and excellent as that of Māwardī. The book comprises 21 chapters and 165 pages, in which Māwardī has discussed at length the proofs of the Prophet's mission, the Qur'ān as his miracle performed by Allāh in order to prove the sincerity of His apostle; proofs of his infallibility, his miracles performed in deeds and words, his prayers answered by God, his warnings against things to happen after him, his miracles in the animal, the vegetable and the mineral worlds, prophecies of other prophets regarding his coming as the last prophet, the purities of his blood in his generation and birth, his moral conduct and virtues, his appearance and the establishment of his mission, the admission of the genii regarding his prophetship and their profession of Islam; these are the contents of this small treatise which furnishes very valuable information not only on the life of the Prophet but also on the customs, superstitions and beliefs of the pre-Islamic

1. *Tā'riḫ Baghdād*, No. 6539.

2. Sam'āni, fol. 121.

3. See under "Māwardī as a teacher."

4. Vol. III, p. 306.

5. See under "Māwardī as a teacher."

Arabs. A modern author has profusely drawn upon this book in his monumental work on the history of the Arabs.¹

2. As a *Jurisconsult*.

Islamic law and jurisprudence was Māwardī's favourite subject in which he had specialized and acquired a high degree of proficiency, especially in the *Furū'* (أفروع), or doctrine of applied *Fiqh* of the Shāfi'ite school. His deep study of the principles and branches of Islamic jurisprudence has built up his reputation as one of the most learned jurists of his time, and he is counted as one of the Imāms, or leader, of the Shāfi'ite school. His masterly work *al-Ḥāwī* is a positive proof of Māwardī's profound learning and extensive knowledge of *Fiqh*, and reflects much credit on his high attainments in this subject. This book of Māwardī has been used as a great work of reference by the later jurists, and was a source of inspiration to them in solving the most difficult and knotty problems of Islamic jurisprudence. The book *al-Ḥāwī* is highly spoken of by al-Isnawī, the author of biographies of the Shāfi'ite jurists, who says that 'no such book has ever been written on the subject.'² This great work was condensed by Māwardī into an epitome and was named *al-Iqnā'*, about which he says that he spread jurisprudence into four thousand folios (i.e. 8,000 pages), meaning thereby his work *al-Ḥāwī*, and condensed it into 40, i.e., his book *al-Iqnā'*.³

It is related by Yāqūt⁴ that al-Qādir-Billāh, the 25th 'Abbasid caliph (381-422), had a very high opinion of him.

He had also written *الكتاب في شرح مختصر المزني* as recorded by Subkī; *كتاب في البيوع*; it is referred to by the author himself in his *ادب الدنيا والدين* but it has not come down to us. Māwardī was a Mujtahid or an independent interpreter of the canon law and he did not believe in such analogical deductions as are not supported by original sources of the Islamic Shari'at, but are merely based on the rigid conventionalities of the later jurists. For instance, in the inheritance of *Dhawī'l-Arḥām*, or distant kindred, he differs from older jurists of his school.

3. As a *Commentator of the Qur'ān*.

Among the old commentators of the Qur'ān Māwardī is counted as one of the best interpreters of holy writ. His commentary entitled *an-Nukāt-wa'l-'Uyūn*, though not so well-known as other famous works on

1. *Bulūgh-ul-Arab-fi-Aḥwālil-'Arab*, by Alūsizāda in 3 Vols., Baghdad بلوغ العرب في أحوال العرب

2. *Shadharāt-udh-Dhahab*, II. p. 285.

3. *al-Muntaẓam*, VIII, p. 199; Bundārī, 22.

4. *Irshād*, V, p. 408. This is related by Yāqūt on the authority of Māwardī's pupil 'Abdu'l-Malik al-Ḥamadhānī.

the subjects, is taken to be a classical work like that of his contemporary al-Qushairī and later writers such as ar-Rāzī, al-Iṣbahānī, and al-Kirmānī. Although some of his critics have found fault with certain of his interpretations and have alleged him to hold Mu'tazilite views, this does not seem to be correct, as his interpretations stand in perfect agreement with those of the Orthodox school, and the learned divine Ibn-Taimīya, while giving his opinion about the Orthodox commentaries of the Qur'ān, has enumerated Māwardī's commentary among the good books on the subject.¹ However, Māwardī's commentary seems to have been so popular that a scholar made an abridgement of it.² The later Persian commentator al-Kāshifī (d. 910 A.H.) refers to this commentary in his book *Tuhfat-us-Ṣalawāt*.³ Probably it was due to the fame of *an-Nukāt wal Uyūn* that a Spanish scholar Abul-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Abi'l-Qāsim b. 'Abdillāh b. 'Alī al-Muqri (d. 472) of Saraquṣṭa (Saragossa), in the course of his travels to the Near East for the purpose of acquiring knowledge, read this book with al-Māwardī.⁴ Besides the commentary on the Qur'ān, Māwardī also wrote a book on the Qur'ānic similitudes (امثال القرآن), the importance of which has been emphasised by Māwardī himself in the following words, as quoted by Tāsh Köprüzāda⁵ and as-Suyūṭī⁶:—

"One of the main Qur'ānic sciences is the science of parables or similitudes. People have neglected it as they have confined their attention to similitudes only and have lost sight of the similars mentioned in the similes. A similitude without a similar is a horse without a bridle, or a camel without a rein."

This observation of Māwardī shows what deep insight he had into the subject. Probably he was the first man to write a book on the subjects as as-Suyūṭī has pointed out.

4. As a Literary Man.

Although Māwardī was principally devoted to theological studies, yet he possessed in him a real aptitude and taste for literature and poetry. His works contain fine specimens of his literary style and show a perfect command over the Arabic language. The Arabic proverbs, aphorisms, literary traditions and quotations from classical Arabic poems, profusely scattered in his books, testify to his linguistic ability and literary craftsmanship.

1. Kunnāsh of Ibn-us-Sārim, cf. az-Zahra.

2. Ḥājī Khalīfa, I, p. 314.

3. *Ibid.*, II, p. 614 and I, p. 263.

4. Amir Shakib Arsalān, *al-Ḥulal as-Sundusiya*, II, 20.

5. *Miftāḥ-us-Sa'ādah*, Vol. II, pp. 368-369.

6. *Al-Itqān*, II, p. 222. The original text runs as follows:— "قال الماوردي من اعظم علم القرآن علم امثاله والناس في غفلة عنه لا يشتغلون بالامثال وانما هم المشتغلون بالمثل بل انما هم كالفارس بلا حمار والناقة بلا ذمام"

That Māwardī was well-read in classical Arabic poetry and remembered innumerable verses of the celebrated Arabic poets, is evident from the numerous quotations in his writings. Subki tells us that Māwardī was prone to quote lyrical verses in his theological writings.¹

5. As a Political Theorist.

Māwardī was a great political economist, though not a regular student of political science, and his speculative political thinking deserves special attention. He is amongst the earliest Muslim savants who wrote on the subjects of Islamic political ideals.

Māwardī wrote the following treatises on political science :—

1. *al-Aḥkām-us-Sultāniya* (Laws concerning Rulership).
2. *Ādāb-ul-Wazīr* (Ethics of the Wazīr).
3. *Siyāsāt-ul-Malik* (King's Politics).
4. *Tashīl-un-Naṣr-wat-Ta'jīl-uz-Zafar* (Facilitating the Conquest and Hastening the Victory).

Of these four books Nos. 1 and 2 have been published, the other two are still in manuscript.

The *Ādāb-al-Wazīr* deals with the definitions and classification of the Wazīr, or prime minister, his duties and functions, his powers and limitations. It contains sound advice to ministers and lays down rules and practical suggestions which the ministers ought to follow while functioning as a head of the State at the helm of affairs. Upon the duties, instructions, and admonitions to Wazīrs a vast literature has sprung up, and in this class of literature Māwardī's work has been considered most important, since it contains a concise survey of all that is worth knowing in any branch of Islamic culture.

Of all the works of Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām us-Sultāniya* is by far the most important. It is a book of outstanding merit, dealing with the Islamic public laws. In view of the large literature on the book,² and its

1. *Ṭabaqāt*, III, p. 308.

2. Max Enger, *De vita et scriptis Mawardii*, 1851.

Von Hammer, *Spirit of Islam*, p. 485.

Von Kremer, (trans. Khuda Bakhsh), Vol. I, 268-69.

Brockelmann, *G.A.L.* in loco ; *Encyclopædia of Islam*, in loco.

Clement Huart, *Arabic Literature*, p. 243-44.

Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 338.

Arnold, *Caliphate*, p. 70-73.

Margoliouth and Carra de Vaux, *Encyclopædia of Religions and Ethics*, VI, 724-25.

Ruben Levy, *Sociology of Islam*, Vol. I, 295-300.

Khuda Bakhsh, *Essays: Indian and Islamic*, p. 43-47.

Sherwani, *Studies in the Early History of Muslim Political Thought*, p. 148-65.

Siddiqi, *Caliphate and Kingship in Mediæval Persia*, p. 11, f. n.

JRAS, 1910, p. 750-61 ; 1911, p. 635-74 ; 1916, I, 280-87 ; II, 60-77. (*Qāḍi*, *Mazālim*, and *Hisba*).

availability in French and Urdu, we are spared the necessity of analysing its contents. However, it may be pointed out here that as regards the contents of the book Māwardī has closely followed the *Kitāb-ul-Umm* of ash-Shāfi'.

6. As a Teacher.

It is related by Abū-Ishāq ash-Shīrāzī, a contemporary of Māwardī who had once met him¹ that Māwardī imparted instruction at Baṣra and Baghdād for many years.² Subki and Khaṭīb give the names of some of the famous pupils who read with him law, Hadīth and Qur'ānology.

It is not known whether Māwardī taught his pupils in some Madrasah or mosque, but one of his pupils, 'Abdu'l-Malik,³ says that he used to receive instruction from Māwardī at Baghdād at the latter's residence. From this it is certain that at Baghdād Māwardī used to teach at home.

7. As a Judge.

We know nothing of Māwardī's family and their station in life. He was appointed Qāḍī or judge in various towns, and occupied the high and responsible post of Grand Qāḍī (*القاضي القضاة*), for which he might have been highly remunerated. We possess some information regarding his being a rich man, as he was handsomely rewarded by the Saljūq and the Buwayhid princes in the course of the various diplomatic missions to which he was deputed by the caliph. The remark made by Jalāl-ud-Dawlah⁴ about Māwardī's surpassing other men of his class in wealth and riches, testifies to his sound pecuniary position.

Māwardī was appointed a Qāḍī (judge) in several towns and was raised afterwards to the high posts of Qāḍī al-Quḍāt (i.e., Supreme Judge) at Ustuwa, a rural district of Nishāpūr⁵ and was finally elevated in the year 429, to the highest position of Aqḍ-al-Quḍāt,⁶ or Grand Qāḍī, at Baghdād, where he settled permanently in a quarter named Darb az-Za'farānī.⁷ The title of Aqḍ-al-Quḍāt conferred upon him was declared to be illegal by other jurists like Abū-Tayyib, at-Tabarī and aṣ-Ṣaimari, who took exception to it although they had allowed the title of the "King of Kings" (*ملك الملوك*) for the Prince Jalāl-ud-

1. Subki, III, p. 95.

2. *Tabaqāt al-Fuqahā'*, p. 110.

3. A Shāfi'ite jurist who died at Baghdad in 489. He read Fiqh with Māwardī and studied for five years under him.

4. See under 'character and conduct.'

5. Brockleermann, I, p. 386.

6. Yāqūt, V, p. 407.

7. Sam'āni, fol. 504, a quarter at Karkh (Baghdad) named after 'Abū-ʿAlī Ḥasan b. Muḥammad as-Ṣabbāḥ az-Za'farānī. Mostly the merchants and wealthy persons resided in this quarter and very often it provided an abode for jurisconsults. (*Mu'jam-ul-Buldān*, IV, p. 48).

Dawlah, which Māwardī regarded as the usurpation of God's title. But Māwardī did not care about such opinions and enjoyed the title till his death.¹ This title of 'Aqd-al-Qudāt continued to be conferred on the judges as late as the beginning of the seventh century Hijri, as Yāqūt tells us that in his time there was one condition attached to the title to the effect that it should be regarded as inferior to the title of Qādī al-Qudāt, and so it became a matter of mere conventionality rather than one of real significance and propriety. Brockelmann ascribes to him a work on *ادب القاضي* (MS. Istanbul).

MĀWARDĪ CHARGED WITH MU'TAZILISM

MĀWARDĪ was a staunch adherent of the Sunnite faith and belonged to the Shāfi'ite school, as is evident from his writings on the Shāfi'ite jurisprudence. He was recognised as a leading exponent of the Shāfi'ite Fiqh, on which he was regarded as an authority. It is, however, strange to find him charged by some scholars with holding Mu'tazilite views. Yāqūt, on his own information, speaks of him as a Shāfi'ite in the branches of Fiqh (فروع) and a Mu'tazilite in its principles (أصول). Šafadī (d. 764) while enumerating the names of the Mu'tazilite celebrities, observes that the Shāfi'ite are generally inclined towards Ash'arism, the Ḥanafite to Mu'tazilism, the Mālikites are Qadarites and the Ḥanbalites are Ḥashwiya and so to find the name of Māwardī among the Mu'tazilites appears to him very strange.² Ibn-Hijjat al-Ḥamawī (d. 837 A.H.) has also repeated this remark and while giving the names of the leading Mu'tazilites, like Jāhiz, Wāṣil, 'Abdul-Jabbār, ar-Rummānī, and Abū-'Alī, puts at the end the name of Māwardī, but expresses his astonishment by saying: "It is very strange."³

The traditionist, Ibn-uṣ-Ṣalāh⁴ observes:—

"I used to hear much about Māwardī, May God forgive him, being charged with Mu'tazilism but I never inquired into it. I used to connive at this charge and tried to explain away those of Māwardī's interpretations of certain Qur'ānic verses in respect of which there is a difference of opinion among the Sunni and Mu'tazilite commentators. I used to observe that perhaps Māwardī's object was nothing but to collect in his commentary on the Qur'ān all that has been said, rightly or wrongly, for and against, on any subject and hence his quotations from the Mu'tazilite writers. But I found that he has adopted such views of the Mu'tazilites as are based on their wrong principles, for instance,

1. *Irshad*, V, p. 407.

2. *al-Ghāyṭh ul-Musajjam fi Sharḥ-i-Lāmiyat il-'Ajām*, II, p. 32.

3. *Thamarāt-ul-Awraq*, p. 7, Cairo.

4. Abu-'Amr Taqī-ud-Dīn 'Uthmān b. 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān (d. 643), a well-known Shafi'ite jurist and traditionist.

his admission that God does not like idol worship, and while commenting on the following verse of the Qur'ān :—

وَكَذَٰلِكَ جَعَلْنَا لِكُلِّ نَبِيٍّ عَدُوًّا شَيَاطِينَ الْإِنسِ وَالْجِنِّ

'And likewise did we make for every messenger an enemy from among men and genii.'¹ Māwardī observes :—'The word جَعَلْنَا (did We make) has a twofold meaning : 1st, God ordained them to become enemies ; 2nd, God predestined them and did not forbid them from becoming enemies.'

"Here Māwardī does not refute the interpretation which is in conformity with the Mu'tazilite view, and that is why his commentary is full of idle explanations of the people of false creed (أهل الباطل), which he has so surreptitiously inserted in his book that nobody but learned scholars could make them out. Notwithstanding this, it is a book written by a man who does not wish to be associated with the Mu'tazilites and so he tries to conceal such ideas of his as are in perfect agreement with their views. And again he is not entirely a Mu'tazilite, as he does not subscribe to their open views such as that of the 'creation of the Qur'ān,' as is borne out by his interpretation of the following verse :—

'And the prophet brings to them nothing new of their Lord's revealing.'²

مَا يَأْتِيهِمْ مِنْ ذِكْرِ مِنْ رَبِّهِمْ مُحَدَّثٌ

Still, however, we see him share the views of the Mu'tazilites on the doctrine of predestination, for which the people of Baṣra have been notorious from time immemorial."³

One is astonished at the misapprehension of the learned traditionist who is bold enough to accuse Māwardī of Mu'tazilism and in the same breath to express his doubts regarding this allegation. If in his commentary on the Qur'ān, Māwardī has written anything which coincides with the Mu'tazilite views, it does not necessarily imply that he belonged to that school, and, we are afraid, many a commentator would not escape such an imputation if he were to be condemned for the simple quoting of the doctrines of this school of thought without expressing an opinion thereon. Another learned traditionist and great biographer, Ibn-Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, while noticing Māwardī,⁴ has rightly remarked that it is not proper to confound him with the Mu'tazilites. Further on, he observes that the

1. Qur'ān, ch. VI. The Cattle, 112.

2. Qur'ān, ch. Prophets, I. The Mu'tazilites generally base their argument on this verse in order to prove that the Qur'ān is created. See Rāzī's *Tafsīr*, Vol. VI. p. 9.

3. Subḥī, III, pp. 303-305.

4. *Lisān-ul-Mizān*,

doctrines of this school are well known, one of them is the obligatory nature of the ordinances *وجوب الأحكام* and putting them into action and whether this is derived from Reason or Faith. Māwardī says it is derived from Reason. This and other such views are found in Māwardī's commentary.¹ Ibn 'Imād² the Ḥanbalite (d. 1089), after quoting the criticism of Ibn-uṣ-Ṣalāh, writes that he has accused Māwardī of Mu'tazilism for such of the doctrines as he has himself supposed to coincide with the Mu'tazilite views. But Māwardī does not concur with all the principles of the Mu'tazilites. One of their doctrines is the "createdness of Paradise," which has been refuted by Māwardī."

From the above-mentioned statements of learned theologians it is clear that Māwardī had no connection whatever with the Mu'tazilite school. We must also not lose sight of the fact that the conditions prevailing in Māwardī's times were such as to impeach any learned theologian whose views happened to coincide in any respect with any of the heterodox views. This attitude implied a certain predilection on the part of the adherents of one school for the veracity of their own *bona fide* dogmas. The Qadarites or Predestinarians were mostly Ahl-ul-Ḥadīth, but when one of their leading men became a convert to Mu'tazilism a considerable section of the Qadarite joined the Mu'tazilites. Thus Qadari and Mu'tazilites soon became synonymous terms.³ From this point of view Māwardī cannot be blamed for holding Qadarite opinions which he shared in common with most of the learned theologians of the Shāfi'ite School, particularly these belonging to Baṣra. "In this town," observes Von Kremer, "for the first time the doctrine of Free Will, which had its origin at Damascus, was developed into a rationalistic school of theology, which subsequently under the name of Mu'tazilite played a distinguished role."⁴

MĀWARDĪ'S ROLE IN THE POLITICAL AFFAIRS OF HIS TIMES

ON account of his venerable position as a learned theologian and jurisconsult, Māwardī was held in high esteem by the public as well as by the caliphs of Baghdad and the Saljūq and the Buwayhid Amīrs who virtually ruled over the caliph's territories. He was sent several times on diplomatic missions and acted as plenipotentiary of the caliph al-Qā'im-bi-Amrillāh⁵ (391-460), the 26th Abbasid caliph of Baghdad. On

1. *Lisān-ul-Mizān*.

2. *Shadharāt-adh-Dhahab*, Vol. VIII.

3. *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. III, p. 789.

4. Von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, trans. Khuda Bakhsh, p. 94.

5. Brockleemann (*Ency. Islam*, III, p. 416) says "He (Māwardī) often acted for Caliph al-Kādir (381-422 991-1031) in his negotiations with the Buwayhid who then ruled at Irak." But this is not correct as according to Arab historians Māwardī was first sent as an envoy by al-Qā'im at the time of his accession in 422, and afterwards by the same caliph in the years 428, 433, 434 and 435, when al-Qādir did not even exist, as he had already died in 422. There is not a single instance to prove that al-Qādir ever sent him as an envoy to any prince.

the following occasions he was sent as the caliph's envoy to the Saljūq and the Buwayhid princes :—

(1) In the year 422 when al-Qā'im succeeded to the caliphate of Baghdād, he sent Māwardī to Abū-Kālījār,¹ the Buwayhid ruler, to receive his Bai'at, or oath of allegiance, and to arrange for the recitation of caliph's name in the Friday Sermon (Khuṭbah) in his territory. The prince took an oath of allegiance to the caliph, issued orders for recitation of his name in the Khuṭbah, and sent to him valuable presents.²

Ibn-Jauzī gives a long description of Māwardī's embassy to Abū-Kālījār, which he puts in 423, and narrates the event in detail, describing his reception and visit to the Amīr, and adds that Abū-Kālījār promised to accept the caliph's overlordship on condition that the title of "the Great Sultān and Lord of the Nations" (سلطان المعظم مالك الامم) should be conferred upon him. This Māwardī declined, saying that the title only befitted the caliph. The Amīr next proposed the title of ملك الدولة, King of the Empire, which was agreed to by Māwardī, and he then requested the prince to accept the caliph's obeisance, but the latter promised to accept it after the title was duly conferred upon him. Here Ibn Jauzī gives a long list, on Māwardī's authority, of costly articles and cash amounts given by the prince for presentation to the caliph.³

(2) In the year 428 Māwardī was sent by the caliph, with Abū-'Abdillāh al-Mardustī, as an ambassador to make peace between the Prince Jalāl ud-Dawlah⁴ and his nephew Abū-Kālījār. At the intervention of the caliph's envoys both the princes came to terms and received valuable presents from the caliph.⁵

(3) In the year 433 Māwardī at the instance of the caliph, went to Tughrilbēk,⁶ the first Saljūq ruler of Irāq. The object of this embassy is not given by the Arab chroniclers, but it appears from Ibn-Khallikān that the object of Māwardī's mission was to stop the reciting of Tughril's name in Khuṭbah and to substitute for it that of the caliph al-Qā'im. Thereupon Māwardī exhorted the prince to fear God, to govern the subjects with justice and kindness, and to extend his beneficence to the people.⁷ Both 'Imād Isfahānī and Ibn-Athīr write, on the authority of

1. Al-'Imād li-Dinillāh 'Izz-u'l-Mulūk Abū-Kālījār Marzubān b. Sultān ad-Dawlah b. Bahā'-ud-Dawlah, the Buwayhid prince who succeeded his father in 416 and died in 440/1048.

2. Ibn-Athīr, *Tārikh-al-Kāmil*, IX, p. 145.

3. *Al-Muntaẓam*, VIII, p. 65.

4. Abū-Tāhir b. Bahā' ud-Dawlah b. Buwayh, Jalāl-ud-Dawlah being his honorific title, the Amīr who usurped the caliph's throne at Baghdād.

5. Rukn-ud-Din Abū-Ṭālib Muḥammad b. Mikā'il, the first king of the Great Saljūqs (429-455).

6. Ibn-Athīr, IX, p. 157

7. Ibn-Khallikān, II, p. 45 ; De Slane, the English translator of Ibn-Khallikān (Vol. III, p. 239, note), says that 'Imād Isfahānī who gives the names of the two ambassadors, viz., Abū-Bakr aṭ-Ṭūsi and Abū-Muḥammad Hibatullāh b. Muḥammad al-Māmūnī, makes no mention of Māwardī. But these two persons were sent later on, on a different occasion, as we learn from al-Bundārī (*Tārikh Al-i-Saljūq*, pp. 8-9) where we find that these two envoys were sent by al-Qā'im in 437 to invite Tughril to Baghdād.

Māwardī himself, that when in the year 433 the caliph al-Qā'im sent him to Ṭughril he wrote a letter to Baghdād in which he reported the vices of the prince and the devastated condition of the territory, and severely criticized him in every respect. The letter was dropped somewhere by Māwardī's servant and by chance it fell into the hands of a man who took it to Ṭughril. On reading the letter, Ṭughril concealed it and did not utter a word about it, nor did he make any change in the courtesy and regard which he showed to Māwardī.¹

(4) In the year 434 A.H. Māwardī was sent to the Buwayhid prince, Jalāl-ud-Dawlah, when the latter had interfered with the caliph's private sources of income realised from the newly-conquered colonies. It was customary for the Muslim princes to refrain from interfering with the revenue set apart for the caliph's private expenditure, but the Buwayhid prince was so imprudent as to lay hands on the caliph's income. The matter took a serious turn, and the caliph sent Māwardī to the prince in order to secure his rights. He also wrote several letters, but the prince did not pay any heed to these entreaties. Al-Māwardī thereupon exhorted Jalāl-ud-Dawlah, who, from the next year desisted from his action² and returned the colonies to the caliph.³

(5) In the year 435 Māwardī was sent by the caliph to make peace between Ṭughrilbek the Saljūq and Jalāl ad-Dawlah⁴ the Buwayhid and his nephew, Abū-Kālījār, when these Saljūq and the Dailamite Turks were engaged in war against each other, and the troops of Ṭughril had invaded Rayy and laid it waste, killing all the inhabitants, who were three thousand in number. Ṭughrilbek was camping at that time at Jurjān. Having been informed of Māwardī's arrival, Ṭughril walked up to 4 farsakhs (leagues) from his camping-ground to receive the caliph's envoy with due honour. Māwardī reprimanded Ṭughril for having perpetrated the onslaught at Rayy and other cities and exhorted him to treat his subjects with kindness. Ṭughril rewarded Māwardī with thirty thousand Dinārs for honouring him with his company. He also sent twenty thousand Dinārs for the caliph and paid ten thousand Dinārs to Māwardī's servants. On his return from his mission in 436,⁵ Māwardī reported to the caliph the cordial reception accorded to him by Ṭughril, his stay with the prince, and the respect shown towards the caliph's letter.⁶

1. Ibn-Athir, IX, p. 9 ; Bundārī p. 26.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 177.

3. *al-Muntazam*, VIII, p. 116.

4. Jalāl-ad-Dawlah sought to make peace with the Saljūqs, but as he died in the same year, the result desired was only attained under his successor, Abū-Kālījār in 439 ; see Ibn-Athir, X, p. 184.

5. It appears that Māwardī went to Ṭughril shortly before the death of Jalāl-ud-Dawlah in the month of Sha'bān 435 and returned in the beginning of 436. This shows that Māwardī might have stayed with Ṭughril for more than six months.

6. Ibn-Athir, IX, p. 180 ; *al-Muntazam*, VIII, p. 233.

CHARACTER AND CONDUCT OF MĀWARDĪ

MĀWARDĪ, as befitted his high and responsible position as a juris-consult and Grand Qāḍī, was a very polite, grave, pious, and trustworthy man.¹ One of his pupils,² who studied under him for five years at his residence, says : " I have not seen any person more serious than Māwardī ; I never heard him laughing at any time and I could never perceive his forearm open from the time when I first kept company with him till he left this world. " ³

That he was modest and free from conceit, is evidenced from the following anecdote described by Māwardī himself. He writes :—

" Once I composed a treatise on legal transactions in which I gathered all available materials from almost all the books written on the subject. I endeavoured my utmost to make the work as complete and comprehensive as possible. After the book was finished I felt myself proud of this achievement and thought myself an authority on the subject. One day when I was sitting in my study (Majlis) two Bedouins came up to me and enquired from me as to the validity of a bargain entered into by them in the desert on certain stipulations involving four issues. I began to ponder over the matter but was at a loss to solve the knotty problem. Hearing no reply from me, one of the Bedouins remarked : " You are a leading jurist, are you not able to satisfy us on this point of law ? " To this I replied in the negative, whereupon the Bedouins said : " Fie on thee ! " and they walked out. At last they approached another jurist who was not even equal to any of my pupils in legal knowledge, and their difficulty was solved. Satisfied with the solution of their problem, the Bedouins praised the man's ability and learning, while I sat bewildered and perplexed at my failure to solve the simple question in spite of my vast knowledge ; and though not a bit from the stock of my knowledge was lessened, yet I felt it was, as it were a heavenly warning and a challenge to my self-conceit, and I thanked God for driving out this vice from me. ⁴

Māwardī possessed high moral courage, and especially in religious matters he was bold and fearless. He never hesitated to declare the truth to the very face of the rulers. The following incident will serve as a fine illustration of his intrepid disposition :—

In the year 429 A.H., in the month of Ramaḍān, the Buwayhid prince Jalāl-ud-Dawlah asked the caliph's⁵ permission to assume the title

1. *al-Muntazam*, VIII, p. 199.

2. 'Abdul-Malik al-Hamadhānī, his pupil.

3. Yāqūt, V, p. 408.

4. Māwardī, *Adab-ad-Dunya-ua'd-Dīn*, pp. 40-41, Cairo 1327.

5. The caliph at that time was al-Qā'im and not al-Muqtadir, whose name has been wrongly mentioned by Brockelmann (*Ency. Islam*); al-Muqtadir was born in 448, 19 years after this event.

of "King of Kings" (ملك الملوك). The caliph resolved to confer this title on the prince and accordingly he gave orders to recite this title in the Friday Sermon (Khuṭbah) along with the prince's name. When it was recited, there was a great commotion and the congregation showed their aversion to it and threw brickbats at the Imāms of the mosques by way of protest. The caliph then asked the learned jurists to pronounce their legal opinion in the matter. The learned jurists Qāḍī Abū'l-Ṭayyib at-Ṭabarī (d. 450), Qāḍī Abū-'Abdillāh aṣ-Ṣaimarī, Qāḍī Ibn-ul-Baidāwī and Abū'l-Qāsim al-Karkhī held it permissible. Aṣ-Ṣaimarī wrote that in assuming such titles only the intention is to be considered as for instance God says He sent Ṭālūt as a king, the Qur'ān says: "And there was besides them a king."¹ It is possible that there may be some one superior over the others in dignity and power and there can be no question of likeness between God and His creatures. At-Ṭabarī wrote that it is lawful to call a man "King of Kings," which implies the king's superiority over all the kings of the earth, and when it is permissible to designate a person as Kāfī'l-Kufāt and Qāḍī'l-Qudāt (Judge of the Judges), on the same analogy it should also be held lawful to call a man King of Kings, because the intention in assuming this title is merely to claim the position of Ruler of the Earth. At-Ṭabarī also added that the suspicion is removed when the Imāms pray in the mosque for the prince (along with this title): "O God make the king righteous," the invocation being to the Creator on behalf of the king. The Ḥanbalite jurist at-Tamīmī also supported this view. But some jurists who entertained antagonistic opinions, held the title to be unlawful, as in their opinion no man had a right to designate himself as "King of Kings," because this title only befitted Almighty God. The arguments of the protagonists did not appeal to Māwardī who opposed their views and vehemently repudiated their contention and carried on a vigorous campaign of controversy against them. Although Māwardī was one of the favourite attendants of the court of Jalāl-ud-Dawlah and was his table-companion, he refrained from attending it and did not stir out of his home from the month of Ramaḍān to 'Īd ul-Adhā (the sacrificial festival occurring on the 10th of the month of Dhu'l-Hijjah), on account of his opposition. At last he was called by the prince to his court, and on his arrival he was given immediate audience in the prince's private chamber. "Everybody knows," said Jalāl-ud-Dawlah, "that you have surpassed other Ulema in position and wealth on account of your being a favourite of the royal court. Your opposition to my earthly desire was absolutely free from any selfish motive, which goes to prove your true love and sincere regard for the sacred ordinances of our holy Shari'at. Your trenchant religious fervour and unflinching moral courage have enhanced your esteem and position in my eyes, and that is why I have rewarded you by admitting you alone and have left the admission of other attendants of my court to your discretion, so as to make them realize that I have acquiesced in

your opinion. Thereupon Māwardī expressed his gratitude to the prince and granted audience to the persons waiting upon him.¹

DEATH

MĀWARDĪ breathed his last on Tuesday the 30th of Rabi'-I. A.H. 450 (May, 1058) at Baghdad, at the age of 86 years. He was interred the next morning in the cemetery at the Gate of Harb (باب الحرب).² His funeral prayers were led by his pupil al-Khaṭīb of Baghdād, at the Friday Mosque of Madīnat-ul-Manṣūr.³

It is strange to find the date of Māwardī's death fixed at 456 by Ibn al-Khaṭīb, a later writer of the eighth century.⁴ But this is against the date given by all his biographers, especially his contemporary al-Khaṭīb of Baghdād, who was present at Māwardī's funeral.

Ibn-Baṭlān, a Christian physician of Baghdād (d. 455), has enumerated the great epidemics of his time to which within a few years contemporary men of letters fell a victim, and has thus provided us with a death-roll of

1. Ibn-Jauzi, *al-Muntaẓam*, VIII, pp. 97-98; Ibn-Athīr, IX, p. 158; Subki, III, p. 305. In this connection Ibn-Jauzi observes :—

"Personally I concur with Māwardī's opinion because according to Hadīth the title is quite unlawful."

Then he has cited the following 3 traditions with their chains of Isnād as recorded in the corpus of al-Bukhārī and Muslim, in support of his contention :—

a. The perfidious name (before God) on Doomsday is that of a man who names himself King of Kings. أخنع اسم يوم القيامة رجل يسمى ملك
الأملاك

b. Intolerable and most abominable is the person on Doomsday who names himself King of Kings, as the world does not belong to anyone except Allāh. واغبط رجل على الله يوم القيامة وأخسه
رجل يسمى ملك الأملاك لا ملك إلا الله

c. The wrath of God will be incurred by a man who is killed by his Prophet, and by a man who names himself King of Kings and the world belongs to none but Allāh the Great. أشد غضب الله على رجل قتلته نبيه وأشد
غضب الله على رجل يسمى ملك الأملاك
لا ملك إلا الله سبحانه وتعالى

Commenting on this incident as-Subki observes that God's will made itself manifest, as only six years after the event the Buwayhid rule was cut short by the demise of the prince Jalāl-ud-Dawlah in 435 A.H.

2. A quarter at Baghdād named after Harb b. 'Abdullāh al-Balkhi ar-Rāwandī, the general of the caliph al-Manṣūr. The remains of Bishr al-Hāfi, al-Khaṭīb and other Muslim celebrities are interred in the cemetery situated in this quarter. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam-ul-Buldān*, II, p. 15; III, p. 245.

3. *Tārīkh Baghdād*, No. 6539. The Jāmi'-ul-Madina or Madinat-ul-Manṣūr was built by Manṣūr the 'Abbasid caliph. It existed when Ibn-Baṭṭūṭa visited Baghdād in 727/1327, but at present no trace of this mosque is to be found.

4. *Kitāb-al-Wafāyāt*, p. 22, by Abu'l-'Abbās Ahmad b. Ḥusain b. 'Alī, known as Ibn-ul-Khaṭīb, edited by M. Hidayat Husain in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, New Series, Vol. VIII, 1912.

distinguished savants,¹ including Māwardī, at the end of which he remarks:

‘On their departure the torch of learning was extinguished and the human intellect remained groping in the dark.’

AS AN AUTHOR

IN the galaxy of Muslim writers and authors, Māwardī occupies a prominent place. He was a prolific writer and composed several books on various subjects: Qur’ānic commentary, Ḥadīth, jurisprudence, politics, ethics and grammar. The main theme of his works was Islamic law, on which he was engaged for a number of years.

It appears that Māwardī wrote two books, viz. *al-Aḥkām-as-Sultāniya* and *al-Iqnā’*, at the instance of contemporary rulers, and about the latter work we are informed by Yāqūt that it was written in compliance with the order of al-Qādir-Billāh, the Abbasid caliph (d. 422); but since the book has been lost, we are unable to verify this statement. In respect of *Aḥkām* we learn from the author himself that the book was composed by the order of some contemporary ruler under whom Māwardī served. He writes in the prologue of his book:—

“The constitutional laws of the Empire, which are obligatory on the officials of the State, have been so mixed up with other laws that the officials could not go through them carefully on account of their pre-occupation with political and administrative affairs. I therefore brought out a separate book on the subject, and in so doing I have obeyed the order of one to whom obeisance is obligatory, in order to enable him to understand the views of the jurists on the matters with which he ought to be thoroughly acquainted, and to have a clear insight into the pros and cons of the subject.”²

From the above statement it can be easily inferred that Māwardī was prompted to write this book at the instance of the caliph al-Qā’im.

1. The following celebrities are mentioned by Ibn-Baṭlān:—

Theologians:—Al-Murtada, Abū’l-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Abū’l-Ḥusain al-Qudūrī the Jurist, Chief Justice al-Māwardī, Qāḍī Abū’t-Tayyib at-Ṭabarī.

Philosophers and Scientists:—Abū ‘Alī Ibn-Haitham, Abū Sa’id al-Yamāmī, Abū ‘Alī ibn us-Samī Sa’id the Physician, Abū’l-Faraj ‘Abdullāh ibn at-Ṭabīb.

Literary men and poets:—‘Alī b. ‘Isa ar-Rabī, Abū’l-Faṭḥ of Nisābūr, Miḥyār the poet, Abū’l ‘Ala b. Nazik, Abū’-‘Alī b. Muselāya, Abū’l-Ḥasan aṣ-Ṣābi, Abū’l-‘Ala-al-Ma’arrī.

2. *Aḥkām*, p. 2, Cairo. The original text runs as under:—

”لما كانت الاحكام السلطانية بولاء الامور احن، وكان امتزاجها بجميع الاحكام لقطيعهم عن تصفحها مع تشاغلهم بالسياسة والتدبير، افردت لها كتابا امتثلت فيه امر من لزمت طاعته ليعلم مذاهب الفقهاء فيناه منها فيستوفيه“

Since Māwardī, unlike other Arabic authors, is not in the habit of giving dates of composition at the end of his books, it is not possible to fix the dates and times of their composition.

Ibn-Ḳhallikān, followed by Ṣafadī and Subkī, has related a curious anecdote about the publication of Māwardī's works which runs as follows :—

“ It is said that, whilst he lived, he did not publish any of his works, but put them all up together in a (safe) place, and that, on the approach of death he said to a person who possessed his confidence :—

‘ The books in such a place were composed by me, but I abstained from publishing them, because I suspected that, although my intention in writing them was to work in God's service, that feeling, instead of being pure, was sullied by baser motives. Therefore, when you perceive me at the point of death and falling into agony, take my hand in yours, and if I press it, you will know thereby that none of these works has been accepted from me ; in this case, you must take them all and throw them by night into the Tigris ; but if I open my hand and close it not, that is the sign of their having been accepted and that my hope in the admission of my intention as sincere and pure has been fulfilled. ’

“ ‘When al-Māwardī's death drew near,’ said that person, ‘ I took him by the hand. He opened it without closing it into mine, whence I knew that his labours had been accepted and then I published his works. ’ ”¹

Commenting on this story Subkī remarks that if the story be true, it only pertains to his book *al-Hāwī*, as he (Subkī) had seen several of Māwardī's books bearing his attestation showing that they were read with him by his pupils in his life-time.² But it is rather strange to find that Tāsh Köprüzāda, while quoting Subkī, writes that the story may be true about Māwardī's other books but not about *al-Hāwī*.³

The story appears incredible on account of its improbability, as we have already seen that two books of Māwardī were written at the instance of contemporary rulers. It has also come to our knowledge that Māwardī's commentary was read with him in his life-time by a Spanish scholar. We do not know how this apocryphal account found its way into his biographical notice. It may perhaps have been invented by one of his ingenious opponents in order to discredit him for having written books without a pure motive at the instance of the princes and rulers for the sake of worldly gain.

1. De Slane's English translation, Vol. II, p. 225.

2. Subkī, II, p. 303-304.

3. *Miftāḥ*, II, p. 191.

The man who published Māwardī's books was most probably his pupil Muḥammad b. 'Uḥaidillah, the Qāḍī of Baṣra (d. 499) as we learn from Yāqūt that he transmitted (روى) all the books from his master.¹

LIST OF HIS WORKS

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| ١- تفسير الماوردى (النكت والعيون) | ٨- امثال القرآن |
| ٢- كتاب الحاوى فى الفروع | ٩- الاقناع فى المذهب |
| ٣- الاحكام السلطانية | ١٠- ادب الدنيا والدين |
| ٤- قوانين الوزارة وسياسة الملك | ١١- الكافى شرح مختصر المزنى |
| ٥- تسهيل النصر وتسهيل الظفر | ١٢- كتاب فى النحو |
| ٦- اعلام النبوة | ١٣- كتاب فى السيرة النبوية |
| ٧- ادب القاضى | ١٤- كتاب فى البيوع |

QAZI AHMAD MIAN AKHTAR.

1. *Irshād*, VII, p. 30. He died in 499, and according to Ibn-Athīr (X, p. 145) at that time his age was 83; thus he was 34 years of age when Māwardī died in 450.

THE DECCAN POLICY AND CAMPAIGNS OF THE MUGHAL

CONFUSED AFFAIRS OF THE DECCAN INVITE AKBAR'S INTERFERENCE

HAVING consolidated his power in Northern India, it was but natural that Akbar should have undertaken the task of the systematic penetration of the Deccan in order to bring it under his imperial sway. It was Akbar's ambition to extend his dominion over all the petty kingdoms in India lying within the possible range of his sword, and then to undertake the conquest of Central Asia (Turan), the country of his ancestors. Although obliged by other preoccupations in the north to defer his undertaking of bringing the Deccan under his sphere of influence, it was almost certain that, his work in Malwa and Gujerat done, Akbar would turn his attention to the south of the Narbada. Thus the force of political circumstances proved once again that the Deccan could not possibly remain aloof from the general political trends of the country as a whole. It was once more inevitably drawn into the vortex of North Indian politics.

It seems that Akbar considered the Deccan to be a traditional dependency of the North Indian Mughal rulers from the time of Timūr. When the latter captured Delhi in 1498-99, Sultān Firūz Shāh, the Bahmani ruler of the Deccan, with a view to enhancing his own influence and prestige, sent him ambassadors with rich presents and a letter acknowledging Timūr's overlordship over the whole of India. Timūr is said to have received the ambassadors graciously and accepted the presents. The ambassadors, according to their royal master's instructions, represented to Timūr that the ruler of the Deccan was prepared to co-operate with him wholeheartedly in his career of conquest, whenever he was ordered to do so. Timūr was much pleased at this gratuitous offer of aid by the Bahmani ruler. In token of his appreciation Timūr conferred the sovereignty of the Deccan, Malwa and Gujerat on Firōz Shāh, with permission to use the canopy and all the other insignia of royalty. The ambassadors stayed at Timūr's court for nearly six months, at the end of which period Timūr delivered to them a Farmān, containing the formal cession of Gujerat and Malwa, together with a sword studded with precious stones, a royal robe, and four beautiful Syrian horses for their Bahmani master.¹

1. Farishta, p. 312 (Lucknow edition).

In the sixteenth century the Bahmani kingdom of the Deccan was split up into five independent Sultanates. They were: (1) The 'Ādil Shāhī dynasty of Bijapur, (2) the Nizām Shāhī dynasty of Ahmadnagar, (3) the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty of Golconda, (4) the 'Imād Shāhī of Berar, and (5) the Barīd Shāhīs of Bidar. The perpetual confusion and discord which followed the break-up of the Bahmani power exposed the Deccan to ever-increasing misrule. The kingdoms of Bijapur and Ahmednagar were frequently at war, except for the short period of respite when their differences were temporarily composed by two matrimonial alliances, Hādiya Sultāna, 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh's sister being given in marriage to Murtuḍa Nizām Shāh and Chānd Bibī, the latter's sister, to 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh. By this second alliance the vexed question of Sholapur was laid to rest, as the latter fortress was given as Chānd Bibī's dowry. The Sultāns of Bijapur and Ahmednagar discovered to their own cost and utter humiliation that unless they united against Sadashivaraya of Vijayanagar, their very existence would be jeopardised. The offensive alliance of the four Sultāns of Bijapur, Ahmednagar, Golconda and Bidar was formed at Sholapur in 1564. The allied Sultāns moved southwards near the bank of Krishna and utterly defeated the Vijayanagar forces. In history the battle is known as the battle of Talikota (1565), because the allied Sultāns had made as their joint headquarters that town distant about thirty miles from the battlefield. Talikota was one of the most decisive conflicts recorded in the course of Indian history. It broke for ever the power of Vijayanagar, which had been taking advantage of the dissensions of the Deccan Sultāns and threatening to devour them one by one.

Within less than two years of the battle of Talikota, the traditional senseless disputes between Ahmednagar and Bijapur arose again. In 1567 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, provoked by Murtuḍa Nizām Shāh's persistent hostility, invaded his kingdom under the command of Kishwar Khān. Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh joined Murtuḍa Nizām Shāh but very soon he fell out and was driven to Golconda by his own ally. Later on Murtuḍa conciliated Ibrāhīm lest he should join 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh. After several years of internecine warfare a treaty was concluded which permitted Ahmednagar to annex Berar and Bidar, and Bijapur to annex in the Carnatic the equivalent territory.

While these confused struggles were going on in which Ahmednagar and Bijapur served as principals, Golconda, being a weaker kingdom than the other two, frequently changed sides in accordance with its own interests, the corner-stone of its policy was to maintain the balance of power in the Deccan by playing off one hostile force against another with a view to securing its own independence. Bidar and Berar were much weaker and were finally absorbed by their more powerful neighbours. The struggle for power among the Deccan Sultāns in the sixteenth century prompted each to checkmate the other, making the history of this period nothing but a dreary waste of endless strife and intrigue. The wars of the Sultāns

were almost perpetual, their treaties never honestly carried out. No wonder this unedifying condition of affairs made Akbar covet for himself the possession of the territories south of the Narbada.

Even during the time of the Emperor Humāyūn, the kings of the Deccan were much perturbed by the former's presence in Khandesh for a short while. On the occasion of his expedition to Mālwa, Humāyūn marched right up to Burhanpur in his lust for conquest. Muḥammad Shāh of Khandesh begged him to spare his small kingdom the horrors of invasion, and at the same time he invited the Deccan Sultāns to form a confederacy for the defence of the Deccan. In apprehension of Humāyūn's invasion further south, Burhān Nizām Shāh of Ahmednagar, Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh of Bijapur, Sultān Qulī Qutb Shāh of Golconda, and Darya 'Imād Shāh of Berar entered into an alliance against the Mughals after the defeat of Bahādur Shāh of Gujerat at Mandu. But the fears of the Sultāns were ill-founded. Humāyūn was too much harrassed by the subversive activities of Bahādur Shāh's Amīrs in Gujerat to undertake the Deccan expedition. His operations in Khandesh were not meant to be more than a sort of a military promenade in order to overawe into inactivity the ruler of this principality, who happened to be on very friendly terms with Bahādur Shāh, the ruler of Gujerat. Moreover, Humāyūn's presence was urgently needed in the eastern provinces of the Empire, where Shēr Shāh had gathered a considerable force of Afghans under his banner, and was already aggrandising himself, taking advantage of the misrule obtaining in these parts of the country.

When the danger of Humāyūn's attack was past, the Deccan Sultāns took to their old rivalries again. Bahādur Shāh of Gujerat courted Burhān Nizām Shāh's favour in order to get some aid from him in the attack he then meditated against Humāyūn. He was, however, disappointed, for Burhān Nizām Shāh not only withheld his assistance, but sent a secret agent to Humāyūn to obtain his help for the purpose of invading Gujerat. But he did not receive any help or encouragement from Humāyūn, as the latter was preoccupied with his own affairs.¹

Since Maḥmūd Gāwān's invasion, the rulers of Khandesh had learnt to regard the kings of Gujerat as their natural protectors and allies. They even kept an agent at the court of the king of Gujerat and for all practical purposes recognised his suzerainty. Bahādur Shāh of Gujerat, besides being a near relative, was on such friendly terms with Muḥammad Shāh of Khandesh that he designated the latter as the heir presumptive to his throne, not having any issue himself. When a quarrel arose between Burhān Nizām Shāh of Ahmednagar and Muḥammad Shāh of Khandesh, Bahādur Shāh immediately came to the latter's rescue; and similarly Muḥammad Shāh of Khandesh, on his part assisted Bahādur Shāh in his campaigns in Rajputana and Mālwa. Even after Humāyūn had retired from Gujerat he had left some of his Amīrs to retain possession of the

1. Farishta, p. 215.

province. The Mughal pressure prompted Bahādur Shāh to enter into treaty relations with the Portuguese. Thus while on a visit to Diu to see Nunho da Cunha, the Portuguese Governor, he was cruelly done to death. Now great confusion prevailed in Gujerat. Muḥammad Shāh of Khandesh, who had been appointed heir to the Gujerat throne by Bahādur Shāh, set out from Burhanpur to ascend the throne of Gujerat, but died on the way to Champaner. Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā, brother-in-law of Humāyūn, claimed the throne of Gujerat on the ground that Bahādur Shāh's mother had adopted him as her son. The Mīrzā continued to have their strongholds in Gujerat till Emperor Akbar resolved to free that part of the country from their rebellious power. Some of them sought protection by entering into the service of the Deccan kings, which was a source of perpetual irritation to Akbar.

In 1561, Akbar, after having ascertained the real state of affairs in Malwa, sent an expedition under the command of Adham Khān Kokaltāsh assisted by Pīr Muḥammad Khān. Bāz Bahādur, the ruler of Malwa, whose sensuality had rendered him obnoxious to his subjects, was utterly defeated and took refuge in Burhanpur under the protection of Mubārak Shāh, the ruler of Khandesh. By the latter's aid Bāz Bahādur made incursions into Malwa to harass the imperial forces. Pīr Muḥammad Khān who had now become governor of Malwa after Adham Khān had been recalled to court, marched against Burhanpur and took it by storm. He sacked the town, massacred its inhabitants including some very learned persons, and committed the most horrible atrocities in Khāndesh. Bāz Bahādur and Mubārak Shāh shut themselves in the fortress of Asir which the Mughals failed to capture. In the meantime they appealed to Ṭufail Khān, who had usurped the government of Berar, to come to their rescue. Ṭufail Khān joined the rulers of Khandesh and Malwa to put up a united front against the Mughals. The allies assembling their forces marched against Pīr Muḥammad Khān. As his men were pursuing their straggling march homeward, laden with spoil, Pīr Muḥammad made an attempt to beat off the pursuers, but he was ill-supported.¹ Pīr Muḥammad found himself unable to resist as his troops had been so utterly demoralised by debauch and so enriched by spoils that they had no desire to risk their booty in action. He gave half-hearted battle at Bijagarh and was badly routed by the allies. Many of the Amīrs and soldiery had already betaken themselves to the court of the Emperor without Pīr Muḥammad Khān's permission, leaving him to follow with all the heavy baggage and military stores. Those who had thus quitted Malwa and had come to court without orders were imprisoned for a time and then set at liberty. Pīr Muḥammad Khān, while he was crossing the Narbada, was drowned. To use Badāōnī's eloquent phrase "by way of water he went to fire, and the

1. *Akbar Nāma*, Vol. II, p. 168 (text).

2. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 257 (text).

sighs of the orphans, of the weak, and of the captives did their work with him."¹

Pir Muḥammad's defeat and death was a great shock to imperial prestige in the Deccan. In 1564, Akbar appointed 'Abdullāh Khān Uzbek and Aḥmad Khān Farankhudi to recover Malwa and try to retrieve the disaster that had befallen the imperial arms. 'Abdullāh Khān displayed great activity and resolution in pursuing Bāz Bahādur, who had temporarily gained possession of Malwa. Bāz Bahādur, after sustaining several defeats, took refuge with Rana Uday Singh of Chitor, but eventually he threw himself upon the mercy of the Emperor and was granted a Maṇṣab of 2,000.² Mandu was occupied by the Mughals and Mughal administration was re-established throughout the whole of Malwa.

'Abdullāh Khān's victories in Malwa had turned his head, and he began to entertain ideas of revolting against the Central Government. Akbar, alive to the new danger, resolved to check his activities before they took the form of open sedition.³ He gave orders to organise an expedition to chastise this presumptuous rebel, and he himself, at the head of the army, marched to Mandu from Agra. 'Abdullāh Khān, greatly alarmed at the Emperor's approach, fled towards Gujerat. Akbar remained at Mandu for nearly a month. He appointed Qarā Bahādur Khān to the Government of Malwa, and gave him suitable directions regarding the administration of the country.

In 1564, Akbar's Amīrs captured several fortresses lying on the borders of Malwa and Khandesh. The Zamindars of the neighbourhood came to pay their obeisance to the Emperor and were met with a gracious reception. Mubārak Shāh, the ruler of Khandesh, consulted his interest in sending his apologies as well as presents by his ambassadors, so that his past actions might graciously be overlooked by the Emperor. After some days the ambassadors obtained leave to return to Khandesh with the imperial message. It was agreed that Mubārak Shāh should willingly acknowledge Akbar's suzerainty and should henceforth cause the Khuṭba to be recited in all mosques of Khandesh in Akbar's name. It was also agreed that he should give his daughter in marriage to the Emperor and should give as her dowry the districts of Bijagarh and Handya. Akbar seems to have had no intention of interfering in the internal affairs of Khandesh, but he certainly wanted to control her foreign policy in order to be in a position to get military assistance whenever the imperial armies undertook operations in Central India or the Deccan. This treaty served only as a preliminary to the work which he had at heart, viz. the establishment of Mughal supremacy in the Deccan.

During the following ten years after the annexation of Malwa, confused struggles took place in the Deccan, tedious and uninteresting in their de-

1. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, Vol. II, 1051 (text).

2. *Akbar Nāma* Vol. II, p. 169. See also *Ma'āthir-ul-Umara*, Vol. I, p. 391.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 221 (text).

tails, in which Khandesh was inevitably involved. In 1574, Murtuḍa Nizām Shāh I of Ahmednagar marched to Berar, drove Ṭufail Khān from Elichpur, and compelled him and his son Shamshīr-ul-Mulk to seek asylum in Burhanpur, whence he applied for assistance to the Emperor Akbar.¹ But as Mubārak was averse to alienating Murtuḍa Nizām Shāh by giving refuge to Ṭufail Khān for a long time, Ṭufail Khān returned to Berar and took refuge in the fortress of Narnala.² Akbar sent an envoy to Murtuḍa Nizām Shāh requiring him to desist from the annexation of Berar, but no attention was paid to the message. Ṭufail Khān and his son were captured and prisoned.³

As the occupation of Berar by Ahmednagar upset the balance of power in the Deccan, 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh of Bijapur and Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh of Golconda both disapproved of it, and the latter even went to the extent of sending a secret mission to the ruler of Khandesh to attempt the recovery of Berar, in which undertaking full support was promised. Sayyid Zain-ud-Dīn prime minister of Khandesh, with the approval of his ruler, marched to Berar with three thousand horse.⁴ He also received material assistance from 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh as well as from Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh.⁵ Sayyid Zain-ud-Dīn succeeded in defeating the Nizām Shāh's forces at several places and occupied a great portion of the country. Murtuḍa Nizām Shāh returned to Berar himself, obliged Sayyid Zain-ud-Dīn to take to flight and his adherents to disperse. He now turned towards Khandesh and ravaged the country penetrating right up to Burhanpur. Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh took refuge in the fortress of Asirgarh. Changīz Khān Isfahānī, Vakīl of Ahmednagar, sacked Burhanpur and laid siege to the fortress of Asirgarh. Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh was compelled to sue for peace. A treaty was entered into according to which the Nizāmshāhī forces agreed to evacuate the territories of Khandesh on payment of nine hundred thousand Muẓaffarīs.⁶ It was also stipulated that this sum should be paid in cash before the Nizām Shāhī armies crossed the river Tapti at Burhanpur.⁷ Curiously enough, Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh, receiving intelligence of the failure of his designs in Berar, sent his ambassador Mīrzā Isfahānī with presents to Murtuḍa Nizām Shāh congratulating him on his victory.⁸

1. Farishta, p. 136.

2. *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir* p. 467 (text).

3. Farishta, p. 137.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 137. According to *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir* Sayyid Zain-ud-Dīn sent twenty thousand horse to help the Beraris. But this is probably an exaggeration (p. 477).

5. *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir*, p. 478 (text).

6. *Ibid.*, p. 482. According to Farishta (p. 138 text) an indemnity of six hundred thousand Muẓaffarīs was paid and four hundred thousand were given to Changīz Khān as a gift for arranging the treaty (Muẓaffarī was a silver coin which was current at this time in Gujerat and was equivalent to half a rupee). It was first struck in the reign of Muẓaffar Shāh III of Gujerat and became current in Khandesh in the sixteenth century.

7. *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir*, p. 482.

8. Farishta, p. 138. In *Burhān-e-Ma'āṣir* the name of the ambassador is Sayyid Mīr, p. 482 (text).

Mirān Muḥammad Shāh, ruler of Khandesh, died in 1576. His uterine brother, Rājā 'Alī Khān, setting aside the deceased monarch's infant son, became the ruler of Khandesh with the approval of the chief nobility of the country. According to Farishta, Rājā 'Alī Khān was at Akbar's court at Agra when he received intelligence of his brother's death. But the author of *Zafar al-Wāliḥ* says that Rājā 'Alī Khān was present at his brother's death-bed.¹ Rājā 'Alī Khān, feeling his position insecure in relation to Emperor Akbar who had obtained possession of Malwa, Gujerat and Bengal, refrained from displeasing or offending him in any way. He cultivated friendly relations with the imperial court and even abstained from using the title of Shāh in his correspondence with the imperial court.² In all the imperial chronicles he is known by the title of Rājā, which he probably adopted as being innocuous and inoffensive to the imperial court at Agra. It is certain that he used the title of 'Ādil Shāh within the limits of Khandesh as well as in his correspondence with the rulers of the Deccan.³ In matters of external policy Rājā 'Alī Khān acknowledged Akbar's suzerainty, while assuring to himself the exercise of internal autonomy. In fact the rulers of Khandesh had for long been accustomed to offer allegiance to Gujerat. Now they simply exchanged it for allegiance to Akbar, without in the least affecting their former political status.

In 1584, Burhān, younger brother of Murtuḍa Nizām Shāh of Ahmednagar, escaped in the disguise of a holy man from the fortress of Lohogarh, where he had been confined by his brother for a number of years. Burhān was actively supported by a party of Ahmednagar nobles who alleged that Murtuḍa Nizām Shāh was by his loss of mental balance rendered incapable of ruling a kingdom. Allured by promises of support Burhān appeared in arms and marched towards Ahmednagar at the head of six thousand horse, but was utterly defeated by Ṣalābat Khān.⁴ He took flight towards Konkan. After two years, Burhān made another attempt to possess himself of the throne of Ahmednagar, but without success. After having failed in his second attempt, Burhān finally sought protection at the court of Akbar, where he was graciously received.⁵

Oddly enough, two years before he went to the imperial court another person had impersonated him there as Burhān. This person was still there and

1. Haig, *Indian Antiquary*, 1918, p. 144.

2. Farishta, p. 288 (text).

3. *Indian Antiquary*, 1918, p. 144.

4. According to Farishta, passing through the street to the palace, Murtuḍa Nizām Shāh stopped his elephant at the shop of a druggist, and asked if he had any medicine that would cure madness, saying that he did not know who required it most, himself, who wished to live the life of a recluse and yet rule a kingdom, or his brother, who with the enjoyment of ease was plunging himself into public cares. The man is reported to have replied that his brother (Burhān) was the madman who could so ungratefully rebel against so kind a protector, and would not prosper in his treason.—p. 152 (text).

5. *Akbar Nāma*, Vol. III, p. 408, p. 152 (text).

had obtained the favour of the Emperor. On this occasion the two *Burhāns* were brought face to face and an investigation was held. The impostor was forced to confess : " I am the son of a certain Deccani who had the title of *Ḥakīm-ul-Mulk*. The mother of *Nizām-ul-Mulk* had received me as a son, I was led astray by cupidity and short-sightedness."¹ The impostor fled and sought refuge with some *Jogis*, but he was arrested and imprisoned. The Emperor received *Burhān* with great honour and bestowed on him a considerable *Jāgīr* near *Bangash* on the borders of *Afghanistan*.

It was only once that *Rāja 'Alī Khān* of *Khandesh* came into conflict with *Akbar's* policy and purpose. *Ṣalābat Khān*, the regent of *Ahmednagar* had alienated most of the nobility of the realm by his rule of terror. The feeble-minded *Murtuḍa Nizām Shāh* was a mere puppet in his hands. Resistance to his will was immediately followed by dismissal or disgrace. In 1584 a quarrel arose between him and *Sayyid Murtuḍa*, Governor of *Berar*. The latter marched on *Ahmednagar* in order to overthrow *Ṣalābat Khān's* ministry and free the king from his tutelage. A trial of strength took place near *Ahmednagar* in which *Sayyid Murtuḍa* and his supporters fared badly and were compelled to retreat to *Elichpur* with twelve thousand men. On being closely pursued *Sayyid Murtuḍa* fled towards *Burhanpur* and requested the assistance of *Rāja 'Alī Khān*, who had neither countenanced nor discouraged him in his resistance. When *Sayyid Murtuḍa* at the head of his army directed his march towards *Malwa* in order to invoke *Akbar's* aid, *Rāja 'Alī Khān* ordered his troops to pursue him. *Sayyid Murtuḍa's* forces sustained a defeat on the banks of the *Narbada*. All their baggage and elephants fell into *Rājā 'Alī Khān's* hands. Probably *Rājā 'Alī Khān* did not favour *Sayyid Murtuḍa's* policy of inviting *Akbar's* interference in the domestic affairs of the *Deccan*. From *Malwa* *Sayyid Murtuḍa* and his principal lieutenant *Khudāwand Khān Deccanī*² proceeded straight to *Agra*.³ *Akbar* received both of them cordially, appointing them to high military offices. *Rājā 'Alī Khān* became apprehensive at the elevation of the *Deccan Amīrs* in the imperial court and sent an envoy to *Akbar* to clarify his own position. He also sent rich presents, considerable sums of money, and one hundred and fifty elephants to the Emperor in charge of his own son, in token of his allegiance and loyalty. The gifts were accepted and necessary instructions were sent to *Rājā 'Alī Khān* regarding the impending military expedition to the *Deccan*, in which he was expected to assist and co-operate whole-heartedly with the imperial forces.

Murtuḍa Nizām Shāh of *Ahmednagar*, whose behaviour had always given strong indications of insanity, took it into his head that his son, *Mīrān Ḥusain*, designed to dethrone him. He attempted to put him to

1. *Akbar Nāmāh*, III, p. 408.

2. *Khudāwand Khān Deccanī* married *Abul-Faḍl's* sister and rose high in the emperor's favour.

3. *Burhān-i-Ma'āshir*, p. 548; *Farishta*, p. 288.

death, but the prince managed to escape and shortly afterwards put his father to death by suffocating him in a heated bath. Mirān Husain Nizām Shāh was wholly evil, the slave of filthy vices. Ultimately he was killed and his cousin, son of Burhān, was raised to the throne in April 1589. During the latter's short reign Jamāl Khān reserved all power to himself, which fact made him extremely unpopular among the nobles of the realm. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II of Bijapur wanted to take full advantage of the dissensions prevailing at Ahmednagar. So Dilāwar Khān, the regent of Bijapur, marched against Ahmednagar in order to interfere in the internal affairs of the latter kingdom and also to liberate the widowed sister of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II, named Khadija, wife of the deceased Mirān Husain Nizām Shāh. Jamāl Khān encountered the Bijapur armies at Ashti. The two armies halted in the vicinity of each other for two weeks without making any hostile movement. Ultimately peace was concluded according to which it was agreed that Khadija should be sent to Bijapur and that the Nizāmshāhī Government should pay an indemnity of seventy thousand Huns to Bijapur.

When Akbar was apprised of the state of confusion in the Ahmednagar Kingdom, he recalled Burhān from his Jāgīr of Bangash, and offered him a suitable force to recover his kingdom by ousting his son and his despotic minister, Jamāl Khān. But Burhān Nizām Shāh, who knew full well the possible reaction to this step on his part, requested the Emperor to allow him to depart for the Deccan with his own dependants, as his authority would be odious to the people of Ahmednagar if he proceeded there at the head of a Mughal contingent. Akbar appreciated the plea advanced by Burhān and gave him permission to return to his country. Akbar also wrote to Khān A'zm Mīrzā 'Azīz Koka, his foster-brother and at that time governor of Malwa, and to Rājā 'Alī Khān, ruler of Khandesh, to give all possible support to Burhān. The imperial district of Hindia was placed at Burhān's disposal to meet the expenses of his army till he should recover the throne of Ahmednagar.

When Burhān reached the frontier of Ahmednagar, he received overtures from many of the nobility, who were prepared to welcome his rule. He first invaded Berar but was defeated. Compelled to take to flight, he sought refuge in Khandesh, where Rājā 'Alī Khān, in compliance with Akbar's commands, not only assisted him with men and money which he sorely needed, but also secured for him Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh's sympathy and co-operation.¹ An army from Bijapur under Dilāwar Khān diverted Jamāl Khān's attention by invading Ahmednagar territories from the south. But Jamāl Khān managed to defeat Dilāwar Khān's forces at Dhāraseo, and hastened towards the north where some of the Berari officers had already joined Burhān and Rājā 'Alī Khān.² The two armies

1. *Akbar Nāma*, Vol. III, p. 587 (text).

2. *Amjad-ul-Mulk*, 'Azmat-ul-Mulk, Saif-ul-Mulk, Shuja'at Khān, Jahāngīr Khān, ŠadrKhān and 'Aziz-ul-Mulk and other leaders and nobles joined Burhān (*Akbar Nāma*, p. 587).

met at Rohankhed on May 7, 1591. Jamāl Khān was killed by a musket shot and his army, having lost its leader, took to flight in different directions. Ismā'il Nizām Shāh was captured and placed in confinement. Burhān with his ally Rājā 'Alī Khān marched on to Ahmednagar and declared himself king under the title of Burhān Nizām Shāh II.

After getting possession of his kingdom, Burhān Nizām Shāh, instead of showing his gratitude and fidelity to the Mughal Emperor, forgot the favours he had received from the latter and completely ignored him. Akbar was not one to pardon an injury received from one whom he believed to be his friend. Dilāwar Khān's defeat led to his downfall in Bijapur. He took refuge in Bidar and then in Ahmednagar where he was appointed to a high rank. With plausible arguments he induced Burhān Nizām Shāh to attack Bijapur. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh contented himself with despatching Rūmī Khān, at the head of ten thousand troops, to cut off the supplies of the Ahmednagar army. Greatly distressed by the guerilla tactics of the Bijapur army, Burhān Nizām Shāh was compelled to retire towards his frontier to revictual his troops. Rājā 'Alī Khān, Burhān's chief ally, exerted himself to bring about peace between Bijapur and Ahmednagar and in this endeavour he succeeded. Burhān Nizām Shāh agreed to demolish the fortress that he had erected on the bank of the Bhima.

In August 1591, Akbar sent four diplomatic missions to the four rulers of the Deccan in order to find out the real state of affairs obtaining there and also to see whether they were willing to acknowledge his suzerainty without further sanctions. Shaikh Faiḍī was sent to Khandesh and was directed to proceed to Burhān Nizām Shāh after he had finished his work at Burhanpur; Khwāja Amīn-ud-Dīn was sent to Ahmednagar; Mir Muḥammad Amīn was sent to Bijapur; and Mir Mirza to the ruler of Golconda. Faiḍī, in his letters written to Akbar while he was absent on his mission to the Deccan, throws some light upon the nature of the political relations existing between the ruler of Khandesh and the Mughal Emperor.¹ In 1593, the missions returned to the imperial capital. Their reports were

1. An extract from this is reproduced here :—

"After travelling a long distance, and accomplishing many stages, I arrived on the 20th of the month of December at a place fifty Kos from Burhanpur, and the next day pitched my camp and arranged my tent in a manner befitting a servant of the court. The tent was so arranged as to have two chambers : in the second or innermost of which a Royal Throne was placed. The Royal sword and the dresses of honour were placed on the throne, as well as Your Majesty's letter, whilst men were standing around with folded hands. The horses also, that were to be given away, were standing in their proper place. Rājā 'Alī Khān, accompanied by his followers, and the Vakil and Magistrate of the Dakhan, approached with that respect and reverence that betokened their obedience and goodwill to Your Majesty. They dismounted some distance from the tent and were admitted into the outer chamber.. They approached respectfully and were permitted to proceed onwards. When they entered the second chamber, and saw the Royal Throne at some distance from there, they saluted it, and advanced with bare feet. When they arrived at a certain distance, they were directed to stand and made their salutations, which they did most respectfully, and continued standing in the place. I then took the Royal

(Continued on p. 311)~

not favourable, as they showed that the Deccan kings had no inclination to offer unconditional allegiance to the Mughal Emperor. Burhān Nizām Shāh neither sent the customary tribute, nor did he act in a way that showed his gratitude to Akbar. So the Emperor determined to effect the conquest of Ahmednagar.

In April 1595, Burhān Nizām Shāh died, and was succeeded by his elder son, Ibrāhīm. Ibrāhīm Nizām Shāh embroiled himself with Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II and was slain in battle after a short reign of four months. This was the signal for anarchy in the kingdom of Ahmednagar, the peace of which was now totally destroyed and its military weakness and political disunion exposed to the world. There were four political parties, each having its own candidate for the Nizām Shāhī throne. Chānd Bibī, who had returned to Ahmednagar, espoused the cause of Bahādur, the infant son of Ibrāhīm Nizām Shāh. Miyan Manjhu, Ibrāhīm Nizām Shāh's chief minister and leader of the Deccan party, acknowledged Ahmad II, son of

(Continued from p. 310).

letter in both hands, and calling him (Rājā 'Alī Khān) a little nearer, said, 'His Majesty, the Vice-gent of God, has sent Your Highness two Royal orders with the greatest condescension and kindness. This is one.' On this, he took the letter and put it on his head respectfully, and saluted it three times. I then said, 'His Majesty has bestowed on Your Highness a dress of honour.' Upon this he bowed, kissed it, and bowed again. In the same way he did homage for the sword, and bowed every time. Your Majesty's name was mentioned. He then observed, 'I have for years wished to be seated in your presence,' and at the same time, he appeared anxious to do so. Whereupon I requested him to be seated, and he respectfully sat down in your humble servant's presence. When a fitting opportunity offered itself, I addressed him warily, and said that I could show him how he might promote his interest; but the chief part of my discourse consisted of praises and eulogiums of Your Majesty. He replied that he was a devoted servant of Your Majesty, and considered himself highly favoured that he had seen Your Majesty's good-will and favour. I replied, 'His Majesty's kindness towards you is great. He looks upon you as a most intimate friend, and reckons you among his confidential servants; the greatest proof of which is that he has sent a man of rank to you.' At this he bowed several times, and seemed pleased. During the time I twice made signs that I wished the audience to close; but he said, 'I am not yet satisfied with my interview, and wish to sit here till the evening.' He sat there for four or five Gharhis (an hour and a half). At last the betel-leaf and scents were brought. I asked him to give them to me with his own hands. I gave him several pieces of betel with my own hands at which he bowed several times. I then said, 'Let us repeat the prayers for the eternal life and prosperity of His Majesty,' which he did most respectfully, and the audience was broken up. He then went and stood respectfully in this place at the edge of the carpet opposite the throne. The Royal horses were there. He kissed the reins, placed them on his shoulder, and saluted them. He then took his departure. My attendant counted and found that he made altogether twenty-five Salams. He was exceedingly happy and contented. When he first came in, he said, 'If you command me, I am ready to make 1000 Salams in honour of His Majesty. I am ready to sacrifice my life for him.' I observed, 'Such conduct befits friendship and feelings such as yours, but His Majesty's orders forbid such adoration and whenever the courtiers perform such adoration out of their feelings of devotion, His Majesty forbids them, for such acts of worship are for God alone.'

(*Latīfa-i-Faiḍī*, Pers. Insha, 324, Asāfiya Library, Hyderabad (Deccan); Elliot, *History of India* Vol. VI, p. 147-49).

Shāh Ṭāhir.¹ Ikhlāṣ Khān, leader of the Abyssinians, supported the claim of Mōtī Shāh, a child of unknown origin. Āhang Khān, leader of another African faction, put forward the claim of the old prince, 'Alī, the third son of Burhān Nizām Shāh I, to the throne of Ahmednagar. All the four parties solicited support from Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II, who warned them against the common Mughal danger but without any effect. Each party strove to hoodwink the other and to advance its own private interests in the confusion. Miyān Manjhū in a fit of desperation sent an appeal to Prince Murād, then in Gujerat, to march to his assistance. Now the time was ripe for Akbar to undertake his scheme of the conquest of the Deccan with the full majesty of Mughal strength.

YUSUF HUSAIN KHAN.

1. Shāh Ṭāhir claimed to be the son of Prince Muḥammad Khudābanda, son of Burhān Nizām Shāh I (1509-1553), who fled to Bengal from Ahmednagar after the accession of his brother, Husain Nizām Shāh. At the close of Murtuḍa Nizām Shāh's reign a person calling himself Shāh Ṭāhir, arrived at Daulatabad giving out that Prince Muḥammad Khudābanda died in Bengal and that he was his son. Ṣalābat Khān and other nobles tried to ascertain the statement but they failed to clear up the mystery owing to the distance of Bengal. Anyway it was considered desirable to confine Shāh Ṭāhir in a fortress as he might any day set up pretension to the throne of Ahmednagar. But the whole story was refuted by Burhān Nizām Shāh, then at Akbar's court by stating to some of the Ahmednagar nobles who had gone all the way to Agra to find out the truth about the pretender, that his uncle Prince Muḥammad Khudābanda died in his house and the latter's family was with him at Agra. Thus if any one pretended to be Prince Muḥammad Khudābanda's son, he was an impostor. Shāh Ṭāhir died, after some years, in confinement leaving a son named Aḥmad, whose claim to Ahmednagar throne was supported by Miyān Manjhū's faction. (Farishta, p. 158).

TWO URDU NEWSPAPERS OF MADRAS IN PRE-MUTINY DAYS¹

IF a popular newspaper holds up the mirror to the culture of any people, the language, policy, purpose, and characteristics of the *A'zam-ul-Akhhār* (the Great Newspaper) certainly reflect the culture of the Muslims of Madras in the middle of the 19th century. The language of the grandiloquently named newspaper was the Southern Indian Urdu of the court of the last Nawab of the Carnatic (Karnatak), who wielded plenary authority in internal affairs without interference from the Governor-in-Council of Fort St. George. Its policy was to widen the narrow outlook of its readers by promoting learning, so as to instil in them a spirit of real patriotism. Its purpose was generally to promote unity among Indians of all classes and creeds and particularly to champion the cause of the rising generation.

Apart from the publishers' determination to publish only new matter unpublished before or elsewhere, there appeared now and again, under the caption of "Useful Discourses," very learned dissertations on chemistry or medicine, astronomy or geography, poetry or criticism, and so forth. Another characteristic of the Great Newspaper (*A'zam-ul-Akhhār*) was to regale its readers with translations from English newspapers and to give explanations in Urdu of legal and other technical phrases or terms that were in vogue in the newly established civil and military courts of the Hon'ble East India Company, the latter being more particularly for the benefit of professional men, from lawyers to recruiting sergeants, who had to adapt themselves to English—which was to them a new language spoken in newly established institutions.

The *A'zam-ul-Akhhār* was the first Urdu newspaper to be published in Madras. It was lithographed on ordinary white paper and published every Thursday. It contained ordinarily eight pages (12"×7.6") but some of its issues had ten pages. Each page was divided into two or three

1. I am grateful to my friend Mr. Mohammad Ghouse for permitting me to use the old numbers of the newspapers which form the subject of this essay. I acknowledge also with thanks the valuable suggestions and assistance of my guru Nawab Sir Amin Jung Bahadur, K.C.I.E.

columns. It was named after A'zam, the pen-name or Takhalluṣ of Nawab Muḥammad Ghouse Khan of Karnatak (Arcot). It bore the fine crest of the Nawab, often with, but sometimes without, decorated borders. Its title-page had verses implying that the great man of a great name, A'zam, was its patron.

مہربان امیدواروں پر نہ کیوں سرکار ہو کیوں نہ رحمت کی نظر اسکی ہمیں درکار ہو
اسم اعظم کا وظیفہ مطبع اعظم میں ہو نام سے جس کے یہ کاغذ اعظم الاخبار ہو¹

Several of its issues had only the bare title, but they invariably mentioned the numbers of the volume and of the particular issue, the former was on the top right-hand side, while the latter on the top left-hand side of "the front page." The day, date, month and year were of the Hijri era as well as of both the Christian and the Hindu eras. All this occupied a considerable space of the title-page. The editor's name did not appear on it; but at the close of the last page the publishers' name appeared as Ḥakīm Sayyid Muḥammad and Company (مع شرکاء). In some of the issues, the name of the publishers appeared thus: "Hājī Sayyid Rustum, son of Mīr Sa'ī-ud-Dīn, and his Associates." The subscription to be paid in advance was one rupee per month or Rs. 10 for a year, postage charges extra.

اعظم الاخبار - پنجشنبہ روز اشتہار - قیمت یک روپیہ ماہوار - پیشگی سال کودس روپیہ ایک بار
محصول ڈاک خریدار ذمہ دار²

The charge for the publication of advertisements or any other matter, whether in prose or in verse, was, for regular subscribers only, one anna for the first line and half an anna for subsequent lines. Those who were not subscribers could not claim this privilege. They had to pay a flat rate of two annas per line. The Weekly was lithographed and published from the Press called Maṭba'ul-A'zam situated on the Wālājāhī High Road in Trimulkeri (Triplicane), Madras. We will not comment on the language of the paper but will allow our readers to judge it for themselves. We give but short extracts. The disuse of the sign نے of the nominative of transitive verbs as well as the use of alliterations and rhyme are very noticeable.

No defamatory matter or satirical composition was ever accepted by the editor. In one of the issues a correspondent, whose contribution was most probably rejected as being defamatory of "nominal Ulema" and

1. How can the Sarkar not be kind to his favour-expecting subjects ?

Why shall we not be in need of the Sarkar's kind thoughts ?

The recitation of A'zam's name (Nawab Muḥammad Ghouse Khan) should be pronounced in the A'zam's press.

By the name of him, let this paper become the greatest newspaper (A'zam-ul-Akḥbār).

2. A'zam-ul-Akḥbār—Thursday is the day of its publication—subscription a rupee a month—Rs. 10 advance for a year—responsibility of postage on subscribers.

“formal faqirs,” wrote to complain thus :

”عجب تماشہ ہے کہ اس شہر کے علمائے رسمی اور فقرائے اسمی کا حال تو یہ ہے کہ جن کی واجبی مشہور خبریں لکھتے تو ہجو سے بدتر - دوسرے لوگوں کا کیا حال - پھر اپنے کام نہیں چھوڑتے - مفت مخبروں پر ناخوش ہوتے ہیں“¹

Despite the declared intention of the *Akhbār* not to publish any pungent or satirical matter, it had to spice a column or two with wit and humour because most of its readers insisted that it should have a lighter side.

”عجب ہنسی کی بات ہے جو بعضے شخص کہتے ہیں کہ اعظم الاخبار میں ہزل مسخری ٹھٹھے کی باتیں نہیں - اس واسطے پھیکا ہے کہ الہزل فی الکلام کالملح فی الطعام - اس کا جواب یہ ہے کہ : نداند کہ مارا سر ہزل نیست و گر نہ مجال سخن تنگ نیست

اہل ادب کو سزاوار نہیں کہ ایسی باتوں میں زباں کھولیں :

تو برسر قدر خویشن باش وقار بازی و ظرافت بندیمان بگذار

لیکن عزیزوں کی خاطر عزیزوں کی رعایت ضروری ہے۔ اس واسطے ناچار اس اخبار میں ایک فصل ان باتوں کے لئے مقرر کی جس میں کسی شخص معین کی ہجو اور آبرو ریزی کو دخل نہیں :

تاتوانی درون کس مخراش کاندرین راہ خارہا باشد²

Again, in spite of its desire to present only new and unpublished matter, it could not do otherwise than take news from other newspapers. It copied news from the following newspapers, viz., ‘*Umdat-ul-Akhbār*’³

1. How strange it is that if we write the actual facts about the so-called nominal Ulema and formal Faqirs of the city, it is worse than satire. Much less can be said about other men. Yet they do not give up their bad ways. Without reason they are displeased with the news-reporters.

2. It is a subject for laughter that some people say that there are no items of fun and frolic in the *A'zam-ul-Akhbār*. That is why it is insipid, for as the proverb says, humour in speech is like salt in food.

Our reply is : that the critic does not know that we are not inclined to be humorous, otherwise the extent of our talk is not limited.

It does not become the literary men to open their mouths with such talk.

You should preserve intact your own self-respect and dignity.

Leave fun and frolic to the courtiers.

However, for the sake of friends, friendly concession is necessary.

We have perforce decided to reserve a section in this newspaper. In that section there shall be no satire or defamation against any particular person.

So far as you can, desist from scratching the inside wound of the people on the way there are lots and lots of spikes and thorns.

3. This paper was published three times a month by Md. Akbar and Anwar, at the Anwar Press. Trimulkhari, Madras.

Jāmi'-ul-Akhbār,¹ *The Madras Native Herald*, *Āftāb-e-Ālam-Tāb*, *The Englishman*,² *The Athæneum*,³ *Jām-i-Jahān Numā*,⁴ and others. Nevertheless it did not abstain from criticising the policy of some of its contemporaries and commending that of others. Just to show the extent and variety of subjects dealt with by the *A'zam-ul-Akhbār* the contents of one of its issues numbered 15 in volume I, dated 12th October, 1848, may be mentioned. There are in it no less than 21 subjects some of which are : Literary Discourses, Extracts from the *Fort St. George's Gazette*, News of the Madras Police, Proceedings of the Supreme Court, a poem, Advertisements, Madras News, Lahore News, Karachi News, Bombay News, Multan, Bolan, Calcutta, The Thames (*The London Times*), News from Abu-Shahar (Bushire), News from France, Weekly Forecasts of the Weather, Sunrise and Sunset, and Phases of the Moon.

We may now turn to the social and cultural activities of the newspaper. In one of its issues, under the caption, "Useful Discourse," there is a question : "Why is poverty on the increase among Muslims ? The answer is "absence of business capacity".

”اس زمانے میں اہل اسلام کے درمیان افلاس و تنگی روز افزوں رہنے کا کیا سبب ہے ؟ یہی کہ لوگ کسب معاش کی عقل سے بالکل بے بہرہ ہیں،“

In one of the discourses the writer asks quite pertinently whether education means a sufficient knowledge of the three R's or whether the ability to write in a good style or to compose good poems could make one a gentleman :

”لکھنے پڑھنے میں جو کچھ حوصلہ پیدا ہو جائے تو کیا پوری تربیت ہو چکی ؟ یا اچھی شاعری اور پوری انشا پردازی کرنے لگے تو مرد معقول بن گئے ؟“

That discourse ends with a strong recommendation for vocational education :

”نہیں بلکہ کامل تربیت سے یہ مقصد ہے کہ انسان دین و دنیا کے کام بخوبی چلانے کا حوصلہ پیدا کر لے اور دنیا خورد عقبی برد کا مقصد تب بھی پورا برآئنگ اب حاصل مطلب یہی کہ ہمارے بھائی مسلمانوں میں دینی علم کی تربیت کے ساتھ ساتھ روزی حاصل کرنے کے علوم کی تعلیم کا رواج بھی

1. See my article published in the Indian Historical Records Commission Brochure of Papers, Trivandrum Session, pp. 128.

2. For full details vide, Margarita Barns, "The Indian Press," p. 187-190.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 166, 466.

4. This was a weekly in Persian published on Fridays by Munshi Ghulām Husain at the Jām-i-Jahān-Numā Press, Calcutta.

بالضرور ہونا چاہئے۔ خصوص اس وقت پر کہ روز بروز تنگی معیشت کا بازار بالکل گرم رہا کرتا ہے،

It is remarkable that the general theme of many a discourse is education and more education: "The object of all education should be no other than efficient preparation for complete living," since the people who *knew much* but could *do little* would be useless in the economy of social life. This argument, anticipating, as it did, the modern teaching of John Dewey, was a fine hit at the character of the very learned but very indolent Ulema of those days. A learned man considered it beneath his dignity to do any manual work other than writing.

The issue of the 4th Sha'bān 1264 A.H.=6th July 1848, had, as its first and foremost item, the important news of the marriage of Ra'īs-e-Karnatak, Amīr-ul-Hind, Wālā Jāh, Mukhtār-ul-Mulk, 'Azīm-ud-Dawlah, Nawāb Muḥammad Ghulām Ghouse Khān Bahādur, Shahāmat Jung. He was the last Nawāb of the Carnatic with some ruling powers. As several references to Hyderabad occur in the description of the ceremonies, it may be mentioned here that the bride was Khair-un-Nisā Begum Šāheba,² sister of Lady Salār Jung I, and aunt of Nawāb Kamāl Yār Jung Bahadur of our Khān-e-Khānān family. A detailed account of the marriage festivities and celebrations covers two full pages of the "Marriage Number." They are narrated date by date: from the رسم چتر (Umbrella Ceremony) that took place on the 12th Rajab, to the رسم شب گشت (Night Procession) on the 25th followed by the جلوه (Exposition of Beauties) on the 26th Rajab. Presentations of Nazars, conferments of titles, and grants of Jagirs are duly recorded. The Šadr-Amīn, Muftī Muḥammad Tāj-ud-Dīn Ḥusain Khān, of the pen-name Hujjat, composed the following chronogram:

نواب دکن کہ هست خورشید نژاد شد جلوہ فروز برج شادی بمراد
گفتم چہ سنش بکور چشمی حسود شد حجلہ عیش شاہ ز حیدرآباد³

Other items of news in the same issue show the progress which education was making among Muslims of the Madras of those days. One related

1. It is not so, but the object of the best education is that man should acquire the capacity to carry on quite well the religious as well as worldly business as it is said he enjoyed this world and carried with him the merit for the other world. In that case only would he reach the goal of benefitting this world and merit in the other world. The gist of our contention is that it should become a custom of our Muslim brothers to learn wage earning (economic science) along with education in religious science, and that too particularly in this time when the market of unemployment is very brisk."

2. She lived to a very old age. Nawāb Amīn Jung when he was a school boy saw her Sawārī at Melas and in Muharrams. He heard in those days that the Madras Government gave her a pension of Rs. one lakh per month.

3. The Nawāb of Deccan, who is descended from the Sun Has come into the Zodiac of Shādi (Happiness).
The year of his marriage which made the jealous blind of eye:
The secret of the King's happiness came from Hyderabad = 1264 A.H.

to the opening of a school at Mylapur by Nawāb Haidar Nawaz Jung Bahādur, (one of the ministers of the Nawab) with no less than 70 Muslim pupils to begin with. The staff consisted of teachers in Persian, English, Tamil, and Telugu. All the expenses of the establishment were borne by the Nawab himself. Another item related to the results of an examination held for three days at the Madras Medical College. Pratab Singh, one of the brilliant students of that College is commended for opening a dispensary and setting up a private practice. The Nawab's charitable disposition and generosity are applauded because he sent a number of lady students to the Medical College and promised to pay their expenses from his own privy purse. The conversion and baptism of a Brahman student of "the Anderson School" (now the Madras Christian College) evoked a sharp rebuke in the leading article of the issue from the pen of the editor himself. In order to prevent the conversion of pupils who went to Christian Missionary schools to learn the English language, the editor suggests that a few generous persons should subscribe sufficient money for the establishment of a school, wherein English should be taught along with Persian, Urdu, and Tamil. The inclusion of English in the syllabus (of non-Christian schools), argues the editor, would put an end to the practice of parents sending their boys to Christian schools.

Publicity is given to a notice in the Bombay newspaper called *Majma'-ul-Akhbār* which offered a reward of Rs. 250 to any one who could establish and publish a journal in Gujarati or Marathi for the promotion of unity (*i.e.* Hindu-Muslim unity) and inculcation of respect for law and order among the people at large. It appears to us that the amount of the reward was too small for the enterprise which it was meant to inaugurate or to encourage.

The fall of a meteor at 4-30 p.m. on 23rd January 1852 at Yettore, in the District of Nellore, created a great panic by reason of its terrific noise and smoke when the sky was quite clear and the air was serene. The paper says that the meteor was taken and deposited in the Madras Museum by a Mr. Edward Balfour and was open to inspection by the public from 4 to 6 p.m. daily.

So much for the cultural activities of the Muslims of Madras as evidenced by the premier Urdu newspaper of that city. As regards the contemporary foreign news, we find in its issues notices of the appointment of Ibrāhīm Pāshā as ambassador of Turkey to England—the floods of the Nile—the death of Muḥammad Shāh of Iran¹—the havoc caused by an earthquake in Constantinople,² etc. There are also tit-bits of

1. In 1834, on Fath 'Ali's death, his son 'Ali Shāh succeeded and reigned for 20 days and was succeeded in his turn by Fath 'Ali's grandson Muḥammad Shāh Kajar, died in 1848. *vide History of the Muslim World* by K. B. Ahsanullah, pp. 282-283.

2. *Fawā'id-un-Nāẓirīn* gives a detailed account of the havoc caused by the earthquake in Constantinople. Among other things it mentions a death-roll of 182, including Greeks and Turks; the number of the injured rescued from the debris is also given.

news from Shiraz, Qandhar, Bushire, Bukhara, Iran, Egypt, Mecca, China, Ireland, Spain, London, etc. Under the heading "Indian News," letters appeared regularly from correspondents from the following cities :—Arcot, Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore, Poona, Delhi, Lucknow, Bhawalpur, Lahore, Peshawar, Multan, Akbarabad, Rangoon, etc. The affairs of Afghanistan, the 2nd Sikh War, and the 2nd Burmese War are discussed with sense and discretion.

The Hyderabad State was a great favourite, next only to the Home State of the Carnatic. So a good deal of Hyderabad news found room in "the Great Newspaper." General Fraser was Resident at the Court of the Nizām for a long time from 1838 to 1853. In his absence from the State, due to his daughter's illness, Col. John Low officiated as Resident for a period of six months. Debts due to the Hyderabad Contingent, Sirāj-ul-Mulk's endeavours to liquidate them and his resignation of the office of minister, Col. Deighton's activities, etc., are mentioned and fully discussed.¹

We have space to refer to but one other newspaper of the Madras of pre-Mutiny days. It was the antipodes of the *Azām-ul-Akhbār*. It is called *Taisir-ul-Akhbār*. The name can be translated as an "Easy-going Newspaper." What light does it throw on Muslim culture in the Madras of those days? The post-Mutiny days changed the current of that culture in a rather unfavourable direction. Poverty increased along with mere outward show among Muslims, more especially among members of the so-called "ruling families," aristocratic Khāndānī Muslims.

This Akhbār was a one-sheet newspaper (15"×13") published every Saturday. Its title-page varied in several issues. For instance in Vol. I No. 14, dated 10th July, 1849, the name appears in a beautiful *طغراء* or

1. For full details read the *Memoirs and Correspondence of General James Stuart-Fraser*, Chapters VIII, IX and X.

In this connection it is interesting to note what General Fraser has to say as regards the reports published by the Madras Newspapers which relate to the contingent debts. Referring to one of the reports, Fraser writes as follows :—

"There is already a report in the City of Hyderabad that the supreme Government has it in contemplation to demand a portion of the Nizam's territory in liquidation of his debt to us, and for the current expenses of the Contingent. The report is said to have been arisen from an article in one of the Madras newspapers, which must have been published at Madras some days previously to the receipt of your Lordship's letter. The newspapers and your letter reached me simultaneously. There could have been no connection, therefore, between them; and either the Madras article was a mere conjecture of what might happen, or it must have been furnished by certain parties at Hyderabad, who not unfrequently receive information of what is about to be said, or done by the Supreme Government; and before I do so myself. *vide Fraser, Ibid.*, p. 307. (Extract from *Fraser's letter to Dalhousie*, dated 19th December, 1849).

In fairness to this newspaper, I may add, that many reports appearing in it which relate to the State of Hyderabad are fairly correct.

monogram. Just above it is the line "Enjoy the news if you have the ability to pay" and below it we read "رب یسرو تم الخیر" "My Lord, make it easy to begin and happy to end." On either side of the title we find verses in praise of the paper. Just below the title there is a notice to correspondents which advises them to value freedom of speech and make use of it with care and caution :—

سواخ نگاروں کی حق بیانی اور راست قلمی کو کسی طرح کا اندیشہ سنگ راہ نہ ہونے کے واسطے
حکام وقت کے یہاں سے رتبہ آزادی کا ملا ہے تا اس دولت غیر مرقب کی قدر دانی کر کے بندہ خوشامد گو
اور عبدالدرہم والدینا نہ رہیں :

مخبر آزاد ہیں سخن کے بیچ سوسن و سرو سے چمن کے بیچ ¹

That is a sample of the Urdu language of the day.

The subscription to this one-sheet newspaper—each page having four columns—was five annas per month. As regards its policy, the editor declares it to be based on the maxim: "Honesty is the best policy." Vol. IV, No. 26, dated 14th Rajab, 1268=24th April 1852, bears verses above the date-line of which the last two couplets are :—

بے شش و پنج ہووے گرتیسیر پانچ آنوں کی کچھ بساط نہیں
لیجئے ہم سے کاغذ اخبار سینکڑوں انبساط سے ہوں دوچار ²

This paper was printed in the Maṭba'-e-Taisir-ul-Akhbār, Mohalla, Trimulkheri, Wālā Jāhī Road House, No. 3, by its founder and publisher, Ḥakīm 'Abdul-Bāsiṭ (of the pen-name) 'Ishq. It quoted from, or referred to the following newspapers that were its contemporaries. *Fawā'id-un-Nāzirīn*,³ *The Bombay Vartaman*,⁴ *Gulshan-i-Naobahār*, *Shams-ul-Akhbār*⁵

1. "The authorities of the time have given such freedom to the correspondents that there should be no danger of any stumbling-block in the way of truthful statements and righteous writings. So that in appreciation of this unexpected good fortune no man should become a flatterer or be a slave to money and worldly goods.

News-writers have the freedom of speech in the same way as lily and cypress in the flower-garden."

2. Nobody need be at sixes and sevens if he has the ability to pay 5 annas, the amount of which is trifling thing.

Pay and take from us a sheet of newspaper, and derive from it much pleasure.

3. For a detailed description see my article published in the *Indian Historical Records*, Trivandrum Session, p. 128.

4. O. C. Margarits Barns, p. 90.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 127.

The Friend of India,¹ *Jām-e-Jamshēd*,² *Rāst Guftār*,³ *Sulṭān-ul-Akhhār*,⁴ *Maḡhar-ul-Akhhār*.⁵

The first column of the *Taisir* was reserved for announcements of the *Fort St. George Gazette* and the local news of the Madras City. Besides foreign news from Iran, China, Russia, Muscat, Arabia, London, Sydney, etc., news from the Indian States was always the prominent features of the paper.

The description of the celebrations of the 'Id-ul-Adhā, "the Feast of Sacrifice," in Madras on the 10th Zilhij 1268 = 12th October 1852 cover a full page, that is, one half of a number. After attending the 'Id prayer the Nawab of the Carnatic⁵ held a Darbar at the "Humayun Manzils" where he conferred the titles of Shajī-ul-Mulk, Rustom-ud-Dawla and Jān Bāz Jung on his chief minister Nadīm-ud-Dawla and other titles on other ministers and officials of his Darbar. That shows, as has already been hinted above Nawab Ghulām Ghouse Khān (of the pen-name) A'zam was the last Nawāb of Arcot who exercised kingly powers. The expected arrival of the sons of Tipū Sulṭān at Madras on their way to Mysore to offer their prayers at their father's tomb is announced. An attack on the Shāh of Iran by bandits at Mazandran and his escape with slight injuries is also mentioned. The presentation of a unique clock to the Mughal emperor is duly noted.

The paper published a long petition signed by forty-eight members of the Nawab's family claiming pensions and subsidies. It indicates the beginning of dissensions that called for interference by the British authority, resulting in the deprivation of succeeding Nawabs of their ruling powers. The poverty of Muslims even in those days is evidenced by the news of the formation of a Society for the Relief and Aid of the Poor Muslims. Its rules, regulations and programme cover a column and half of a certain issue. Letters addressed to the editor seeking explanation of certain chapters of the Qur'ān "for the benefit of the Muslim public" appear with answers by the editor or correspondents. There is in the paper a "Poet's Corner" which shows that Urdu poetry was sedulously cultivated. That sea voyages were recommended and encouraged is proved by regular announcements of the arrival and departure of ships such as "The Fair Queen," "Barmuda," etc.

1. O. S. Margarita Barns, p. 127.

2. This was the Gujarati paper first published in Bombay in 1831 and is still in existence. The founder was Pestonji Maneckji, and this weekly journal was and still is considered the organ of orthodox Parsees. It later became a daily newspaper.

3. *Rāst Guftār* was first published by Dadahbai Naroji who afterwards became the first Indian member of the Parliament.

4. This newspaper was published twice a week by Muḡammad Ṭāhir and Sayyid 'Alī in Calcutta.

5. Thrice a month, published in Urdu, by Muḡammad Khāja Bādshāh 'Ibrat, Madras. It was of 12 pages with a subscription of Re. 1 a month.

6. The successors of Nawāb Ghulām Ghouse Khān A'zam, who died childless, were and are designated as Princes of Arcot.

There must have been numerous defaulters among the subscribers, otherwise the publishers would not have made an appeal in the following terms :

التاس دل حزیں و ملول ہووے مقبول پیش اہل قبول

ہمارے کاغذ کے مشتریوں کی جناب میں التاس یہی ہے کہ بعضے صاحبان تو ماہ بماء بلا ناغہ قیمت تیسیر الاخبار کی پہونچا کر سمنوں منت فرماتے ہیں اور بعضوں پر مہینوں بلکہ برسوں کے پیسے چڑھتے ہیں - پھر ہم اہتمام سے اس کے کیونکر پار اتر سکیں گے - پس توجہ قدیمانہ سے امید ہے جو صاحبان کہ اس باب میں تکاھل و اعراض فرماتے ہیں سو پانچ آنوں کی کچھ بساط نہ سمجھ کے ماہواری دینے میں سستی نہ کرنا اور عنقریب تمام وکال باقی عنایت فرما دینا تا سربراہی اس کاغذ کی بوجہ احسن ہوا کرے اور اخبار نادارہ سے ضیافت خاص و عام کی ہوتی رہے -¹

اہل تیسیر کی توجہ خاص ہو میسر ہمیں تو دور نہیں

The peculiarities of the Urdu language of those days may be noted in the above as well as in the other short quotations in this article. The paucity of subscribers, and the non-payment and irregular payment by not a few of the actual subscribers, cut short the career of *Taisir-ul-Akhbar*, which began in 1848 and ended in 1853. It was intended for poor Muslims, but their poverty grew too great to keep it going.

K. SAJUN LAL.

1. The request of the grieved and sorry mind is that it should be appreciated by those who are competent to appreciate our request.

Although some purchasers of our paper oblige us by paying month by month, yet there are some others who leave the money unpaid for months, even for years. If it is so how can we carry on with the management of this paper? We ask the people who are so remiss in payment of their subscription kindly to note that they should not consider 5 annas a month as a great amount and be careless in paying it. And in the near future they will please pay the arrears in full so that the supply of the paper may be carried on with success, and we may please all and sundry with novel news.

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

HYDERABAD

Iranian Cultural Mission :

THE distinguished members of the Iranian Cultural Mission visited the Osmania University on 23rd March, 1944. Addressing the students of the Osmania University, His Excellency Ali Asghar Hikmat, the leader of the Cultural Mission declared in Persian that Hyderabad was the greatest centre of Iranian culture outside Iran. He then explained that the object of the mission was to extend literary and cultural relations between the two ancient civilizations—Iran and India—in which particularly Hyderabad was holding conspicuous place as a centre of both the cultures. These two civilizations had in the beginning a common origin and as the two cultures have been separated, they should be brought together and the ties of relation should be further strengthened by mutual exchange of the students and professors between Tehran and Hyderabad whose exchange of views and combined results of researches might make a real contribution to the progress of civilization. The learned speaker further informed that Farhangistan Academy of Iran took keen interest in the Translation Bureau of the Osmania University and especially in that branch of the Bureau which coins terms of art and science in the Urdu language and he sincerely hoped that in the coinage of the terms an effective co-operation should be established between the Tehran Academy and Hyderabad Translation Bureau.

Another member of the mission, Prof. Rashīd Yāsīmī delivered a very interesting lecture on modern Persian literature in the sweet language of Shiraz—the Persian—and cleared a number of doubts about modern tendencies of Iran which for considerable years were lurking in the minds of the Indian scholars. Speaking about the modernisation of the Iranian language and literature the professor said that modern Iran never intended nor was it likely that she would ever think of purging the Persian language of all Arabic words. To hold such a view is simply childish since Iranian scholar cannot avoid using Arabic terms wherever he is required to express his views either in science, art or literature. What the Iranian scholars really desired was that unnecessary use of Arabic words in order to display one's extent of knowledge and erudition should not be allowed.

Thus the language should be made simple and intelligible not only to the scholars but also to the man in the street so that all the citizens of a democratic country should equally avail themselves of the benefits of learning.

Osmania University Researches :

A note about the Oriental Research in the Osmania University has been published in the *Islamic Culture*, January, 1943. Besides the researches conducted for the degree of Ph.D., M.A., M.Sc., LL.M. students are also required to submit theses on original subjects. The following papers of LL.M. deal with Islamic subjects and have been approved by the Osmania University.

1. The Slave Institution in Various Legal Systems with special reference to Islam by Mr. Abdus-Sattar.
2. Divorce in Dharm Shaster and its Comparison with the Islamic and English Law by Mr. Trimbac Rao.
3. Theft in Different Systems of Law with special reference to Islam by Mr. Gauhar Ali.
4. The Islamic Law of Joint Companies and its Comparative Study with the existing Code of Hyderabad Deccan, by Mr. Wahid-ullah Khan.
5. Effect of the Present War on International Law with particular reference to Islamic countries by Mr. R. Siddiq Husain
6. Prohibited Degrees of Near Relations for Matrimonial Purposes. A comparative study with special reference to Islam by Mr. Shamsul-Haq.

The Celebration of Iqbal Day :

Bazm-e-Iqbāl has as usual celebrated Iqbal day this year with greater interest and enthusiasm. Besides arranging lectures on various aspects of Iqbal's poetry, a notable feature of this celebration was that an exhibition of Iqbal's work and his poetic art was also organized. Some thought-provoking lines from Iqbal's poems were selected and depicted in artistic pictures. In preparing these pictures, the co-operation of Art School of Hyderabad was secured. The Art School deserves encouragement for this maiden attempt and we hope that the school will produce more perfect models of Iqbal's unperishable ideals.

M. A. M.

DECCAN

The Cultural Heritage of India :

SWAMI Nikhilananda observes in a short article in the *Vedanta Kesari*, March 1944 :

"The Muslims entered India with their levelling doctrine of Islam. Carrying the sword in one hand and the Koran in the other, they intended to convert India into a country of Islam. Within a few hundred years we find the Mughal emperors of Delhi marrying the princesses of Rajputana and showing respects to the indigenous culture of India. Akbar imbibed the philosophy and religion of the Hindus to such an extent that he formulated a new eclectic religion, the Din Elahi, which was his version of a universal religion. One of the important and lasting results of the contact between Hinduism and Islam is the formulation of Sufism,¹ whose tenets show impress of Vedantism on the teachings of the Koran. Babar, the first Mughal Emperor of India, may have longed for the melons of Samarkand, but his descendants and followers accepted India as their motherland. Today over ninety per cent. of the Muslims in India trace their descent from Hindu ancestors. Within a short time after their first contact the Hindus and Muslims were exchanging their cultures in respect of art, medicine and music, and the modern culture of northern India, to a very large extent, has been enriched by the contribution of the Muslims. As Hindu society assimilated some of the ideas of democratic Islam, the austere religion of Mohammed too could not escape the humanising influence of Hinduism."

Art Find :

The Times of India, Bombay (May 6, 1944) remarks in the columns of *Current Topic* :—

"In the Journal of the Bihar Research Society, the story is revealed of the discovery of a rare example of calligraphy by Prince Khyrra (correct name is 'Khurram') who later became Emperor Shāh Jahān. A painting was removed with other treasures from the Patna Museum and taken to a remote place in the province for safe storage. The curator, anxious to examine the work of Art for any change due to climatic conditions, discovered the Persian calligraphy by Prince Khyrra, on the reverse of this famous Indo-Persian painting of the sixteenth century depicting an ascetic leading along with one hand and holding a flag in the other, and being followed by a boy. The newly discovered panel is signed by the Prince and is dated '1617'—."

The issue of the Bihar Research Society *Journal* (December 1943), which contains the above article in the note of the *Times of India*, under

1. Cf. *Sufism and Islam*, Islamic Culture No. 4, 1927,—Ed., I. C.

the heading is before us : A *Waṣlī* of Prince *Khurram*, with two reproductions, i.e., one of the same *Waṣlī* of calligraphy attributed to *Shāh Khurram* (later *Shāh Jahān*) and the other of the Indo-Persian painting of the 17th century. The Persian quatrain calligraphed therein bears the calligraphist's name : ۱۰۲۵ سنه شرم شاه خاصه and the author of the article has rendered it thus :—

“ Exercise by a confidential friend
or
Special Exercise by
Shāh Khurram
1025 (A.H.) ”

After discussing the problem at length he says at its end :

“ For all the reasons given above I believe I am justified in concluding that the writing in this *Waṣlī* is undoubtedly that of *Shāh Khurram*, later the Emperor *Shāh Jahān*, and also that he may well have been the author of the verses.”

The only objection in accepting forthwith the above conclusion is that a calligraphist or a writer customarily does not sign his own name in this way, unless it has some special motive behind. Though in the present instance specimens having signatures as *Shāh Khurram* are not available, yet fortunately the *Shāh Nāma* of Firdousi published by the Indian Society, London 1931, is before us, in which there is a description of an illustrated MS. of the *Shāh Nāma* by Wilkinson and Laurence Bin-yon. Its frontispiece contains one reproduction of the fly-leaf of the same MS. having an autograph of *Shāh Jahān*, which he had recorded on the day of his enthronement (1037 A.H.), i.e., about twelve years after the year (1025 A.H.) recorded in the referred to *Waṣlī*. It evidently bears his signature thus :—

..... حرره شهاب الدين محمد شاه جهان
بادشاه ابن جهانگیر بادشاه بن اکبر بادشاه غازی

‘ Written by *Shihābu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh Jahān Bādshāh* ibn *Jahāngīr Bādshāh* ibn *Akbar Bādshāh Ghāzī*.

The same is also found in other such autographs of *Shāh Jahān*. It leads us to believe that he was accustomed to sign his name in this way.

A similarity between the style of writing of the autograph of *Shāh Jahān* on the fly-leaf of the *Shāh Nāma* and that of the *Waṣlī* can be traced after a careful study. In this respect it is prudent for us to wait for some other resembling specimen of calligraphy or writing by *Shāh Khurram* or *Shāh Jahān* having similar signature, as it is just possible that some one else might have copied it out following the style of the prince and had put these words on it.

A Persian Forerunner of Dante :

Dr. Nicholson gives a translation of some of the odes of Sanā'ī, (died circa 1150 A.D.) from one of his short descriptive poems, bearing the title *Sayru'l-'Ibād-ilā'l-Ma'ād*, in the latest issue of the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 19. He describes it as 'the Journey of God's Creatures (mankind) to the Afterworld. He says, "In this masterpiece of grotesque imagination Sanā'ī depicts the return of the fallen soul to its Divine origin and ultimate home. Like Dante, he tells us how in the dark wilderness he met a guide who escorted him through all the limbos of mortal anguish and terror that must be traversed ere the goal is reached. By way of prelude he traces figuratively the first movements of the ascending soul—its evolution from the vegetative and animal natures into the rational faculty which constitutes its true being. Only then can the 'traveller,' i.e., the reasonable soul, enter on the mystic path of self-purification under the auspices of a *Shaykh* inspired by the Universal Reason. . . . It is impossible to read the *Sayru'l-'Ibād* without being reminded of the *Divina Comedia*, especially the *Inferno*."

The Administration Buildings of Akbar's Fathpur Sikri :

The details of the buildings of Fathpur Sikri have already been given by so many writers, historians and travellers. The Archæological reports and official guides published by the Archæological department are full of their minute details. But we find that Dr. S. K. Banerji of the Lucknow University, describes also the same items of buildings under a new heading which adds little to our knowledge.

Kisse-Sanjan :

Mr. B.N. Bhatena, Bombay, has published a brochure on this heading in which he has discussed at length the problem discussed in a book in Persian verses written by Bahmani Kaikobad, a Persian priest of Navasari in 1599 and has come to the conclusion that it is palpably false. It pretends to give the so-called history of Parsis from the downfall of the Sassanian Empire till the conquest of the supposed Hindu Kingdom of Sanjan by Muslims.

Calligraphy :

We find that Muslim calligraphy is creating interest among the scholars. Recently K. B. Muḥammad *Shafi'* has published one specimen of calligraphy by Arghunu'l-Kāmlī in the *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore

(Nov. 1943), which has revealed to us that this great calligraphist, who was one of the six chief pupils of Yāqūt Mustaʿşimi (d. 698 A.H.), was actually called 'Kāmlī' and not Kāblī. It gives us satisfaction that our India collections are rich of such rare specimens of fine art of Islam. It will also be interesting to cite here that the Kutub Khana Āṣafiya (State Library), Hyderabad-Deccan holds a large collection of Arabic and Persian rare and unique manuscripts which are not so well-known to scholars yet. In the Arabic history section we find one MS. of a large size of the *Wafiyāt-l-A'yān* by Ibn-Khallikān (d. 681 A.H., Arabic History Section No. 994, List of Books, Vol. II, pp. 90-91), which is calligraphed in Naskhī characters with an illuminated page in the beginning. Its colophon runs thus :—

تم الكتاب المسمى بتاريخ ابن خلکان بحمد الله تعالى ومنه وكرمه وكان الفراغ من هذا الكتاب
ظهر يوم الثلاثاء من الشهر المحرم الحرام سنة سبعائه وست وخمسين من هجرة الرسول
المجتبى محمد المصطفى صلى الله عليه واله وسلم، كتبه اضعف عباد الله عبد الله الصيرفي
الحسيني غفر الله ذنوبه وذنوب والديه .

'The transcription of the history known as Ibn-Khallikān finished by the grace of God on Tuesday, in the month of Muḥarram, year 756 A.H. The most humble 'Abdulla aṣ-Ṣayrafī al-Ḥusainī calligraphed it. May Allah forgive his sins as well as of his parents.'

It is well-known that 'Abdulla Ṣayrafī is also one of the six chief pupils of Yāqūt Mustaʿşimi and a colleague of Arghunū'l-Kāmlī. Apart from it this 'Abdulla Ṣayrafī was the author of a treatise on the art of calligraphy, and had collected the instructions of his master, Yāqūt Mustaʿşimī. (*Kashf-uṣ-Ṣanūn*, Vol. 549-50). Fortunately, its two manuscripts are found in the Jāmi' Masjid Library, Bombay.

Sind Provincial Urdu Conference, Karachi.

It was presided over by Mr. 'Abdur-Raḥmān Siddiqī, who, being a native of the place, traced the background of Urdu and the importance of the province in this respect. Mr. Pir Elahi Bakhsh welcomed the members of the conference as the president of the reception committee and he also in the capacity of Educational Minister of Sind gave some account of the position of Urdu education in the province.

The Jain Prime Minister of Hoshang Ghori of Malwa :

In continuation of his previous article under the heading 'Mandana the Prime Minister of Malwa and his Works, Mr. P.K. Gode, the curator of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona, contributes another paper, *The*

Genealogy of Mandana, the Jain Prime Minister of Hoshang Ghōrī of Malwa between A.D. 1405 and 1432, to the *Jain Antiquary's* latest issue. Mandana's father Bahada was a Samghapati connected with Kharataranvya and that he himself was a Samghapati like his father and a devout follower of Jain religion as he calls himself the illustrious preceptor of the Jain religion. Dhanadaraja composed his *Satakatraya* at Mandapadurga or Mandu fort in *Samvat* 1490/1434 A.D. during the reign of Hoshang Ghōrī of Malwa. Both these cousins Dhanadaraja and Mandana were men of literary tastes and ability, and if one of them composed a work in 1434 A.D., the chronology of the other cousins' works may be safely assigned to the period 1405-32 A.D. Mr. Gode concludes with these remarks : ' The students of the history of Malwa should investigate and determine the exact period of Mandana's prime ministership and the influence exercised by his Jain prime minister on the policy of Hoshang Ghōrī. This association of a Jain minister with a Muslim ruler of Malwa in the 15th century is as interesting as it is instructive. Mandana refers to his Muslim patron in glowing terms in his works.'

Sabaji Prataparaja, a protégé of Burhān Nizām Shāh :

"The Nizām Shāhi kings of Ahmadnagar appear to have been patrons of Hindu writers," as observed by Mr. Gode in his recent paper in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona*, Vol. XXIX, Pt. III-IV, under the heading *Sabaji Prataparaja, a Protégé of Burhān Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar, and his Works between 1500-1560. A.D.* He has based his whole information on *Dharamsastra* of Nrsimhaprasada, who was not only a high army officer in the employ of Aḥmad Nizām Shāh but was also his Keeper of Records. Mr. Gode also tries to identify Sabaji Pratap Rai from the *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir*. In some cases we find that Mr. Gode's conclusions require further clarification to which we shall attend later on.

M. A. C.

NORTH-EASTERN INDIA

THE visit of the Iranian Cultural Mission to some of the important cities of the United Provinces invoked a great interest and enthusiasm amongst the Muslim as well as the Hindu elites of the Province. At Allahabad the mission, which consisted of His Excellency Aqa Ali Asghar Hikmat (Leader of the Mission), Mr. Poure Daoud and Mr. Rashid Yasimi, was welcomed and entertained to dinner at his residence by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. In welcoming the mission Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru spoke of the long cultural relations between India and Iran. He

pointed out that it was wrong to suppose that such cultural relations came into existence only during the Muslim rule. On the other hand, recent researches have shown that the cultural contacts of Iran with India were much older than those even with China. It was not generally realised, continued Sir Tej, that even in Bengal, Madras and Orissa, not to speak of the Punjab and U.P., the Persian influence had been vast and deep, and Persian words were used without being obviously realised that they were Persian. For instance many Bengali surnames were originally derived from Persian, *e.g.*, Mallick, Mazumdar, which is corruption of Majmu'dar and Mahal-nibis for Mahal Navis, just as in Marathi Fadnavis is a corruption of Fard Navis. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru added further :—
 “The great Ram Mohan Roy, one of the greatest Indians of the last hundred years, was an erudite scholar of Persian and wrote in Persian a profound book of philosophy on Unity of God. His picture, showing him dressed in the robe of a Mughal nobleman and receiving his credentials from the Mughal emperor before he started on his mission to England, is one of the unique pictures I have seen in the palace of His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal. It is a historical fact that some parts of North Punjab were at one time claimed to be the parts of the empire of Darius and it is a mistake to suppose that the Persian influence in India spread with the establishment of the Muslim rule. Cultural contact between Persia and India went much further back in Indian history than the Muslim rule.” Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru hoped that the arrival of the Iranian Cultural Mission was a sign and symbol of the times and might lead to the re-establishment of closer and more intimate relations between India and Iran.

He concluded his speech by quoting verses of the renowned Persian poet Hāfiz. He also showed his familiarity with the delightful poetry of Poure Dāoud and Rashīd Yāsīmī, who signed their works which were already in his (Sir Tej's) possession. Replying in Persian His Excellency Aqa Ali Asghar Hikmat said that there were cultural relations between Persia and India even in pre-Muslim period and they had continued down the centuries to the present days. He observed that early in the fifth century A.D. a mission was sent to India by an Iranian King Khosroes Anushirwan, and it took back to Iran veritable store of knowledge and culture. His Excellency expressed the hope that just as Allahabad was the confluence of the Ganges and the Jamuna, so would it become a meeting point of Indian and Iranian culture and would play its part in promoting friendship, harmony and the closest possible cultural relationship between the two countries.

The Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University also welcomed the members of the mission at a meeting of the staff of the University held in the Senate Hall.

The Oriental Society of the Allahabad University also extended its warm reception to the mission by holding a meeting under the Chair-

manship of the Vice-Chancellor, who, in his presidential address, looked forward to an exchange of scholars between India and Iran for special branches of study. He also invited from Iran an eminent educationist who could teach modern Persian at the Allahabad University. In reply H. E. Aqa A. A. Hikmat expressed, "Since India and Iran had the closest possible cultural relations even in the pre-historic days when difficulties of communication and travel presented almost insuperable barriers, it would indeed be surprising, if in these days of easy travel and speedy communication, these two great sister relations kept apart from each other and did not avail of the vast store of knowledge and culture which is their common heritage." "The two nations," observed His Excellency further, "had sprung from common stock and had common cultural ideas. It was through Persia that the Aryans of old days brought their religion and even the names of their gods of India. A tablet found in Turkey describes the names of gods who were worshipped both by ancient Iranians and Indians. With the passage of time this cultural relationship became even closer and was continued down the centuries through the periods of the Ashkanians, the Sassanians and afterwards the Muslim rulers of Iran. During the time of the Mughals, exchange of gifts between the Indian and the Iranian sovereigns and, what is even more important, the free and frequent exchange of the best cultural and artistic products of the two countries further cemented the indissoluble bonds of friendship. Indeed this exchange took place as far back as the periods of Nausherwan the Just." Referring to the address presented to the mission and the number of poems all written in Persian in their honour, the leader of the mission said: "This was the most convincing proof of the fact that even today the two countries—India and Iran—were close culturally as ever before, and that the great national poets of Iran—Rūmī, Ḥāfiẓ and Sa'dī—were as much the idols of India as of Iran. It is therefore incumbent upon us of the present generation to preserve by all means our glorious heritage of the past and to strengthen the links that have bound the two countries in such ties of friendship and harmony all through the centuries."

The Mission visited Benares and Aligarh, where the members of the mission greatly enjoyed their visit and expressed their deep impressions and historical relations of the two countries.

The Muslim University Gazette has, in one of its issues, given prominence to some of the rare manuscripts and unique miniature paintings which are preserved in the Rampur State Library. They may be mentioned here, with a supplement of further informations, for the general interest of our readers: (1) A copy of the Holy Qur'ān on parchments, transcribed by the fourth Caliph Ḥaḍrat 'Alī in 40 A.H. It is written in Kūfī script, in which dots have been used instead of diacritical marks, (2) A copy of the Holy Qur'ān, transcribed by Imām Ja'far Ṣādiq (died 148 A.H.), written in small Kūfī script in black. The whole copy is void of dots and diacritical marks, (3) A copy of an Arabic commentary of the Holy Qur'ān entitled

تفسير الثوري by Imām Sufyān-ath-Thawrī (born at Kūfa in 97 A.H., and died at Baṣra in 161 A.H.). Imām Sufyān is popularly known as a great traditionist and a Faqih, but he wrote also a commentary on the Holy Qur'ān, which has been referred to by Hājī Khālifa in *Kashf-az-Zunūn* on the authority of Tha'labī. This work was believed to have been lost, but a copy of it has been traced in the Rampur State Library. Its pages from the beginning and the end are missing, and consists at present only of eighteen pages, each of which has about thirty-one lines. The size of the manuscript is $7 \times 10\frac{1}{2}$ and $7 \times 4\frac{3}{4}$. The commentary begins from the verse لا اكره في الدين and finishes at the first verse of Sūrah طور. The manuscript is believed to have been transcribed in the 6th century A.H., (4) A copy of the collection of Emperor Babur's Turkish verses, bearing the autographs of Khān-Khānan Bairam Khān. The copy was written in 1558 A.D. for the Emperor. It also consists of a Rubā'ī transcribed by the Emperor himself. The last page bears Shāh-Jahān's note, which says that the Rubā'ī was followed by Babur's signature, which is however not found there now, (5) A treatise on ethics transcribed by Mir 'Alī, who was an illustrious scribe of Nast'aliq of the Mughal period. The treatise bears autographs of Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān and a note from the latter's daughter Jāhānārā Begum, (6) An ornamented copy of *Diwān-i-Hāfiz*, prepared at Emperor Akbar's instance. It contains several miniatures drawn by Akbar's court-painters, one of which depicts Akbar seated on the throne with three scholars in his presence, holding books in their hands. Two of these scholars resemble Abul-Faḍl and Faiḍī, (7) A manuscript of the *Mathnavī* of Maulānā Jalālud-dīn Rūmī, edited by Mullā 'Abdul-Laṭīf 'Abbāsī with the help of nearly eighty different copies of the *Mathnavī*. Mullā 'Abdul-Laṭīf 'Abbāsī flourished in 'Ālamgīr's reign and died in 1036 A.H., (8) A Persian *Diwān* of the well-known poet Ḥazīn of Isfahān, transcribed by one of his pupils. The *Diwān* consists of a preface written by the poet himself, and the margins of the *Diwān* had, in the poet's own handwritings, the verses composed after the compilation of the *Diwān*.

Amongst the various miniatures preserved in the Rampur State Library references to the following may be made here :— (1) A miniature of Jahāngīr seated on his throne with a galaxy of courtiers in front of him. Jahāngīr has also been shown holding a goblet which Shahryār is presenting to him. The names of the courtiers are recorded in a very minute script. It is the work of Gobardhan, the master-painter of the age. (2) In another miniature Jahāngīr is seen witnessing on horseback a struggle between a snake and a spider. (3) Another miniature depicts the siege conducted by Emperor 'Ālamgīr who is seen surrounded by a number of chiefs, amongst whom there is also Raja Karan Singh of Bikaner (4 & 5). Another two paintings are the products of Muḥammad Shāh's reign, one of which depicts a royal procession of Muḥammad Shāh, and another of his Darbar, with the names of his courtiers noted below.

The Rampur State library has also a publication section which has undertaken the responsibility of writing and publishing rare manuscripts. Its previous publications are *Makātib-i-Ghālīb* and *Kitāb-al-Ajnās*, and has recently brought out a useful and learned book in Persian entitled *Dastūr-al-Faṣāhat*. Its author is Sayyid Aḥad 'Alī Yaktā of Lucknow, who flourished in the days of Ghāziuddīn Hydar and Naṣīruddīn Hydar, the rulers of Oudh. This book is divided into three parts, the first part deals with the origin and genesis of Urdu, the second treats at length with grammar, philology, prosody, rhetoric, metres, etc., of the Urdu language and the last describes 135 poets, whose verses have been quoted in the book as authorities to support some arguments. Sayyed Imtiāz 'Alī 'Arshī, the cataloguer of the library, has very ably and efficiently edited the first and the third part of the book, writing in the beginning a preface of 117 pages which throw abundant light on the author's life, the subject-matter of the book and the various Tadhkiras of the Urdu poets. This preface along with the marginal annotations by the learned editor has made this book a treasure-house of knowledge, which is an asset to Urdu literature.

Another recent publication which deserves special notice here is the autobiography entitled *A'māl Nāmāh* by Sir Raza 'Alī, Kt., of Moradabad, formerly Agent to the Governor-General of India in South Africa. This M. P. Knight, who was formerly noted for indulging in chivalry of law and politics, has, in his old age, assumed the role of the lover of belles-lettres by writing the story of his life in a voluminous work of 517 pages. This autobiography covers at length not only the details of the writer's chequered career, but also abounds in lively description of the founders and makers of the M.A.O. College, Aligarh, highly interesting accounts of the life and activities of the college in the author's days and a very critical and sympathetic study of the currents and cross-currents of politics, society, religion and literature of the Indian Muslims of the twentieth century. The book has been written in a racy, though apparently unpretentious impressive style, which is a tribute to the author's elegant literary taste; and it will ever serve as a great intellectual repast even to a discriminating reader.

The monthly journal of the Shibli Academy, the *Ma'ārif* has, during the period under report, published a thoughtful article in two instalments on Iqbal's poetry, in which Dr. Sayyid 'Abdullāh of the Oriental College, Lahore, portrays the difficulties which an average reader of Iqbal's poetry has generally to face. He wants organised efforts from a small band of efficient scholars to make the following elucidations of Iqbal's poetry in order to facilitate the thorough grasp and quick understanding:— (1) Iqbal's difficult words, (2) Iqbal's principles of thought, (3) Iqbal's sources of thought, (4) Profound themes of Iqbal's poetry, (5) Iqbal's reference to different personalities in his poetry, (6) Iqbal's classical references and literary terminology, (7) Iqbal's metaphors, similes, and pseudonyms, (8) Iqbal's literary perspective, etc. Another article, in two instalments,

by Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Khan of King Edward College, Amraoti (Berar), discusses with the kinds of ensigns and banners used in the battlefields in the early and subsequent days of Islam as well as in the period of the Ghaznavid rulers. The writer, in his learned dissertation, has tried to show that the Holy Prophet used black رَايَات and white رَوَاء which had كَلِمَةُ طِبْ inscribed on them. The Omayyads had white standards; the Abbasids adopted black flags bearing the كَلِمَةُ طِبْ in white letters; the colours of the Alavids were green; the banners of the Zangi were made of silken cloths, which had on them verses from the Holy Qur'an written in red and green letters; the standards of the Fatimides bore a crescent and a tiger woven out of red and yellow silk, the Almohades of Spain also used crescent; while the Turks had also a crescent and a star. The writer of the article has made a special study of the flags used by the Ghaznavids. According to his researches, Sultān Mahmūd liked to have black ensigns after the pattern of the 'Abbasids, while the banners of his successors had tigers drawn on them. Other notable contributions in the journal under review are (1) Qannauj by Dr. Sayyed Sulaiman Nadvi. This is an Urdu version of the article published in the *Islamic Culture* of October 1943, (2) *Islamic Ma'āshiyāt*, by Māulanā Manāzīr Ḥasan, Head of the Department of Theology, Osmania University. The learned writer has been compiling a book in which he has laid down the economic principles and theories based purely on Islamic laws. Some of the chapters of this book are being published in the *Ma'arīf*. We hope the book will provide valuable guidance to those who are interested in the fundamentals of Islamic economics, (3) In a brief article Dr. Ḥamīdullāh of the Osmania University acquaints his readers with the various associations of Hyderabad-Deccan which have, unlike the Co-operative Societies of British India, been advancing loans free of any interest, (4) Dr. Waliuddin of the Osmania University writes in a charming style philosophical study of man's anxieties under the caption 'Taṣṣiḥ-e-Fikr.'

The quarterly journal of the Hindustani Academy, Allahabad, the *Hindustani*, has published the following articles in its last issue of April 1944: (1) *Nafā'is-ul-Lughāt* compiled by Uḥud'uddīn Bilgrāmī, which is being continued from previous issues, (2) *Falsafa Yā Ḥikmat* by Maulānā Amin 'Abbāsī, (3) Two earliest and rare works in Urdu on western Medicine by Sayyid Mubārīz-ud-din Raf'at. The books referred to are کتاب علم طب by Ḥakīm Bāqar 'Alī and Ḥakīm Sayyid 'Alī, and the Urdu translation of Dr. Conquest's *Outlines of Midwifery* by Edward Balfoars. The former book, having 591 pages, was compiled in 1860 A.D. and printed at the Scottish press, Madras in 1863. The authors were educated in the institution in Hyderabad founded for the instruction of Yunani medicine by Mukhtārul-Mulk Nawāb Mir Nawab 'Alī Khān Sir Sālār Jung I. The latter book was rendered into Urdu in 1849 A.D. by an English surgeon attached to the Governor of Madras. The translator was a scholar in Persian also, and he dedicated his translation to Joseph Hume, a Member

of Parliament. The dedication is written in Persian, (4) The last article is by the editor who has tried to make a study of the various articles published in the prominent journals of India. It may however be said here that this journal, which has the sole privilege of enjoying the patronage of the U.P. Government is shorn of its former glory with which it started in its early life, for it has recently grown very dry, terse and insipid.

The Secretary of the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu, Bihar, Qazi M. Sayeed has taken upon himself the task of enlightening the Urdu readers with the contributions which the scholars and the poets of Bihar have made to Urdu literature. This has led the writer to dig out from obscurity some of the notable litterateurs of Bihar who were for some reasons or other, buried under a mass of oblivion. The work, after its compilation, will be named *Bihār Main Urdu*, after the pattern of the well-known Urdu books *Punjab Main Urdu* and *Dakan Main Urdu*. A few pages of this book have been published in the monthly journal *Nadeem* of Gaya. We wish the author to be successful with his insight, labour and patience, so that his collaboration may be worthy of the high standard of the book.

The Muslims of Bengal have of late begun to take greater interest in Iqbal's poetry and message. In the last week of February the residents of Calcutta celebrated the anniversary of the poet under the Chairmanship of the Hon'ble Tamizuddin Khān, Minister of Education of Bengal. The Hon'ble Minister is purley a Bengali, and the following excerpts from his presidential address will help our readers to realize the magnitude of influence which the poet of the East has on the Bengali Muslims, the inmates of the home of Rabindranath Tagore :—

" Iqbal is the greatest philosopher-poet of the modern age. His poetry and other writings have a high purpose. He has nothing to do with the nonsense of 'art for art's sake.' His mission as a poet and an author is to inspire man to fulfil his mission on earth. His vision, as that of Islam, is international. He has a message for humanity as a whole. His object is to stimulate the human soul to strive to realise its relation to the Ultimate reality and as a consequence to realise the essential brotherhood of man. For achieving this supreme realisation he has also opened up before the scientific and materialistic world the vista of a new source of knowledge. He is a believer in the reality and knowledge-yielding capacity of mystic experience and has tried to show that in that way alone man can have something like a direct glimpse of the Infinite. This is nothing new to the world of Islam, but Iqbal's scientific treatment of the subject may possibly attract the hitherto apathetic and antagonistic world of material science to this new phase of human experience and thus bring about a complete transformation of its outlook or life and put it on its right place in relation to the Divine Being. This is Iqbal's message to the materialistic West.

" But his message is to the world of Islam also. He has traced and analysed the inner spiritual history of Islam as no one else has done. He

has, however, not stopped at that. He is not a mere historian and an analyst. He is also a teacher. He has opened the eyes of the Islamic world towards its real goal and has shown the path that it must follow to reach that goal

"Iqbal has put his back on our proper track to unlimited progress. From this point of view one is tempted to ask, "Was he the Mujaddid of our age?" The best and the most appropriate way in which we can show reverence to him is not by paying a lip-homage to his greatness, but by being imbued with his spirit, and translating his inspiring message, which is also the message of Islam, into action for the good of our own-selves and for the good of humanity."

The anniversary was followed by the celebration of Iqbal's Day which was most enthusiastically performed in the third week of April in Calcutta, Dacca, Chittagong, Mymensingh and other places.

A special correspondent of the Calcutta Muslim daily, *Star of India*, Dr. Edward J. Byng, a born archæologist, writes from New York, pointing out the debt that the West owes to the Arab or Muslim culture, and declares in his new book *The World of the Arab* that it was largely due to such Islamic influences that Europe was able to escape from a return to the Dark Ages following the subvergence of the Roman Empire.

"In his book, which is being widely read in America, Dr. Byng advances the opinion that the West must recognise the physical and spiritual indivisibility that exists in the East or its efforts at understanding the East will fail. Acknowledgement is given by Dr. Byng to the important information pertaining to Muslim culture that was given to him by H.H. the Prince of Berar, and H.H. the Princess of Berar."

S. S.

NORTH-WESTERN INDIA

Iranian Cultural Mission at Lahore :

AN Iranian Cultural Mission, consisting of His Excellency 'Alī Asghar Hikmat, the Leader of the Mission, Professor Ibrāhīm Pouré Daoud and Professor Rashīd Yāsīmī, visited Lahore in the course of their Indian tour during the second week of March, 1944. They spent three days at Lahore, visiting educational institutions and ancient monuments of historical interest. They were welcomed at the Senate Hall of the Panjab University by the Vice-Chancellor, Khān Bahadur Sir Abdur-Rahmān who introduced them to local educated gentlemen who had gathered to meet and listen to the members of the Mission. Addressing the meeting, H. E. 'Alī Asghar Hikmat stressed the need of mutual understanding and respect between nations, and suggested that there were no better means of securing this laudable object than the exchange of scientific thought and

cultural values. He was followed by Professor Rashid Yāsīmi, Professor of History in the University of Tehran, who read a paper on the poet Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān. The choice of the subject was particularly appropriate in view of the fact that the poet had flourished under the Ghaznavids at Lahore and had held administrative appointments under them in the Punjab. The lecture was much appreciated not only for its informative value, but also for its chaste style and beauty of diction. Some local authors took the opportunity of presenting copies of their works to the leader of the Mission, with the request that they were to be deposited in the Library of the University of Tehran. Similar presentations were made to the other members of the Mission as well. It is hoped that the visit of this Cultural Mission will appreciably contribute towards the establishment of closer relations between the scholars of India and Iran, so that each country might benefit from mutual experience.

The All-India Islamic History Conference :

The second session of the All-India Islamic History Conference was held at Peshawar during the last Eastern vacation. In view of the numerous and close contact of Peshawar with the history of Islam in India, this North-Western Gateway of India was a particularly appropriate venue of the Conference. The Conference was attended by delegates and visitors from all over India besides the local intelligentsia. They were welcomed in the course of an address by the Honourable Khan Bahadur Qāzī Amīr Aḥmad Khān, Judge, Judicial Court, Peshawar. The Conference was presided over by Professor Moḥammad Shafī, M.A. (Cantab.), formerly Principal of the University Oriental College, Lahore. In the course of his presidential address, which was remarkable for its thoughtfulness, suggestiveness and learning, he referred to the historical importance of Peshawar and its suitability as the rendezvous of the Conference. He next made a rapid but comprehensive survey of the development of historical literature among the Muslim peoples and its characteristic features. Taking first of all the Arabs, the learned President laid stress on their deep love of historical narrative, which encouraged them to compose historical works of all kinds and led to the appearance among them of an astonishingly large number of chroniclers and historians who still excite the admiration of the learned world by their indefatigable diligence, the colossal magnitude of their compositions, the variety of their interests and their scientific temper. There was hardly any class of society or any aspect of culture which did not receive attention at their hands and was not made the subject of special historical monographs. After dealing with the Persian historians and their works, the President called attention to the importance of the works of Turkish historians and the difficulty of getting access to their books. In this connection, he deplored the fact that there were no arrangements anywhere in India for teaching the Tur-

kish language, the knowledge of which was so essential for the scientific utilization of an important branch of Islamic historical literature. He also stressed the desirability of saving historical manuscripts and documents from destruction and of collecting and preserving them in educational centres, of publishing historical texts and of providing adequate facilities for the study and teaching of Islamic history at the various Muslim educational centres.

A large number of papers were read at the Conference. They treated of different subjects connected with Islamic history and maintained a high standard of scholarship. Dr. S. M. 'Abdullāh, M.A., D. Litt., spoke on *the Manuscript Collections of the Panjab and the N.W. Frontier Province*; Mr. Mushtāq Ahmad Bhattī, M.A., on *Saif-ud-Daulah Maḥmūd a great grandson of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*; Syed Mubārīz-ud-Dīn, M.A., of Hyderabad on *the Importance of the Muslim Period of Deccan History*; Dr. G. M. D. Sūfī on *the Propagation of Islam in Kashmir*; Mr. Malik Shams, B.A., of the Lahore Museum on *the Illustration of Manuscripts under the Patronage of Akbar*; Mr. Mohammad Yūsuf Khān, B.A. (Oxon.), on *Ibn-Khaldūn*; Professor M. Mūsā Kalim of the Islamia College, Peshawar, on *the Literary and Intellectual Attainments of the Mughal Emperors*; Mr. S. M. Ja'far on *the Royal Fort of Peshawar*; Mr. Dost Mohammad Kāmil, M. A., on *Khushhāl Khān Khattak*; and Professor Mohammad Rizā Khān on *the Jagirdari System under the Mughals*. A number of other interesting papers were also received but could not be read for want of time.

The Conference passed a number of resolutions which it recommended to a number of Universities the creation of special chairs for the study and teaching of Islamic history; requested the Archæological Department of India to take under its protection a number of Muslim monuments; suggested to the various Indian Universities to publish descriptive catalogues of the manuscripts in their possessions and to make arrangements for the teaching of palæography and to grant stipends to diligent and deserving students for the purpose. The Conference also urged on the Muslim University, Aligarh, and the Osmania University, Hyderabad, the necessity of compiling and publishing comprehensive and authoritative history of Islam and history of the Muslim rule in India, and to secure the co-operation of competent scholars for the purpose as early as possible.

The serious business of the Conference was duly punctuated with a number of pleasant social functions which provided the members of the Conference valuable opportunities of meeting one another in an informal way, and which at the same time helped to enhance the proverbial reputation of the Afghans for their magnanimous and lavish hospitality.

FOREIGN COUNTRIES

Arabo-Islamic Studies in Spain :

It is gratifying to note that the Schools of Arabic Studies at Madrid and Granada, which were founded in 1933, are still flourishing and are carrying on their excellent work in the domain of Islamic studies and particularly in the field of Spanish-Arabian literature and culture, as is evidenced by the regular appearance of their combined literary organ, *al-Andalus*, and a large number of learned publications by the members of their academic staffs. *Al-Andalus* is published twice a year ; and the two half-yearly fasciculæ taken together form a handsome annual volume of about 500 pages. This learned journal, which completed its VIIIth volume last year, contains original contributions of a high standard to the history, biography, literature, archæology and numismatics of Muslim Spain, and thus reflects the ceaseless activity of a large band of Spanish Orientalists, who, being fully conscious of the priceless heritage of Mediæval Spain, are zealously studying it in all its aspects and trying to bring it to the notice of the civilized world.

Among the recent publications of these schools, we may mention a critical edition of the Arabic text of Ibn al-'Arabî's *Risâlat al-Quds* (Lives of Andalusian Saints), prepared by Miguel Asin ; a fresh Spanish translation by Professor A. G. Palencia of Ibn-Tufail's *Risâlat Hayy b. Yaqzân* ; a Spanish translation by Professor E. G. Gomez of ash-Shaḡundî's *Risâlat-fi-Faḡl al-Andalus*, preserved by al-Maqqarî in his *Nafh-at-Ṭib* ; and a fine study of Ibn-Zamrak, the poet of al-Ḥamrâ', by the same scholar.

The success of these schools and of their common literary organ, *al-Andalus*, has been mainly due to the organising capacity and inspiring leadership of Don Miguel Asin Palacios who recently retired from the post of the Director of the Madrid School at the age of seventy. It was proposed to publish a Commemorative Volume of Essays in his honour on the occasion of his retirement as a token of homage to his scholarship ; but this project could not be carried out on account of the present abnormal international situation. Professor Asin has long enjoyed an international reputation as an erudite scholar who has made a special study of the religious thinkers of Muslim Spain and Mediæval Christian Europe, and who has thus thrown a flood of light on the spiritual relations of these two important cultural regions. He has written several works on the religious and philosophic conceptions of Ibn-Masarraḡ, Ibn-Bājġah, Ibn-Ḥazm, al-Ghazzālî, Ibn-Rushd and Ibn-al-'Arabî. So far as we are aware, the only work of Asin which has up till now been translated into English is his *La Escatalogia Musulmana en la Divina Comedia* (Madrid, 1919), in which he has noticed the remarkable similarity between the imagination of Dante and the Islamic ideas of the Mi'rāj, and has shown

the indebtedness of Dante to Islamic expression not only in the general conception of his work, but also in matters of detail. A brief exposition of his views on this subject was published in a previous volume of this Journal (Vol. XII, pp. 461-65). The works of Asin deserve to be better known among Indian scholars.

Don Asin has been succeeded by his former pupil, Don Emilio Garcia Gomez, who was previously at the head of the Arabic School of Granada and who has already made his mark as a distinguished Arabist in his country. Several works of great importance and scientific value stand to the credit of Professor Gomez, and we have every reason to look forward with confidence to more useful works from him in the years to come.

Arabic Studies in Italy :

Some time ago, the Royal Academy of Italy organized a series of lectures on the Near East. These were subsequently published in book-form in two volumes, under the general title of *Conferenze e letture del Centro Studi per il Vicino Oriente*. The first volume contained the lectures delivered on the various countries ; while the second volume, which appeared last year, contains the texts of those discourses which specifically dealt with the various aspects of Arab culture. It would be of some interest to the readers of this Journal to be furnished with the considered views and conclusions of the contemporary Italian orientalists regarding the aspects of Arab culture which they made a special study of.

The second volume of the above series which bears the title of *Caratteri e Modi della Cultura Araba* (Roma, 1943), opens with a general survey of the subject by Professor Michelangelo Guidi who briefly describes the characteristic features of Arab culture. They are in his opinion : the love of literary form, the cult of tradition, religiosity and universality ; all these unified by the common denominator of a pronounced feeling for equilibrium between extreme qualities which Professor Guidi has already emphasized in his previous studies of Islamic religion.

The above-mentioned features of Arab culture are taken up successively by other contributors to the volume and are further developed by them. Signore R. A. Rossetti, for instance, discusses different aspects of Arabic poetry, principally that of the classical period, and illustrates his theme with specimen pieces and references to other cultures. In another discourse Francesco Gabrieli studies the contacts of Arabic poetry with Western literature ; firstly, the influence of the popular Arabo-Andalusian poetry on Romance poetry—a problem in which he utilizes with discretion the conclusions of the famous Mediævalist, Menendez Pidal—, and then the European reactions to Arabic poetry as represented by Goethe, Rückert and Von Schack. Sig. M. M. Moreno offers an interesting study of Arab mysticism, deals with its origins, character-

istics and relations with orthodox Islam and gives a minute analysis of the so-called monism or Sufic pantheism. Signore F. Furlani surveys the field of Arab philosophy which in his view was only a form of Hellenized philosophy. He deals in particular with Ibn-Sīnā and Ibn-Rushd, and discusses the question of the real attitude of Ibn-Rushd to the problem of the relations between philosophy and religion, a point about which there have been different interpretations in recent years. Sig. T. Sarnelli speaks of the special aptitude of the Arabs for medicine, enumerates the chief representatives of Arabian medicine, emphasizes their humanitarian spirit and defines the original element in this branch of Arab science, mentioning some very interesting discoveries in this connection. He also points out the popularity which medical science even nowadays enjoys in Arab countries. In the end, the well-known Turcologist, Ettore Rossi, gives a sketch of Arab culture among the Turks, beginning with the introduction of Arabic script, and points out the indelible marks of Arab culture which Modern Turkey still bears in spite of the advancing tide of modern nationalism.

Islamic Studies in Germany :

Since the declaration of the present war between the British Empire and Germany and the consequent interruption of communications, we have been almost totally in the dark regarding the literary activities of German orientalists. It is, however, sometimes possible to obtain some interesting information about their literary labours through neutral sources. In these circumstances, we hope that the following descriptive notes on a few recent German publications will be read with interest by our readers.

The late Dr. Hans Bauer introduced in 1916 a collection of studies on Islamic ethics and translated into German in this connection three different sections of al-Ghazzālī's *Ihyā-'Ulūm ad-Dīn* : the 12th section which deals with matrimony, the 14th section which concerns in legal and illegal things and the 37th which treats of the purity and sincerity of intention. All these three parts were supplied with introductions and copious notes and comments, giving a brief history of the doctrine of each book and its influence on later moralists and ascetics. We are glad to learn that, after the death of Bauer, his useful work has been taken up by Hans Wehr, who has now given us a study of the 35th section of the *Ihyā'*, under the title of *Al-Ghazzālī's Buch vom Gottvertrauen das 35. Buch des Ihyā' Ulūm ad-Dīn* (Islamische Ethik gegr. und herausg. von Hans Bauer, Heft IV). This book deals with the subject of *Tawakkul* or the virtue of resigning and entrusting our affairs into the hands of God. Conforming to the plan and method of his learned predecessor, Wehr has produced a faithful and complete translation with copious footnotes and an introduction in which he makes a comparative study of

Tawakkul with similar ideas in other cultures, e.g., the Christian quietism of the 17th century. The introduction and notes, in which the author gives evidence of his vast erudition, are so designed as to give the maximum help to the reader to understand the ideas of al-Ghazzālī on the subject of *Tawakkul*.

Professor Ernst Kühnel, who was the Director-General of State Museums in Germany before the outbreak of the present war and might possibly be holding the same post now and who is already familiar to us as an authority on Islamic art and archæology and as the author of several interesting and beautiful works on the subject, such as *Miniaturmalerei im Islamischen Orient* (Berlin, 2nd edition, 1923), *Maurische Kunst* (Berlin, 1924) and *Islamische Kleinkunst* (Berlin, 1925), has made a further useful contribution in the same field by the publication of a monograph on Arabic script as an element of decoration in Islamic art. The book, which is entitled *Islamische Schriftkunst* (published by Heintze & Blanckertz, Berlin-Leipzig, 1942), contains many beautiful illustrations, some of them being in colour which have been executed with marvellous technical skill. It consists of an introduction and two chapters. In the introduction the author treats of the principal types of the Arabic script: the rigid Kūfic, the round Naskhi, the oblique Ta'liq and the Maghribi script still used in the western Arabic-speaking countries. The first chapter is devoted to such fantastic forms of calligraphy as buildings, birds, human faces and other objects, all sketched by a skilful employment of the letters of alphabet; while the second chapter deals with the writing material and instruments used by the calligraphist. The text is throughout illustrated with beautiful specimens of writing on all kinds of objects: pages of the Qur'ān and other manuscripts, inscriptions on mausoleums, doors, cupolas, walls and mihrabs, vessels of crystal and glass, tapestry and other fabrics, lamps, bronzes, coins, etc., parchment or paper, stone or stucco, porcelain or glass, metal or wood. On all these various materials the Muslim artist has left the beautiful impressions of the letters of his alphabet, which lends itself so smoothly to innumerable harmonious combinations. Professor Kühnel is not only a keen student of art, but is also an artist of fine sensibility, and has succeeded in producing a book which itself is a work of art and for which we are sincerely grateful to him.

The Late Professor Mittwoch :

It is with feelings of sorrow and regret that we have to record the death of Professor Dr. Eugen Mittwoch who died last year as a refugee in England. Professor Mittwoch was a Jew and had taught Arabic for many years at the Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen, Berlin, before he became a victim of Nazi persecution and was obliged to leave his native country. In his younger days Mittwoch had studied with Theodor Nöldeke (d. 1930), and had many interesting and instructive stories to tell of the per-

sonal habits and methods of work of that great Orientalist. He made his literary *debut* with a study of the *Ayyām al-‘Arab*, which appeared under the title of *Proelia Arabum Paganorum quomodo litteris tradit sint* (Berlin, 1899). He later collaborated with Professor Eduard Sachau in bringing out a critical edition of *Kitāb at-Ṭabaqāt* of Ibn-Sa’d, and edited the first volume of that famous work which contained the biography of the Prophet. He also contributed a number of articles to the *Encyclopædia of Islam*. In his later years he had become specially interested in the medical literature in the Arabic language; and in fact had laid a detailed plan before the 19th Session of the International Congress of Orientalists for the preparation and publication of a Corpus of Medical Works in the Arabic Language. He does not leave behind any monumental work to perpetuate his memory, but a large number of miscellaneous writings stand to his credit. Eighty-seven different writings, besides reviews and recensions, from the pen of Mittwoch have been catalogued in a special Bibliography, prepared some years ago by his pupil, W. Gottschalk. Professor Mittwoch had an amiable disposition, and his memory will long be cherished by all those who had the privilege of knowing him personally.

Islamic Studies in England :

A detailed account of Islamic studies in England and Holland has been already published in this Review in July 1943. One of the latest contributions of England to Islamic studies is the valuable work entitled “*Material for a History of Islamic Textiles up to the Mongol Conquest*” by Dr. R. B. Serjeant. This dissertation was submitted to the Cambridge University for obtaining the degree of Ph.D. and is now published in *Ars Islamica*, of Michigan University, America. Dr. R. B. Serjeant is a young Arabist of great promise. He has thoroughly studied Arabic and Persian literature for historical notes and comments on mediæval Islamic art. He has drawn upon a large number of sources, the oriental as well as the occidental for the material of this history. This work contains a good deal of new information which is not available in English, French, and German studies on Muslim textiles which are already published. It is not only a collection of material as its title suggests but a critical study systematically arranged in a kind of geographical sequence, dealing with the countries in the east and then moving to the western lands of Islam. Dr. R. B. Serjeant further informs us that he is intending to publish articles on Muslim pottery and glass planned on similar lines. We hope these works will further stand to his credit and bring to light material on Muslim minor arts which have so long remained in oblivion.

S. I.

NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

MODERN ISLAM IN INDIA, by Wilfrid Cantwell Smith, *Minerva Book Shop Lahore*, 1943 ; pp. vi+399 ; price Rs. 10.

IT is now more than seventy years that W. W. Hunter wrote his book on the Indian Muslims, and from that time the interest of the average Englishman in things Indian and Islamic has comparatively been increased. There have been numerous books by American writers on Islamic literature and Islamic history, but considering the scope the book covers, Mr. Smith's present work seems unique in the field. When Mr. Smith came to Hyderabad a couple of years ago, he was hard at work on modern Urdu literature and it is through perseverance and study on what must have been an untrodden field to him that he has been able to master practically all that is worth a study in order to understand modern trends of the thought of the Muslims of India.

The book he has now brought out is divided into two unequal parts : the first dealing with 'Intellectuals and the Movement of Ideas' and the second on 'Politics and Organizational Movements.' In going through the ground from pre-Mutiny to the present day there is little that has not been touched and with which his point of view has not been affected, and it is this width which marks the value of the book. Each of the four chapters in the first part concludes with an estimate of the representative institution of an educational character, such

as the old Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College, the Osmania University, the Jāmi'ah Milliyyah Islāmīyah and the Muslim University. On the whole his estimates of these institutions are not unjust. It must, however, be noted that some of the remarks he chooses to make are quite harsh and sometimes partially true : thus he speaks of the Osmania University that the translations undertaken there are "plentiful, though not very good," perhaps not knowing that the recent tendency of the University to have original books compiled in Urdu which may not be 'plentiful' but which are expected to be 'very good'; again about the Osmania University, he says "Recently the Urdu employed has been increasingly Persianised and Arabised for the sake of communalism," which is just the opposite of truth. He has praised the Jāmi'ah Milliyyah and there is lot of reality in his statement that the Jāmi'ah "attempts and has seemed remarkably to achieve an integration of body and mind ; and an integration of religion with modern life." About Aligarh he has a different story ; for while in its early days Aligarh was full of "an exceedingly liberal and an increasingly irreligious atmosphere" and "was famous for its pro-British gentility," this feeling has given way to political and social agitation and this was superseded by "the full-blown reactionary movement."

The real meaning and the object of the author may not be gleaned till we go through the chapter headings of the work. The first chapter is called 'the Movement in favour of Contemporary British Cul-

ture' and there are discussed the works of Sir Syed Ahmad Khān and his co-adjudicators and followers, beginning with Chirāgh 'Alī, Muhsinu'l-Mulk, Hālī, Shiblī and Zakāu'llāh, followed by such late authors as Ṣalāhu'd-Dīn Khudā Bakhs̄h, 'Abdu'llāh Yūsuf 'Alī and Nawāb Sir Amin Jang. Why Wiqāru'l-Mulk has been left out of the list one does not know, but if he had been included the author would have had to pause before using such sweeping remarks as "the foundation of the Reactionary Muslim League," "Bourgeois ideology and interests"; "clearly he ('Abdu'llāh Yūsuf 'Alī) had never suffered from hunger, unemployment and the like"; comments which do little credit to the author. He commends Shiblī and Hālī and calls the band of workers gathered round Maulānā Syed Sulaimān Nadwī as "exact and sober historians." Other chapter headings also speak of their contents, such as 'the Movement in favour of the Islamic Culture of the Present' with Ameer 'Alī as the outstanding personality; 'The Movement in favour of the Islamic Culture of the Future—Progressive,' with Iqbāl as the pivot; 'The Movement in favour of the Islamic Culture of the Future—Reactionary,' again with Iqbāl as the leading character; 'Introductory Essay on Communism'; 'The pan-Islamic, Khilāfat and related Movements'; 'Islām and Indian Nationalism'; 'Islamic Nationalism—the Khāk̄sār Movement'; 'Islamic Nationalism—the Muslim League, 'Some Theological Groups.'

Mention must be made of two terms, Reactionary and Progressive, which the author has profusely used in the book. For him a 'Reactionary means one who recognises that "his society is changing or is likely to change from its actual form to its next stage, and who reacts against that change"; while by Progressive is meant "One who is in active sympathy with the change of his society from its actual form to its next due form in the progress of ameliorative evolution." The author, however, does not say who is to judge whether the progress is on the lines of *ameliorative evolution* or otherwise; the method by which it is to be decided and, whether

the 'next form' is also the next 'due form.' This is the whole crux of the questions appertaining to the great social revolution which is taking place before our very eyes; questions which may be said to have, in a way, caused the present world conflagration. Any 'next form' may be dubbed 'next due form' by one group but this may well be controverted by another group. The author has not tried to hide his view that what is best for the world is rather some advanced kind of socialism, and anything which falls short of that criterion is unprogressive. Whatever his definition of 'Reactionary' may be in theory, when he comes to the actual facts concerning the Muslims of India he means by that term those who want to keep Islam intact, and whoever in modern times comes nearest to the earlier type of Islam is regarded as reactionary to the extent of his conformity. In Indian politics the author regards movements in favour of Indian National Congress as progressive and those against as reactionary.

It is a moot point whether an appeal to internationalism of some kind or other rather than to a narrow nationalism may be called reactionary. We know well that the message of early Islam was a message of organised peace to the world at large, but the author fears a conformity to that ideal the most, and that in the face of so much suffering due to an overdose of nationalism as embodied in the Nazi theory. One would think that it was high time that a more international, a more moral, appeal was made to this war-weary world of ours.

The work is the result of a deep study, though conclusions have some times been drawn from the works of a number of mediocre authors whose names may not be enumerated here but which would be found in abundance in the footnotes and the index as well as in the copious bibliography appended at the end of the book. The plan is that the author picks up a personality which he considers especially outstanding such as that of Sir Syed Ahmad Khān, Rt. Hon. Syed Ameer 'Alī, Iqbāl, Abū'l-Kalām Āzād and others, regards them as leaders of a

movement and discusses the writings of authors and pamphleteers whom he regards as their followers, freely drawing conclusions from these. Some of these so-called 'followers' are not outstanding enough to warrant such a treatment. There are two fairly good essays on Iqbal, whom he calls "the outstanding Muslim poet and thinker of the century." While the 'Progressive' Iqbal is supposed to have F. K. Durrāni as his follower to some extent, the thread of 'progress' meaning 'naturalism' is said to have been taken up by a number of persons like Niyāz Fathpuri, who is regarded as "somewhat similar to the earlier Aligarh group," Khwājā Ghulamū's Sayyidain (whose educational ideas are discussed at length) and Abu'l-Kalām Āzād; on the other hand the lectures of Iqbal the Reactionary "on the reconstruction of thought in Islam" are regarded as "excellent," though the last lecture is "the least good," while the 'reactionary' i.e., Islamic aspect of his poetry is considered as thoroughly Utopian and unpractical. Then come those who are regarded as Reactionary Iqbal's satellites and here we find Muḥammad Asad Leopold Weiss, and Syed Abu'l A'lā Maudūdī. In the same way Rt. Hon Ameer 'Alī finds Ṣalāhu'd-Dīn Khudā Bakhsh, Nafisu'd-Dīn Ahmad (out of whose writings much capital has been made), Mushir Ḥusain Qidwāi, Sarwar, Zaidi and the rest as his followers.

The author's style is interesting but becomes at times rather heavy. The book is full of sarcastic remarks scattered here and there which are bound to make an impression on the uninitiated. To quote just a few: "In the Universities even where they teem with Muslim religious fervor the number of students reading theology, Arabic, etc. has recently been the same as the number of scholarships in these subjects;" "Muslim communalists pay little attention to whether the individuals are religiously ardent, tepid or cold; orthodox, liberal, atheist; righteous or vicious;" "To explain, to write commentaries on, and to 'follow,' Iqbal became almost a major profession in Indian Islam;" "As fast as European scholars uncover the history of the period,

and endeavour to give its due place in the story of civilization and progress, the highlights are displayed to the advantage of Islam;" and so on. Little comment is needed to remarks of this genre. Apart from these there are a number of unwarranted statements interspersed throughout. Thus: "Muslims will allow attacks on Allāh...but to disparage Muḥammad will provoke even from the most liberal (sic) sections of the community a fanaticism of blazing vengeance;" "Iqbal made God immanent, not transcendent. In Islam it is rank heresy; but for today it is the only solution."

As has been said above, there is real research and genuine hard work behind Mr. Smith's book; but the sectarian and at times unjust viewpoint, has marred some of the conclusions arrived at. Some of the essays which form a part of the book, such as those on Communalism the Khilāfat Movement and on Iqbal are brilliant performances. It is more so as they come from the pen of a non-Indian and a non-Muslim, and however we may differ from the purely subjective opinions of the author, the work should be read by every student of the present day tendencies of Islam in India.

H. K. S.

THE PRESENT CRISIS IN ISLAM AND OUR FUTURE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMME, by M. Fazlur-Rahman, cr. 8vo., pp. VIII 77; obtainable from the Aligarh Books and Newspapers Agency, Muslim University, Aligarh.

IN the Karachi (1943) Session of the Muslim League, Mr. Jinnah had emphasised the necessity of planning a national system of Muslim education. In response to the call, many minds are engaged on the problem.

The author's interesting thesis consists in:—

(a) A graduated course of Islamics, including the Arabic language

(b) The creation of a Muslim background and the evolution of a Muslim viewpoint in all the subjects taught, in the measure necessary and possible in the different stages of the growth of our education under the new scheme.

The author suggests a Research Centre in order :—

a. To evolve a religious philosophy of Islam for giving a new orientation to the basis of our present intellectual life ; and

b. To formulate the Islamic solution of the various social, economic, political and ethical problems which afflict humanity today.

Finally he gives a detailed course of studies from the primary stage onwards.

The brochure is an interesting and thought-provoking study.

ISLAM AND CHRISTIANITY IN THE MODERN WORLD, by M. Fazlur-Rahman ; cr. 8vo. ; pp. 250 ; supplied free to Christians in India on payment of postage As. 8, by the Aligarh Book and Newspapers Agency, Muslim University, Aligarh.

THE author has done much missionary work in Singapore and elsewhere.

He has collected a large material about the defects of the official Christianity (as distinguished from the one preached by Jesus Christ, Peace be upon him!). The glass-chamber of the Christian missionaries has now been discovered by our author, and the stones pelted by them on the peaceful home of Islam can be returned with greater effect.

According to the researches of the author, the present official Christianity is nothing but the pagan sun-worship of the Mediterranean basin, plagiarised by the fathers of the Christendom for satisfying the paganistic tendencies of the people and the pure monotheism preached by Jesus Christ (peace be upon him!) was defeated in, and vanished from, the West in the very early centuries.

Hence the need of a restatement of the Religion of God : Islam.

Certainly it would be more appealing if, by a labour of love, true and original Christianity is unearthed from Christian sources themselves and compared with Islamic teaching. Yet for cruder di-hards perhaps it is necessary to bring into relief harder facts, which our author has been forced to do.

M. H.

ANNEXATION OF BURMA, by Anil Chandra Banerjee, M.A., Premchand Roychand Scholar, Lecturer in History, Calcutta University ; published by A. Mukerjee & Brothers, 2, College Square, Calcutta.

IN this book the author has traced the British policy towards Burma which culminated in the annexation of this country. It was during Lord Amherst's Governor-Generalship that the Burmese Government was involved in a dispute with the British Government which developed into a war. The uniform success of the Burmese General in the latter part of the eighteenth century in consolidating their authority in Assam turned them arrogant. At one time they even thought of marching to Calcutta. Naturally, the British Government did not relish the aggressive designs of the Burmese Government.

The Arakan Governor's claim that the island of Shahpur belonged to the Burmese Government was disputed by the British Government. The Burmese troops, however, occupied the island. Lord Amherst tried his best to reach an amicable settlement but failed. Further correspondence on the subject resulted in an open declaration of war on the 24th February, 1824. After a protracted war the Burmese king was compelled to sign the Treaty of Yandabo. According to this Treaty the Burmese Government agreed to cede to the English the provinces of Arakan and Tenasserin, which gave the British command of the Bay of Bengal. The Burmese Government definitely renounced

all claims to Assam and the principalities of Cachar Jainta and Manipur and agreed to pay an indemnity of a crore of rupees. Some advantages to British merchants resident in Burma were also secured. Article 7 of the Treaty provided that a British Resident was to reside at the Burmese Durbar, an undertaking to which the Burmese Government agreed very reluctantly. The author has given very useful details about this in the chapter entitled "Residency in Burma" which is based on original materials.

The second Burmese war arose out of the determination of Lord Dalhousie to compel the Burmese Government to respect and carry out treaty obligation. Military and naval operations were ordered by the Government of India which resulted in the annexation of Regn. No Treaty was insisted upon as Dalhousie seemed to be content with the tacit acquiescence of the King of Burma. In 1862, the Province of Lower Burma was formed, with Sir Arthur Phayre as Chief Commissioner.

During the reign of King Thibaw matters were again brought to a crisis towards the close of 1885, when the Burmese Government favoured the French and imposed a heavy fine on the Bombay Burma Trading Company. As the Burmese king refused to comply with the demands put forward by the Government of India war was declared. The British forces occupied Mandalay. King Thibaw was sent down to Ratnagiri on the Bombay coast and Upper Burma was formally declared annexed on the 1st January, 1886. It took nearly four years for the British to restore order in the country.

The book makes an interesting reading. The author has copiously made use of the unpublished documents preserved in the Record's Office of the Government of India. The book would have become even more authoritative if the author had made greater use of the contemporary Burmese and Assamese chronicles and documents. Different campaigns are well illustrated with maps which incidentally throw much light on the recent opera-

tions of war in Burma against the Japanese menace to India.

Y. H.

THE EASTERN FRONTIER OF BRITISH INDIA, by Anil Chandra Banerjee, M.A.; published by A. Mukerjee & Brothers, 2, College Square, Calcutta.

IN the later part of the eighteenth century Assam was subject to utter anarchy and misrule. Lord Cornwallis, the then Governor-General of India, felt that the British Government could not remain a mere spectator of the terrible civil feuds in Assam. The Governor-General "advised as well from motives of humanity as from a wish to be better informed of the interior State of Assam, its commerce, etc.," decided to send Captain Welsh with 360 sepoy. The captain was directed to try to compose the disturbances in Assam and to regard the personal safety of the ruler of the country as one of his primary objects. But strangely enough the captain who was sent to Assam to protect the king became an arbiter of Assam's destiny and arrogated to himself the responsibility for the internal administration of the country.

In the second and third chapters of the book the author has given a detailed account regarding the dispute on the Arakan Frontier (1785-1795), the commercial missions to Burma (1745-1748) and the part played by Captain Symes as the chief agent of the British Government. Then in the later chapters the author discusses the policy of Lord Amherst the First Burmese War and the Anglo-Burman Treaties of 1826.

This book is certainly a valuable contribution to the problem of the Eastern Frontier of India. The appendices and the bibliography eminently add to the utility as a constructive scholarly work.

Y. H.

NOTICE.

All manuscripts, letters, etc., meant for the Editor, should be addressed to the Secretary, Editorial Board, and business correspondence to the Manager, ISLAMIC CULTURE, Hyderabad, Deccan.

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[And say : My Lord ! Increase me in knowledge.—Qur'ân]

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THE MUGHAL EMPIRE AND THE MIDDLE CLASS: A HYPOTHESIS

THE study of history, during the past fifty or a hundred years, has been undergoing a revolution ; one as profound and as far-reaching as the Baconian revolution in the study of the natural sciences. The question need not yet be answered whether or not the new history is a science. At least, all will admit that it is interested in a great deal more than kings, court annals, and military tactics. Modern historians are socially minded, and dynamically minded. They concern themselves with culture, the life of the people, the methods of production ; and above all with the basic processes of transformation in a country's life, and the causal inter-relation of specific events with broad developments. But in general, this revolution in the study of history has not yet hit India, or indeed the study of Oriental development at all. In fact, by some it has been deliberately resisted. Vincent Smith, Oxford historian of India, after quoting with approval the similar views of Lane-Poole,¹ writes : " The history of India in the Muhammadan period must necessarily be a chronicle of kings, courts, and conquests, rather than one of national and social evolution."² This attitude is to be deplored ; also to be corrected. The history of India has been the story of a broad social development, which needs careful study, and which will lavishly repay that study. Those who approach Indian history with proper understanding, and with minds alert to and inquisitive about social processes, will find that Mr. Smith's statement is totally wrong, and that instead there awaits uncovering a fascinating, and instructive picture of economic and social evolution.

Until now, this aspect of India's past has been omitted from the accounts simply by being ignored. It is nothing short of ridiculous that the large Cambridge History of India's volume 'The Mughal Period' should not so much as mention either Tulsī Dās (surely one of the most influential poets in the history of mankind, and " the best and most trustworthy guide to the popular living faith of the Hindu race at the present

1. *Mediæval India under Mohammedan Rule*, 1903, preface, p. v.

2. *Albar the Great Mogul*, 1542-1605, p. 386.

day "¹ or Vijrī Vorah (at the time "reputed to be the richest merchant in the world")² or Imām Rabbānī (the Mujaddid Alf-i-Thānī).

In the present paper, therefore, an attempt is made to draw attention to the social evolution underlying one principal period of India's history; namely, the Mughal empire. This is done by bringing forth a hypothesis about the economic background of that development, and adducing certain reasons which suggest that further study along this line might prove fruitful.

Before this hypothesis is presented, a more general proposition may be put forward as being by now an established theorem. It is this: that no great historical development has taken place in human society which was unaccompanied by or irrelevant to some economic development. Those who will not accept this theorem, as savouring too much of dogmatism and interpretation, will admit at least this much as an objective observation of fact: that to date, in the case of every major historical development in human society on which research along these lines has been done, some major economic development has been found to be an accompanying or relevant factor. There are, of course, recorded certain major historical developments concerning which no research on this matter has yet been carried out; on them, consequently, one cannot pronounce with certainty whether or not they had an economic aspect or basis. But wherever research has been done, that economic aspect or basis has been found. It is not unreasonable to suppose, therefore, that it would be profitable to approach the remaining instances in the same spirit.

This is not to propound a theory of economic determinism in history. That is a debatable theory; whereas the contention here is, that about what has just been said there can be no debate. Everyone who is informed must readily recognize its truth. The fact is that, as far as we know, an economic development has accompanied, and continues to accompany, every major social development in history. Whether it does so as the cause or the result, the sole cause or one among many, or the symptom, is a question which may be deemed fairly unimportant. It is a question which tends to divert attention from the real issue. Besides, few persons, whether historians, Marxists, or whatever they may be, have a sufficiently clear idea of what they mean by 'cause' to discuss the question profitably.

With regard to Mughal India, it is here submitted that the rise of the Mughal Empire, with its political and its cultural accomplishments, deserves to be studied from a modern socio-economic point of view. It is surely incredible that the immense achievement of India under the Mughals should be the one instance in history of a social upsurge to which economics is irrelevant. But in fact it is not irrelevant: already, in what little study he has done, the present writer has come across instances in which the economic position and especially the class structure and the

1. F. S. Growse: *The Rāmāyana of Tulsī Dās*; Translated from the original Hindi, Introduction, p. i.

2. W. H. Moreland: *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 153.

class struggles of the people involved were extremely relevant to the historical development. They throw light on it, giving an insight and understanding which, so far as is apparent, have been overlooked by the historiographers.¹

Clearly, a great deal more research and study will have to be done before an outline of the basic economic process of the empire can be given. Here all that is attempted is to indicate an interpretation suggested by a reading of the history as it is already known, and to mention the more important facts which have brought the suggestion to mind. Briefly, the hypothesis is this: that the rise and florescence of the Mughal empire as a political, economic, and cultural process was connected with the florescence from the early sixteenth century of a prosperous merchant middle class; and that the decadence of that middle class in the seventeenth century left the empire to be based only on the landed upper class, whereupon that empire reverted to a purely feudal² organization which became disorganization, and presently collapsed. (To the difficult question of why that middle class ceased in the seventeenth century to flourish, we shall return later). There are signs that India was beginning to undergo the same process as was being undergone in Europe, of a transition from agricultural feudalism through nationalist States to capitalism. But with at least two fundamental differences. Because of these differences, the development in India was arrested before it had got more than well under way; and instead, the British came in and took over. The two differences are: first, that the development began about a century or so earlier in Europe than here, and this start gave the Europeans an irresistible advantage; and second (the importance of this can hardly be overestimated) the European middle classes had at their disposal the recently-discovered science, and were developing it. The Indian middle class, apparently, had very little science³ and were not developing it.

1. The writer is hoping to publish some of these studies presently.

1. The writer is hoping to publish some of these studies presently.
2. The following definition of the word "feudal" in the sense that it is used here, may be taken from the present writer's *Modern Islam in India*, pp. 337 f.:-

"Feudal pertaining to a society, or to the dominant culture or class of a society, which has been predominantly agricultural, and in which the chief form of wealth has been revenue from land, and the chief power has been in the hands of a class who do not work the land but derive income from those who do Some have objected to the use of the word 'feudalism' for Indian conditions, on the grounds that the characteristic land-tenure system of feudal Europe did not obtain in India. Admittedly the word has associations from European History which must be modified before it can be used also for Indian ; or some other word might be used. The present writer has retained it because he has no other word to proffer." Similarly, "*Bourgeois* : pertaining to a society, or to the dominant culture or class of a society, which is predominantly capitalist, in which the chief form of wealth is revenue from commerce and industry, and power is chiefly in the hands of a class who do not work the commerce and industry but derive income (profits) from those who do" (*Ibid.*, p. 337).

3. Their principal possession in this domain was artillery, copied by the Mughals from the Persians and by them from the Turks. Good generalship and organization, including morale, and the use of artillery ; were the two bases of Bābur's victory at Pānipat ; hence it may be said that this much Applied Science from the West was fundamental to the Mughals' coming to India in the first place.

Why science was being developed in Europe at this time and not in India is a question which it would be rash to broach here. The West constructed science on a foundation laid by the Arabs in the Near East and Spain ; why Arab achievements in this line were appropriated by European culture and not by Persian is an interesting speculation.

The rise of the Mughal empire, we are suggesting, was dependent on the rise of the middle class ; and the future certainly lay with that class, not with the nobility. The 'normal' process would have been that before long the merchants would have seized political power for themselves, and ousted the upper-class nobles. And that is actually what did eventually happen. Only, by then trade had passed into European hands ; and the middle class which seized power was a foreign middle class, not an Indian one.

Reasons for supposing that something really fundamental was happening in Indian society in the early sixteenth century are not few. The proposition is suggested first by the very rise of both Shēr Shāh's empire and the Mughal empire. Those large centralized States might both have been due (it could perhaps be argued) to chance, to mere personal ability on the part of the individual rulers. But the fact that there were the two instances, in swift succession, makes not improbable the suggestion that a large centralized State was, at this time, 'struggling to be born' ; and was not to be frustrated or held back by the administrative incompetence of Humāyūn or of Islām Shāh and his successors. If that phraseology seems mystical, let us say that apparently conditions developing in India at that time were favourable to a large unified State ; and that a ruler who had the intelligence and ability of a Shēr Shāh or an Akbar could make use of them ; while a ruler (like Humāyūn or the later Sūrs) who did not or could not make use of those conditions was soon replaced by one who could. Even had the second battle of Pānīpat been decided the other way, it is perhaps not fantastic to suggest that Hēmū would have organized a wide, centralized, prosperous empire. Similarly, Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt (had the accidents of history been different) might well have served the broad 'purposes of history' if the Mughals had failed to do so. In other words, it is not so much the details of events that are important, nor even personalities to the extent that has been supposed, as the basic developments which were going on at that time.

Let us consider specific reasons for suggesting that Shēr Shāh's and the Mughal empires were connected with a middle class. Those which will be brought forward here are : the size of the States ; their centralization, and administrative system ; the attitude of the nobility to centralization ; standardization of weights and measures ; Shēr Shāh's road-building ; his police policy ; the standardization of the currency ; and the rise of a money economy, especially as evinced by Akbar's land-revenue system. Finally, the reflection, in religious ideology, of these changes ; and the interpenetration of commerce and feudal rule. These points will

be discussed in turn.

First, the size of the States. Not every large empire is a middle class affair, perhaps.¹ None the less, size is important for merchants. They want to trade over long distances, and are immensely benefited by political unification. If they have to cross political frontiers a dozen times in the course of their traffic, and have to thread their way through squabbling and warring petty chiefs, their main business suffers. They warmly welcome a strong, wide-spread State. To the peasant it makes little difference: a Bengālī Kīsān hardly cares whether he and the Panjābī Kīsān are under the same ruler or under two separate ones. To the upper class, a strong big State is irksome; as is shown by the fact that upper-class landed nobles are constantly rebelling against it. Even the peacefulness of a well-ordered government is of little attraction to the nobility: their traditional ideology not only condones but glorifies warfare. The merchant, on the other hand, once a large State has been built up, is as devoted to peace and stability as is the peasant. For the noble, fighting is a profession; for the merchant, it is the interruption, if not the ruin, of his profession. As for as the upper class is concerned, the bringing of a wide-spread empire under the rule of one head noble is seen to be beneficial primarily only by that one noble—the emperor himself; and it is well-known that a feudal emperor's chief problem is how to keep his empire together. The centrifugal tendencies of the upper class are strong. This can be seen, for example, in the case of the Mughal empire in the eighteenth century.

But not only was the Mughal empire (and Shēr Shāh's) large and united. It was also centralized and unified. The chief accomplishment in government of both Shēr Shāh and Akbar was centralization.² And what is centralization, if not precisely the supersession of feudalism by some form of nationalism? The unification of the State was begun by Shēr Shāh, who paid particular attention to centralizing control of the army (horse-branding and personal recruiting), thus giving less military power to the feudal nobility and more to the king; and to centralizing and making uniform the revenue and the currency (this economic aspect we shall consider later). The process culminated under Akbar, who adopted and developed these centralizing moves of his predecessor, and

1. More large empires than is sometimes supposed, however, have been based on trade rather than, or as well as, on agricultural wealth. Without studying the question more thoroughly, one would hesitate to say that such an enormous empire, for instance, as Tīmūr's was the achievement purely of an upper class. Actually, commerce and the merchant class provided the substructure on which was raised all the civilization and the empires of Central Asia and the Near East, and Arabo-Persian Islamic culture. This is indicated partly by the fact that that civilization, those empires, and that culture degenerated when world trade-routes shifted from that part of the world (with the introduction from the sixteenth century of modern shipping) and commerce went by sea. The nineteenth century development of the railway and the Suez canal, and the twentieth-century development of air travel, have coincided with a revival of civilization in those areas.

2. See Qanungo: *Shēr Shāh*, Chapter XII; and Vincent A. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 1213 f., p. 142, and Chapter XIII.

added a basically important one of his own : a reform in the executive administration. The Mansabdārī system is virtually the abolition of a purely landed upper class, and its transformation into a class of salaried government officials.¹ Theoretically, and in its pure form, it is the denial of feudalism altogether ; it is the replacing of feudalism by a modern governmental executive. Had it been applied in its pure form, it would have meant the inauguration of an entirely new era. But in practice, there were large compromises ; the transition was not complete. The attempt to impose the new system was never quite successful, even under Akbar² ; while the later emperors pursued the same policy much less vigorously. Upper-class dependence on land, although theoretically abolished, remained always in the background, if not more prominent, and re-asserted itself³ gradually during the reigns of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān, and especially under Aurangzeb.⁴ By the eighteenth century, feudalism of the old type had become dominant ; and the Mughal empire as a large centralized State quite collapsed. Moreover, at all times the revenue for paying the Mansabdārs' salaries came almost entirely from land. Nevertheless, the tie between the noble and his land, if not completely severed, was certainly much weakened by the new system ; and to some extent even the Mansabdār himself took on ideologically and politically the characteristics of a bourgeois class. Even in instances where the noble directly administered agricultural territory for the revenue that it produced, yet the policy (inaugurated by Shēr Shāh)⁵ of swift transfer of officers from place to place, symbolized and furthered the weakening of the noble's feudal attachment to landed property.

A basic question to ask in history of important innovations is, who benefited from them and welcomed them. In this case the answer is clearly not 'the upper class.' Their attitude to centralization was expressed in their revolts against it. Examples are : under Islām Shāh, and against Akbar in 1580. Shēr Shāh died before the consequences of his unifying policy became apparent but his successor, Islām Shāh, without his father's administrative ability, had to face repeatedly the rebellion of the discontented nobility, who successfully overthrew the power of the centre

1. For the Mansabdārī system, cf. the previous note, and see further Tripathi : *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration* ; Irvine : *The Army of the Indian Mughals* ; Sri Ram Sharma : *Organization of Public Service in Mughal India* (1526-1707) ; Reprint from the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. XXIII, 1937, Part II) ; Moreland : *India at the Death of Akbar*, etc.

2. "Akbar devoted much energy to the conversion of Jagīrs into crown lands (Khālsa)" (Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 365), but he "admittedly attained only imperfect success" (*Ibid.*, p. 366) ; cf. also the other writers, especially Tripathi.

3. Moreland : *India at the Death of Akbar*, pp. 67 f., Moreland : *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 235 ; *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, pp. 465 ff.

4. Jadunath Sarkar : *A Short History of Aurangzeb*, p. 477, gives the figure of jāgirdārs as about 50 per cent. of the total.

5. 'Abbās Khān Sarwānī : *Ta'riḥ-i-Shēr Shāhī*. See S. R. Sharma : *Mughal Empire in India* (1940 edition), pp. 168 f.

by the next reign.¹ More instructive is the other instance, under Akbar.² In fact, the significance and importance of the new administrative measures, and their revolutionary nature, cannot be properly appreciated without realizing what strong opposition they aroused, from the traditional ruling class. Shortly after developing his reforms in the administration, Akbar sent Muẓaffar Khān Turbatī (who had had a hand in framing them) as governor of Bengal. This man proved a zealous and strict centralizer,³ and set about putting the new policy into practice drastically; whereupon the feudal nobles of Bihar and Bengal rose against him, defeated and killed him, and seized his treasury. When the emperor sent an army to resubdue the province, the opposition spread throughout the empire: a large section of the nobility allied with Hakīm of Kābul, and there was a party of nobles at the court itself who joined in the conspiracy.

The situation that developed is deemed by Smith "the most critical time" of Akbar's reign,⁴ and in fact amounted to nothing less than a plot on the part of a wide-spread section of the feudal nobility to replace the emperor by his brother and to replace the new system by the old. It was not that they thought that Hakīm would prove a more able ruler; he was obviously worthless. On the contrary, it was precisely because he was less able and would not attempt to run the new administration, but would let them carry on in their own way, exercising their own traditional local feudal powers. In this rebellion, which rocked the empire to its foundation, the class struggle that was going on at the time became overt. The revolting party may well be termed 'reactionaries,' for they set afoot a powerful movement (of the old ruling class) to preserve the *status quo* and to frustrate Akbar's transition to a new type of State. Only by a small margin did the progressive loyalist forces win out; and even then only at the price of concessions. As a result of this rebellion, Akbar was compelled not to press his scheme too far.⁵

Apart from this major attempt to sabotage the entire system we find that constantly the individual Maṣābdārs tried to be Jagīrdārs as of old. All the evidences indicate that the nobles preferred to be paid in land rather than in cash.⁶

Theoretical considerations at once explain what these facts indicate: that it was not the nobility who applauded the empire's new administration; the class who profited from it was not the upper class. But a little

1. See S. R. Sharma, *op. cit.*, pp. 178 ff.; or *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, pp. 58 ff.

2. See Smith, *op. cit.*, Chapter VII; or *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, pp. 125 ff.

3. Muẓaffar Khān had originally been unsympathetic to the new system, and had lost favour and office thereby; but later was reconciled and reinstated. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 121 f., 184 ff.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 190.

5. See Tripathi, *op. cit.*, pp. 322 f., with reference to Badā'ūnī: *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*.

6. The statement applies until the end of Aurangzeb's reign; for a note on the eighteenth century see *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV., p. 472.

reflection will show that the merchants would be decidedly benefited by governmental unification and systematization (to say nothing of the enormous benefit that they would derive from the system of paying officials in cash, since they were the financiers. We shall return to the economic aspect later). A landed nobility has always been content with diversification ; with one system of administration and so on in one area and another system in another. Why not ? it is not inconvenienced. But a middle class is not content. A middle class welcomes unification, welcomes standardization of the government over a large area. A man who buys silver in Surat and sells it in Delhi, who buys Kashmir shawls in Lāhore and sells them in Patna, is delighted to have a systematized law, a uniform currency, a standard system of weights and measures. If a maund weighed 56 pounds in Agra and 27 in Surat,¹ the landed nobility did not care, nor the peasantry (peasants still to-day maintain their diverse local customs throughout the country), nor the urban working-class. But the merchants cared very much. Rulers like Akbar who standardized the weights and measures must have had the middle class in mind ; and it must have been the middle class who primarily supported the move.

Similarly is the systematization of law. On this subject for the Mughals not much work has been done² (it might prove a fruitful field) ; nor has the present writer gone into it, except to notice the *Fatāwā-e-ʿĀlam-gīrī*, and to point out that it is normally a middle class State which produces codifications of its law (Justinian's, Napoleon's, or Turkey since it has turned bourgeois), while agricultural societies are content with discriminatory justice.

Next there is the question of roads. Everyone knows that *Shēr Shāh* built roads ; but few seem to have wondered why. Those whose curiosity has been aroused have been satisfied with the answer 'for military purposes.' That is indeed a 'possible and a partial answer ; though conquerors are not typical road-builders. An equally important, if not more important, answer is, surely, 'for the merchants.' Peasants do not travel from Sunargāon to the Indus (except perhaps for pilgrimages ; but their needs would hardly justify the expense), nor nobles often (again, not often enough to justify the expense). But merchants were making such trips constantly, and it must have been they who applauded the loudest when these roads were opened up. And consider the *Ṣarā'es* and the shady trees (to be taken, no doubt, with a pinch of salt) : these were surely not put up for soldiers, nor would the nobility stop at an inn. Throughout history, routes are trade routes. The provision for Hindus at *Shēr Shāh's* *Ṣarā'es* marches with the suggestion that they were for merchants. And Qanungo observes that some of the halting-places on these roads " developed into centres of busy market-towns, where peasants could profitably

1. Moreland : *India at the Death of Akbar*, p. 53.

2. See Muhammad Bashir Ahmad : *The Administration of Justice in Medieval India* ; Wahed Husain : *Administration of Justice during the Muslim Rule in India*.

sell their agricultural produce and get in return little commodities of comfort."¹

Another point of Shēr Shāh's administration is his police system: the policy of holding the local headman responsible for 'crimes'² occurring within his jurisdiction. This system does not make sense if one is thinking of disputes between local peasants—a case of one villager's stealing his neighbour's cattle; or an instance where the murder of a peasant is suspected to have been done by his jealous wife, though the proof is unsubstantial. The tradition was that the nobility did not interfere with the Panchāyat system in purely local cases,³ and one fails to see why Shēr Shāh should have tried to meddle with this tradition. For a central government to hold its own policemen responsible in such cases whenever the true culprit was not found, would have been as unfeasible as it would have been ludicrous. A little reflection will show that such cases would never, under the circumstances, have been reported to the centre; and that if they had, endless complications would have arisen between the police and the peasants. But the whole scheme immediately takes on the light of reason and practicability, as soon as one imagines it as applying in cases where a merchant, travelling through an area, is set upon and robbed. And as a matter of fact, a more careful reading of the original sources reveals that this was precisely what was in mind.⁴ When a merchant or the like is robbed, it makes excellent middle-class sense to pass an order that the local authorities will be held responsible to the central government unless they can produce the culprit and/or make good the damage.

A further step taken by Shēr Shāh in favour of the commercial group was his policy on customs dues. He abolished all tariffs on commerce except frontier customs on goods coming from Bengāl and from Khurāsān, and a sales tax at the place of sale.⁵ "No one dared to levy other customs, either on the road or on the ferries, in town or village," we read in the *Tā'rikh-i-Shēr Shāhī*⁶; and Qanungo comments: "Shēr Shāh's reconstruction of the tariff system revived the dwindling commerce of Northern India."⁷ Similarly, it is instructive to analyse Jahāngir's policy of conciliation on his accession in 1605. He had had to fight for the

1. Quoted in S. R. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

2. Ieshwari Prasad (*A Short History of Muslim Rule in India*, p. 324) writes:

"He tried to enforce the principle of local responsibility in the matter of preventing crimes;" similarly many other writers have not attempted to distinguish what sort of crime was under consideration.

3. "The village assemblies or Panchayats as they are still called, which had been managing local affairs, executive and judicial for several centuries and had grown into powerful bodies, obtained due recognition in all medieval States" (M. B. Ahmad, *op. cit.*, p. 62).

4. See 'Abbās Khān Sarwānī, *op. cit.*, quoted in S. R. Sharma, *op. cit.*, pp. 166 and 172.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 172.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 172.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 172.

succession (which fact is indicative of the still feudal nature of the empire) and having got it, to strengthen his position he conciliated the upper class by amnesties and promotions,¹ the general public by promises of justice² and public works (such as hospitals)³ and the middle class by tax relations⁴: the abolition of Abwāb, etc. In fact, the emperors, from Shēr Shāh to Aurangzeb,⁵ paid direct subsidies to commerce in the form of abolishing Abwāb and reducing or abolishing customs dues. True, the upper class resisted putting these concessions to the middle class into practice.⁶ Yet the concessions must have meant some benefit; and in any case they show a sustained interest, on the part of the central State, in commerce.

Finally, we come to the systematization of the currency; and to the most important point of all, the rise of a money economy. The great attention paid by Shēr Shāh⁷ and Akbar⁸ to the mints, and the care with which they introduced throughout their domains the use of a uniform currency, speak unmistakably of commerce. Agriculturalists seldom bother about coins at all, and never do so to the extent of worrying whether they are uniform in Ajmer and Gawr. But merchants bother a good deal.

The rise of a money economy with the empire is not in dispute, but its profound significance appears to have been overlooked. In a feudal, landed society, dominated by an upper class, wealth is in goods (especially land), not in money. Production is for use, not for a market. Even large industry is carried on for barter: the king has the court cloth-factory, pays the workers in food and shelter, and uses personally or distributes as gifts the materials that they produce. Revenue is in kind. Power is in armed followers. This was the prevailing condition of India in the fifteenth century and earlier. But in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, this system was giving way to the middle-class system of coined money. Even government officials were to be paid salaries; the cash for these would, at some stage, pass through the hands of the bourgeoisie. What is more significant, even the land revenue⁹ was finally calculated in currency figures. Shēr Shāh assessed revenue in kind, collected it in kind

1. Beni Prasad: *History of Jahāngīr*, pp. 114 ff.

2. The famous 'Chain of Justice,' and regulations 5, 6, and part of 3, of the 'Twelve Ordinances' (as given in S. R. Sharma, *op. cit.*, pp. 373 f.).

3. Regulation 7 (*Ibid.*, p. 374).

4. Regulations 1, 2, 3 (*Ibid.*, p. 373).

5. For Shēr Shāh, cf. notes 27 ff. above. See also Moreland: *India at the Death of Akbar*, pp. 48 f. (cf. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 377); Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 107; and Jadunath Sarkar: *Mughal Administration* (1935 ed). Chapter V (pp. 79-82 and 90-105).

6. Consult the references for the previous note.

7. See Qanungo, *op. cit.*

8. See Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

9. For the land revenue system, see *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, Chapter XVI. Cf. also Tripathi *op. cit.*, Chapters X and XI.

or in cash—usually the former, probably, but he preferred cash and encouraged its use. Apparently money was beginning to come into general use, though just beginning.

Gradually during the sixteenth century that use of money spread. The repeated reforms of the revenue administration under Akbar show him as slowly feeling his way from a system based on a barter economy to one based on a cash economy. From the beginning, cash equivalents were fixed, which were slowly adjusted more and more nicely to local conditions and prices. Finally, in Todar Mal's Band-o-Bast of 1580, the whole schedules were in cash. For the first time in Indian history, not only the collection but the assessment itself was in terms of money: the assessment was so many Dāms per Bighā. This technical and seemingly trivial fact represents, surely, one of the most fundamental changes in the basic life of the Indian people that mediæval history affords. For it means that, well before the end of the sixteenth century, throughout Hindostān wherever the system applied, the peasant was expected to sell his produce in the open market, and to have cash with which to pay his dues.

To ponder this is to realize what a transformation had taken place. The upsurge of cash markets throughout the country, where farm produce was bought and sold. The peasantry emerging as a potential market for industrial goods, to be sold to them for money. And so on. Thus we see that an amendment is necessary in Karl Marx's otherwise brilliant analysis of Indian social history. More than ninety years ago, Marx wrote: "All the civil wars, invasions, revolutions, conquests, famines, strangely complex, rapid and destructive as their successive action in Hindostan may appear, did not go deeper than its surface"¹—meaning that the 'kings, courts, and conquests' did not, as Vincent Smith also imagined, alter the fundamental village life of India. The curious point is not that an amendment should now be necessary, but that virtually no progress has been made during the century since this writer set the study of Indian history on the right track. Thus Palme Dutt, writing in 1940, states that "the British conquest differed from every previous conquest, in that... the previous foreign conquerors left untouched the economic basis and eventually grew into its structure."² Our thesis is that the Mughal conquest did touch the village economy of India and began to revolutionize it. However, it is not our purpose here to examine that revolution from the point of view of the villager—though we may suggest it as an interesting field for research. Our concern here is with the merchants. It is hardly mere idle speculation to suggest that the new economy implies a new prosperity, almost a new world order, for the commercial middle class.

1. In the *New York Herald Tribune*, June 25, 1853. Reprinted in Karl Marx: *Articles on India*, People's Publishing House, Bombay, 1943, p. 23 (but wrongly reading 'the successive' for 'their successive,' and 'Hindustan' for 'Hindostan').

2. Palme Dutt: *India Today*. Reprinted *ibid.*, p. 6.

Trade was being expanded to include as market the entire population, instead of merely the tiny ruling class and the towns. It was being expanded to include in the category of goods handled by the traders the agricultural produce of India involved in the land revenue. If one considers the question of cash money, which is the form that middle-class wealth takes, one realizes that the amount of it increased enormously during the period ; as did, no doubt, its rate of circulation. The empire was continually minting coins in large quantities ; and the Europeans' entire trade was financed by cash. Actually, the huge influx of gold and silver into India and the expansion of coined money under the Mughals did not result, apparently, in any rise in prices.¹ This implies that the quantity of commodities available in the market must have increased proportionately—which indicates the stimulus to production and to business generally resulting from the briskness of commerce. It would be highly instructive to have some calculation of the actual amount of money in circulation in North India in the sixteenth century. One would like to know how much it was at the beginning of the century, and how much at the end. Practically all of it must have passed through the hands of the middle class.

There is a further point, which those unacquainted with the new modes of thought will find strange. One of the discoveries of the modern study of history is that religious developments too reflect or accompany basic changes in social processes.² It is not too fantastic to suggest that the religious liberalism of Akbar and the syncretist tendencies of the age indicate an alliance of the predominantly Muslim upper class with the predominantly Hindu middle class. Modern communalist-minded scholars are much interested in going carefully through the extant records to discover how many government positions Hindus held under various emperors.³ We do not call into question the basic importance of the Mughal-Rājput alliance. But we feel that the Hindu element in the upper-class group, which element after all was rather small,⁴ is only one part of the picture ; and that the Hindu middle class must also be considered if we want to make that picture complete. Into this theory fits this observed fact : that later in the seventeenth century when, as we said above, the Indian middle class was on the wane and its political importance had more or less vanished, then the upper class, being left alone to rule, reverted to religious orthodoxy, and even severed the alliance with the Rājputs.

1. Brij Narain : *Indian Economic Life*, p. 20 ; Moreland : *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, pp. 170-185.

2. See, for example : Tawney : *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* ; Mannheim : *Ideology and Utopia* ; and numerous other works in which the point is elaborated for the religion and history of the West. For an exposition of the thesis with regard to Islam, the present writer's recent study *Modern Islam in India* may be consulted.

3. E.g., Sri Ram Sharma, *op. cit.*, or the same author' *The Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors*.

4. Under Akbar, the most liberal of the emperors, among the 30 per cent. of the nobility who were not foreigners, approximately half were Hindu, half Muslim (Moreland : *India at the Death of Akbar*, p. 70).

Similarly, when the representatives of the old social order in Bengal and Bihar, the feudal nobility, revolted against Akbar's nationalistic innovations after 1580 (as we have discussed above), they got for ideological support the backing of the representatives of the old religious order. The Mullās declaimed vehemently against the emperor's liberalism. The Qāḍī of Jawnpur gave a *Fatwā* authorizing rebellion against Akbar.¹

Throughout this important social struggle between progress and the *status quo* had its religious counterpart.

That the middle class was prosperous and important in Mughal India is no mere speculation. True, Moreland doubts that their property was safe or ostentatious;² but actually there are numerous references, from foreign travellers and others, to the wealthy merchants, their brick and stone houses at Agra, etc.;³ and it is known that the trade with Iran, the Far East, the Near East, and Europe was substantial, and there is every reason to suppose that internal trade was substantial too. All the main towns are described at this period as being flourishing markets⁴; and when the European travellers, themselves middle class, were impressed with India's great wealth, they often meant wealth in a middle-class sense.

Concerning direct relations between the ruling class and the middle class, the suggestion may be thrown out that research here might indicate much, though little is clear at the moment. Meanwhile, however, one may point to Hēmū⁵ and Mīr Jumlah⁶ as examples of merchants turned rulers; and as for rulers turning merchants, there is evidence that Akbar⁷ indulged in speculative ventures and owned merchant ships, as did Jahāngīr⁸ and his mother⁹ and his son (Khurram).¹⁰ Moreover, it was apparently quite customary for the administrative officials to upset local trade by their intervention "as buyer or seller of practically any commodity,"¹¹ and "a local governor was in practice free to enter the market on his own initiative."¹² This connection, also, worked both ways: we read that "in some commercial centres local governors were frequently appointed from the mercantile community."¹³

1. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, p. 126.

2. Moreland: *India at the Death of Akbar*, p. 264.

3. Brij Narain, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-65.

4. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 395; cf. *Ibid.*, p. 410.

5. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, p. 64.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 218; Moreland: *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, pp. 148 f., 86.

7. E.g., Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 411.

8. Joshi, V. C.: *East India Company and the Mughal Authorities during Jahāngīr's Reign*, p. 17 (reprint from *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XXI, Parts 1 and 2, 1942).

9. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

11. Moreland, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 146.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 147.

In other words, not only was there sympathy between the rulers and the merchants ; in some instances they were the same persons.

The discussion has been confined to a commercial middle class. There seems little to suggest that an industrial middle class was prominent, if indeed it existed at all. Trade was in the merchants' hands ; but production, with few exceptions, seems to have been with the artisans on the piece-system, working *ad hoc* on each order ; or with the nobility. The only large-scale industrial organization apparent in the Mughal period was that of the courts, where production was for use, not for a market.¹ Artillery ; building ; and the most important industry of all, cloth ; seem not to have passed from a feudal system to the middle class. A possible explanation is that the Indian middle classes never got the chance to amass the requisite capital before their decline.

An important question remains : namely, why the commercial middle class, if it was expanding and prospering in the sixteenth century and on into the seventeenth, dwindled into political impotence in Aurangzeb's time. Competition from the Europeans is one possible answer, but is perhaps an inadequate one, since few scholars would ascribe great consequence to the position of the foreigners within India before 1700.² Moreland's answer would be that the administrative incompetence of the empire, and even more of the South Indian States, strangled the middle class at the time of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān.³ This would raise the further question why that middle class allowed itself to be strangled ; or the general query why it was not able to produce, or anyway why it did not produce, for itself the requisite energy, moral and other, to build up here capitalism and a capitalist State. In any case, if our foregoing thesis is somewhat correct, that a prosperous expansive middle class was emerging under Akbar, then a highly profitable study would be to ascertain why it did not come to maturity. From a comparison, then, of this instance of middle class failure, with the instance in Western Europe of a bourgeoisie that emerged and proved successful, one could make a fundamental contribution to the science of society and history.

In conclusion, it must be emphasized that the present paper is proffered to stimulate discussion, not to force conclusions. And certainly the thesis must not be carried too far. The Mughal empire, we suggest, was allied to the middle class, and during its most flourishing period it had middle-class commerce as a secondary and very important basis. But its primary basis remained land ; and it never quite outgrew that heritage. Rather,

1. See Moreland : *India at the Death of Akbar*, pp. 184 ff.

2. It is interesting, however, to find an Englishman (Sir Josiah Child) as early as 1687 thinking in terms of the East India Company's dominating the internal situation in India. " In 1687 he pointed out that the developments in India were ' forming us into the condition of a sovereign State in India,' and recommended the Company to establish ' the foundations of a large, well-grounded, sure English Dominion in India for all time to come ' " (Lester Hutchinson : *The Empire of the Nabobs*, p. 61).

3. *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, Chapter X : " Summary and Conclusion " ; especially pp. 300 ff.

as we have indicated, it was ready to revert to it altogether once the middle class secondary basis was removed. But thereupon it floundered. The downfall of the empire may be seen in its beginnings in the campaigns in Central Asia (1645-53) of Shāh Jahān: in them Mughal imperialism wasted millions of money, and untold time, effort, prestige, and lives, pursuing its traditional feudal¹ dream of land conquest, when if it was to survive at all it should have been devoting its attention to the sea and to commercial protection and expansion.² When the empire pursued policies beneficial to the middle class, it prospered. When it followed the old upper-class policies, especially under Aurangzeb, it collapsed in a heap of ruins.

WILFRED CANTWELL SMITH.

1. Not entirely feudal: Qandahār was important as a commercial as well as a strategic centre.

2. Occasionally the emperors did seem to appreciate somewhat the danger of the foreign trading powers, and undertook to fight against them (cf. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 263 ff.; *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, pp. 190 ff., Sarkar: *Short History of Aurangzeb*, pp. 404 ff.); but they fought in terms of their military power rather than in terms of their trade. The attacks were land attacks only, and no one seems to have thought of trying to overcome their challenge by strengthening Mughal sea-power or Mughal commerce.

CULTURAL INFLUENCES UNDER AḤMAD SHĀH WALĪ BAHMANĪ¹

[22-9-1422—26-2-1434]

HOWEVER "saintly"² the new king was, and however innocent of the death of his brother Fīrōz, he must have heaved a sigh of relief when he heard that his brother was no more. But at the very outset of his reign he had to undergo the shock of the death of his benefactor Ḥaḍrat Khwājā Syyed Muḥammad Gēsū Dārāz, which occurred barely three weeks after his accession on 16-11-825/26-10-1422.³ Ḥaḍrat had been Aḥmad's supporter ever since he had come to settle down at Gulbarga, and it is no exaggeration to say that but for the support of the group which gathered round the saint, who had become a kind of leader of the opposition to Fīrōz, Aḥmad would not have ousted his brother and his nephew from the throne so easily. It is possible that the saint's death was one of the causes of the change of the capital from Gulbarga to Bidar, though other causes must have contributed to bring about the decision as well.

CHANGE OF CAPITAL

THE change of capital was really a symbol of the revolution which was

1. The title *Shihābu'd-din* occurs on a tablet which is now built into the prayer niche of an old mosque at Rauḍā, a suburb of Nuṣratābād-Sāgar : See *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1931-32, p. 16. This corroborates the title of the king in *Burhānu'l-Ma'āshir*, 53. Bur.'s statement that his father was Aḥmad Khān son of Bahman Shāh, not Dāwūd, is corroborated by coins. The reverse of one of the specimens clearly reads سلطان احمد شاه بن احمد الحسن الهمی : See Sherwani, *Mahmūd Gāwān, the Great Bahmanī Wazīr*, p. 56, Note 40 ; Speight, *Coins of the Bahmanī Kings*, Islamic Culture, Hyderabad-Deccan, 1935, p. 295. This parentage is also given by Khafī Khān, *Muntakhabu'l-Lubāb*, III, 47. Nuṣratābād-Sāgar, in Gulbarga district, H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions ; 16°37' N., 76°48' E.

2. Aḥmad I's sainthood is recognised by many Deccanīs, both Hindus and Muslims, the Muslims calling him Ḥaḍrat Aḥmad Shāh Walī and the Hindus 'Ālam Prabhū. One often sees, especially on the 'Urs or day of the anniversary of the king's death, hordes of Hindus and Muslims, men and women, standing by the grave and begging the dead monarch to intercede on their behalf. It is related how it was his prayers which once brought rain to the famine-stricken Deccan. He was a great believer in the supernatural, in Ḥaḍrat Gēsū Darāz, and Shāh Ni'matu'l-lāh Kirmānī. See Zahirud-Dīn, *Aḥmad Shāh Bahmanī*, Hyderabad, Deccan, 1937, Ch. XI.

3. Immediately on his accession Aḥmad gave a number of villages to Ḥaḍrat Gēsū Darāz, and 'Abdu'l Jabbār Khān, *Tadhkirah Salāṭin-i-Dakan*, p. 107, says that the deed of the Jāgīr given by Aḥmad Shāh is still with the Sajjādā Naḡhīn of the mausoleum.

taking place in the Bahmanī state both in its inward and outward aspects. The Bahmanī state, founded by 'Alāu'd-dīn Bahman Shāh and organised by Muḥammad I, had suffered internally by the uncertainties of the royal office, and every one of the occupants of the throne from Mujāhid onwards, with the single exception of Muḥammad II, had died a violent death. The Bahmanīs had been on the throne for barely seventy-five years, and the shrewd Aḥmad must have perceived that his throne was not safe in an atmosphere which engendered blood-thirsty traditions. The history of the last three-quarters of a century was a negation of all rules of orderly succession to the throne, and this state of affairs must have produced an atmosphere of intrigue entailing faithlessness and disloyalty to the ruler at Gulbarga whoever he might be. Moreover Aḥmad must have been fully conscious of the steps by which he could become king and brush aside his nephew. The saint Gēsū Dārāz's death so soon after his accession may have weighed heavily on him, and he must immediately have begun thinking hard how to extricate himself from the shackles of intriguing Gulbarga where there was no doubt a large party of nobles and commoners who considered Aḥmad to be only a usurper.

If we compare the Gulbarga period of Bahmanī rule with the Bidar period we immediately see a vast change in the spirit of the Sultānate. The period of the Bidar Sultānate was one of internal peace. Intrigues there no doubt were, and as will be seen later the mutual antipathy of the Afāqīs and the Dakhnīs finally led to the downfall of the kingdom. But it is remarkable that after the blood-thirsty atmosphere which Aḥmad left at Gulbarga, and in spite of the Dakhnī-Afāqī intrigues, in spite of the rise of the succession states and of the gradual weakness of kingship, we find that there is not a single case of regicide from the accession of Shihābu'd-Dīn Aḥmad in 1422 till the first quarter of the sixteenth century, when all power had been lost, and in fact the right of primogeniture became firmly established in the Deccan as it never was in Northern India right through the medieval period. It would not be too much to say that credit for this state of affairs is due to the man who moved his capital to a new district.

There was another tradition which was finally shaken off by the removal of the capital, and that was the Tughluq tradition. It has been noticed elsewhere that Firōz was the first Bahmanī who, while he encouraged the influx of Irānians, Irāqīs and Arabs from over the seas, attempted to offset their influence by an admixture of Hindu tradition in the life of the Deccan. As time went on the purely Tughluq influence must have waned, and of this the contrast between Mujāhid's tomb and Firōz's "double tomb," both on the same platform, is abundant proof. It has already been related how Hindu influence was creeping even into sacred Muslim edifices such as the prayer niche in Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn's tomb and Firōz's mausoleum. Now the Bidar period opens a new chapter in Deccan architecture, for while the Tughluq influence almost entirely disappears,

its place is taken by the influence of the Īrānians who flocked to the Deccan more than ever, making their mark in art, architecture, politics, religion and other aspects of the life of the land, to the great chagrin of the northern colonists who were now calling themselves Dakhnīs. The Īrānian influence in architecture is manifested to such an extent that the peculiar Perso-Deccani or Bahmanī arch with its stilted apex was copied by their foes of Vijayanagar, and even now the visitor to the great ruins of Hampi stands astounded at the faithful manner in which that arch has found a place in the Talārigatta Road, Zenana compound, Watch tower in Danāik's enclosure, the so-called elephants' stables, and other monuments in the great ruins, side by side with purely Hindu temples, shrines, platforms, and bas-reliefs.¹

One other consideration must have weighed on Ahmad's mind and that is the sultry atmosphere of Gulbarga compared with the fertility and and healthiness of Bidar. The word Gulbarga or Kalbarga means " stony land " in Canarese, and this part of the Deccan is noted for its very scanty rainfall. On the other hand Bidar is situated on a plateau 2,330 above the sea and is definitely one of the healthiest parts of the Deccan tableland. It is no doubt this which has led our chroniclers to hand down to posterity stories of a Bidar rabbit or a fox chasing a dog from some other clime, and an old man of Bidar being stronger than young men of other parts.²

Lastly, recent years had seen the progress of Bahmanī arms into Tilan-gānā in the reign of Firōz, and although he had to leave Rajahmundry he managed to get a greater hold on the eastern parts of the Deccan than his predecessors ever had. In shifting the capital to Bidar Ahmad must have had in mind more or less the same considerations as those of Muḥammad b. Tughluq when he made Daulatābād the second capital of his vast empire, for Gulbarga was too much in a corner of the Bahmanī kingdom which had been greatly enlarged since the throne had been placed in the

1. For a description and photographs of Hampi see Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins*, Delhi, 1933, plates 15, 16, 31, 32, 34, 36. There were 10,000 Muslims in Deva Rāya's army, *Sewell and Aiyangar*, 217 (E.C. III, sr. 15; X. Bp., 72; XI, cd, 29).

2. Kulbarga meaning *stony land*; Baḡhīru'd-Dīn Ahmad, *Wāqī'āt-i Mamlukat-i Bijāpur*, Part III, 1915, p. 450. Yazdani, *Antiquities of Bidar*, 1917, p. 1. Our chroniclers are profused in laudating Bidar, Firishtā (I. 324) says that the plain of Bidar was " vast like the blue sky itself," and the countryside with most pleasant zephyrs smelling of the most vivid scents of flowers and with abundant flowing water. *Bur.* 54, 55, says that " the soil of Bidar is as glittering as the firmament, full of rivulets and flowers, where paths are bounded by green grass, while the air is like the zephyrs of paradise "; while *Tabāqāt-i Akbari*, 417, says that Bidar has a green expanse of land and a most enchanting climate. The episode of the fox chasing the dog is given by Firishtā and Khāfi Khān *Muntakhabu'l-lubāb*, III, Calcutta, 1925, 71; of the fox and the hare by Rafi'u'd-dīn Shīrāzī, *Tadhkiratu'l-Muluk*, Aṣāfiyah, *Tārīkh*, 1081, fol. 10 (a); the tale of the old man of Bidar being stronger than a younger man of elsewhere is found in *Zahīr u'd-dīn*, *op. cit.*, p. 87, quoting a Marathi manuscript, *Sultān Sūrī* which is in possession of the patel of Solpur in the district of Bidar. Strangely enough the story of the fox and the dog is repeated in the case of the choice of a site for Ahmadnagar by Ahmad Nizām Shāh in *Bur.*, 214.

fort at Gulbarga. Bidar was much safer, being at the very edge of the Deccan plateau, and besides was more in the centre of the new dominions than the remote Gulbarga.¹

These were probably the considerations which led Ahmad Shāh to think of moving his court to Bidar. There are a number of dates assigned to this important event, ranging between 827/1423 to 830/1425.² The earlier date seems to be correct and there seems to be no reason why the king should have waited till the dramatic chase of the dog by the fox in order to make up his mind about the climatic excellence of Bidar, as Firishṭā seems to have surmised. Bidar had been in possession of the Muslims right from the conquest of the Deccan, and was in fact the capital of the southern provinces before Daulatābād was made the political centre of India by Muḥammad b. Tughluq. Surely a shrewd man like Ahmad Shāh, who must have passed through Bidar a number of times, was bound to know what a pleasant and fertile place it was and must also have known that it had once been the capital town of the Deccan. Both *Burhānu'l-Ma'āṣir* and *Tadhkiratu'l-Mulūk* are agreed that Bidar was made the capital immediately after the king's accession, and we have additional evidence in the fact that an inscription which has lately been discovered in the chief mosque of the palace fort the "Solha Khamb Masjid," says that it was built as early as 827/1424, i.e., within two years of Ahmad's accession, by Prince Muḥammad, after whom Bidar began to be called Muḥammad-ābād.³ And surely the mosque could not have been the solitary royal edifice at Bidar in 827 H. We may, therefore, well surmise that Ahmad began to think of the change of capital immediately after his accession, and actually commissioned Prince Muḥammad to supervise the erection of a fort on the edge of the plateau by the side of the ancient Hindu fortress, and when the structures needed for the reception of the entourage including the mosque were completed in 827 H., he shifted his capital. As a matter of fact we are fortunate in possessing the actual date of the change of capital, for *Burhānu'l-Ma'āṣir* definitely says that the king moved on to Bidar in the month of Rajab in the second year of his accession, i.e., Rajab 827/ June 1423. Burhān does not stop here but actually names Bidar as the

1. See K. Aiyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 5. Also, Gurti Venkata Rao, *Bahmani-Vijayanagar Relations*, Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Allahabad Session, pp. 264-271.

2. Firishṭā and Khāfi Khān are for 830 H., while Burhān, p. 54, is for Rajab 827/June 1423. Syed 'Alī Bilgrāmi in his Urdu *Tārīkh-i-Dakan*, part I, says that the change occurred in 833 H., but this may be due to a misprint as it is not corroborated by any reference to an original authority. Rafi'u'd-din says that Bidar was made the capital "immediately after Ahmad's accession."

3. *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1931-32, p. 27; Report of the Hyderabad Archaeological Department 1928-29, p. 8. There are coins in the Hyderabad Museum struck at "Muhammadābād" in 827/1423 which seem to be among the first struck at Bidar. This is the exact year of the building of the Mosque, of Sixteen Pillars and seems to go a long way to prove the theory that the capital was changed soon after Ahmad's accession. See *Ep. Indo-Mos.*, and Speight, *op. cit.*, p. 295. I do not agree with the learned writer of the article in the *Epigraphia* that the transfer of the capital was due to the wishes of Prince Muḥammad.

place where the great celebrations of the marriage of the Crown Prince Zafar Khān with Princess Āghā Zainab, daughter of Naṣir Khān Fārūqī of Khāndēsh, took place, celebrations which were marked by much "music incense and wine." We are told that the "Capital Bīdar" was then full of the most varied articles of high living and that the fine arts were patronised by both the court and the people, while shops and trade establishments were full to the brim with articles of comfort and luxury.¹

ARCHITECTURE

ONE of the monuments of note at Gulbarga which may be definitely attributed to Aḥmad I is the mausoleum of Ḥaḍrat Gēsū Dārāz. The mausoleum, with its adjacent tomb of the saint's son Syed Akbar Hussaini, is a perfect specimen of the evolved Perso-Deccani or Bahmani architecture and is built on the principles already adopted in Firōz's tomb. Outwardly seeming to be a two-storied monument with four small bouquets on each corner and surmounted by a grand dome with brass finials, it is, along with the sister mausoleum of the saint's son, one of the glories of Gulbarga. The arches, jambs, and spandrels remind one of Firōz's tomb but there is a simplicity and grandeur which inspire the onlooker to a much greater extent, especially as the composition is on a much larger scale and the arches on both "storeys" are simple and closed in contrast to the trellises and triangulations to be seen in Firōz's tomb. The interior of the mausoleums of both father and son are grand and sombre, while the walls are absolutely perpendicular to the ground and the roof is of the vaulted pattern with ten shallow domes. The saint's monument was commenced by Aḥmad Shāh I two years after his death, and completed by his son 'Alāu'd-dīn Aḥmad Shāh II.²

There is another building at Gulbarga which can also be traced to the reign of Aḥmad I, namely, the mosque built by Qalandar Khān, the first

1. *Bur.*, 57. Gulbarga was the capital of the Kingdom at least on 24-4-1423, the date on which Al-Makhzūmī finished copying out his work on Arabic Grammar there. The work was *Manḥal-uṣ-Ṣaḥī Sharḥi'l-Wāfi*, Asafiyah, Naḥw-i 'Arabī 50. It appears from the colophon that the MSS. is in the author's own pen; fol. 468 (b). There are two notices of the author in Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*; in I, 312 and Supplement, p. 545, where he is mentioned in connection with a commentary on *a'ṣ-Rāmizatu'sh-Shāfi'a fi'Ilm-i'l-Uruḍ-ud-dī-Qāfiyah*; his name here appears as Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. 'Umar al-Makhzūmī and the date of his death corrected to 827/1424. There is a fuller notice in Vol. II, p. 26 (and Supplement, p. 21) where his fuller name is given as Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. 'Umar . . . b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Sulaimān . . . al-Makhzūmī . . . and-Damanīnī, surnamed Badru'd-dīn. There is a reference here to Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw 'l-Lāmi'* VII, 184-187. He was born at Alexandria in 763/1362 and died at Gulbarga in 827/1424. Here it should be noted that neither Brockelmann nor *codices Arabici*, British Museum, 1871, Vol. II, p. 644 (where there is a notice of the author nor Sakhāwī mention the present work which seems absolutely unique. I have requested the Librarian of the Asafiyah Library, Hyderabad-Deccan to investigate this point further.

2. *Rep. Hyd. Arch. Dept.*, 1937-40, p. 2. Photographs of the tombs in the Urdu Guide *Rahnuma-i-Rauḍatain*, 1359 H.

Bahmanī Governor of Gulbarga. It is a simple structure with a double row of five arches and the ceiling superimposed by five flat domes. The style of the arches is more or less the same as that of Firōz's tomb but the pillars on which they rest are proportionately longer and the whole ensemble much simpler. There is an interesting square room near Qalandar Khān's mosque which reminds one of the Firōzābād style of architecture in that the room is surmounted not by a dome but by a pyramidal form flat at the bottom with tapering top. This was probably the last edifice at Gulbarga where style which had perhaps been invented by Firōz was copied.¹

We now move on to Bīdar, the new capital of the Bahmanīs, and enter the Fort, the *chef d'oeuvre* of Ahmad I, built on the site of an ancient fortress connected with the romance of Nala and Damayanti and near the purānā Qil'ā, of which the fortifications, gunfoundry, and the reservoirs supplying water to the palaces are still to be seen.

The fort itself,² or rather a large part of it, is a living monument to the genius of Ahmad Shāh, and although there must have been many additions by future sovereigns the greater part of the edifice may safely be attributed to him. As has been related above, this huge quadrangle, three-quarters of a mile long by half a mile broad, is built on the edge of the Bidar plateau which rises precipitately on the eastern side to a height of 2,330 ft. above sea-level. The moat is hewn out of solid rock, but instead of having a wide moat the builders have left partitions so that instead of one moat there are really three, in certain places defended by scraps jutting up from the bottom.³

We enter the fort from the east through the so-called Sharzāh Darwāzā built by Aurangzēb, coming to the Naubat Darwāzā with its decorations of coloured tiles and surmounted by Naubat Khānā. The third gateway, the Gumbad Darwāzā or the "Dome Gate" is the first significant Bahmanī structure we meet, for here free use is made both of the stilted arch and flat dome reminiscent of the earlier Tughluq tradition, with an apex about 70 ft. above the ground level. It is a simple structure and its most prominent factor is the stilt in the outer arch. We now pass by certain structures dating from Barīdī times and come to the "Mosque of Sixteen Pillars," built in 827/1424 under the direction of Prince Muḥammad and under the supervision of Qubli Sultānī.⁴ It is called the Solhā Khamb Masjid, as the ceiling is supported by sixteen massive pillars each more than 14 ft. in diameter. There are two interesting things connected

1. *Rep. Hyd. Arch. Dept.*, 1925-26, p. 708; the similarity to Firōzābād architecture is not noticed there.
2. *Rep. Hyd. Arch. Dept.*, 1928-29, pp. 5ff., 1929-30, pp. 23 ff.; 1931-33, pp. 4 ff and 62 ff.

3. *Fer.*, I, 328, says that it was in 835/1432 that the fortifications of Bīdar were completed, that is to say, the building operations were going on right through the reign. This is another evidence to support the theory that Ahmad did not wait for the completion of the palace fortress at all, but moved to Bīdar as soon as the necessary buildings had been erected.

4. *Epig. Ind. Mosl.*, 1931-32, p. 26. The mosque is described in "Antiquities of Bīdar," 16-18.

with this mosque ; firstly, there is a reservoir placed on the roof for the supply of water to the mosque and the palaces ; secondly, the scheme of this mosque is more or less the same as that of the Great Jāmi' Masjid at Gulbarga, though of course on a much smaller scale, practically every worshipper is able to see the Imām in spite of there being so many pillars, and with the possibility of a free flow of air in spite of the large covered area.¹ The great difference in the structure of the two mosques is that an open platform has been added here. Quite close by is the structure which was formerly regarded as the courtyard of the Queen but which proved to be one of the Audience Halls when the whole site was excavated in 1929.² There are further on two large platforms divided from each other by a wide roadway leading to Takht Maḥal and the adjoining chambers. The platform of one of these halls is 109 ft. long and 52 ft. broad, while the platform opposite measures 207 ft. by 50 ft., the former probably being the site of the Aiwān-i-Bār-i-Khās and the other of Aiwān-i Bār-i 'Am, or the Halls of Private Audience and the Hall of Public Audience. The small platform still has a triple row of pedestals on which the pillars supporting the roof once rested, while on the eastern and western sides of the great hall are remains of smaller halls which perhaps served as resting rooms for the king, while there are traces of small rooms of the main hall which were perhaps his robing-rooms.

We now come to the Takht Maḥal and the adjoining palaces, which form a magnificent ensemble. It is related that when the 'Adil Shāhī, Governor of Bīdar, knew that the palace fortress was soon to be occupied by Aurangzēb, he blew up the palaces rather than hand them over to Mughal conqueror, with the result that most of what must have been magnificent Bahmanī structures are now but a mass of ruins. Of some structures only the platforms remain and they have recently been literally unearthed ; of others, walls have been spared like those of the Takht Maḥal, while others again, such as the baths and the " Hazār Kotṭhri " or " A Thousand cubicals, " ³ still stand as perpetual monuments of the magnificence that was the capital of the Bahmanīs. Near the Takht Maḥal the clearing of the debris has brought to light great halls of considerable dimensions, some as large as 70 ft. by 35 ft., and subterranean chambers, octagonal rooms with flights of steps still decorated with glazed tiles of myriad colours. The grandest building of the lot is the Takht Maḥal or the Throne Room itself, which was probably the scene of the coronation of so many Bahmanī potentates, scenes which have been described in detail by our chroniclers. Mr. G. Yazdani, erstwhile Director of Archaeology, H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions, says about this Throne Room :

1. The covered area in the Bīdar Mosque is 2,400 sq. ft., while in the Gulbarga mosque it is 27,780 sq. ft ; Bashīru'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 135 and 504. This learned author wrote long before the recent excavations and so wrongly considers this to be a ladies' mosque.

2. Probably the same structure as Pēshgā mentioned by Bur., 71.

3. Zahiru'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, 156.

"The arches rise so as to convey an air of loftiness, and the beautiful tile decorations of the façade, relieved by bands of carved black stone, give an idea of sumptuousness combined with good taste only to be found in architectures of the highest order. The plan of the interior of the room is extremely picturesque, the square form of the exterior of the building being converted into an ornamental octagon by the building of niches of elegant design at corners. Excluding the niches the room measures 24 ft. across. The view of the fort and the country around is superb, and the architect could not have selected a better site than the building of the throne room." The arches are all very much stilted and this would be enough to prove the Irānian influence. The Afāqī influence will be dealt with in detail when we come to its political aspect ; but nothing can show this influence on Deccan art better than the bold outlines of the Persian emblem, the Lion holding a Sword with the Rising Sun in the background, all worked in mosaic of beautifully coloured tiles, which draws the attention of the visitor as he approaches Aḥmad's palace. Yet even in the manifestly Persian ensemble we perceive Hindu influence in some of the carvings of the marginal borders of black stone, which clearly indicates the synthesis of cultures which was proceeding in the Deccan. It was perhaps the grandness of this composite structure which struck Shaiḡh Āzarī of Isfarāin in Irān, the preceptor of the Crown Prince, who composed the following lines in honour of the occasion.²

حېذا قصر مشيد كه ز فرط عظمت آسان سده از پايه اين درگاه است
آسان هم نتوان گفت كه حدادب است قصر سلطان جهان احمد بهمن شاه است

So much for the fort. There is one other monument of Aḥmad I which set the fashion at Bīdar for seventy-five years, and that was the sepulchre of Aḥmad Shāh himself, which is the first of a line of tombs situated in the village of Ashtūr, a couple of miles from the city of Bīdar. Although it was barely twelve years since the death of Fīrōz the style of Aḥmad Shāh's tomb is in marked contrast to that of Fīrōz. Here we find three and not two storeys as they appear from the exterior, while the entrance arches on the four sides are much loftier and grander than the comparatively puny arches of Fīrōz's tomb. The sense of strength of Aḥmad's tomb is enhanced by the fact that the corner bouquets have been considerably shortened, while the old Tughluq dome has given place to a great oval dome resting on a huge drum with a finial at the top. But more than the exterior, it is the interior and the spirit of the decora-

1. *Rep. Hyd. Arch. Dept.*, 1928-29, p. 9.

2. See Sherwani, *Mahmūd Gāwān, the Great Bahmanī Wazīr*, 1942, p. 38. *Bur.* 77 says that the King awarded Āzarī one lakh of Deccani Tankās and 5,000 Irānian Tūmāns when he returned home, and 12,000 Tankās to Maulānā Sharāfu'd-Dīn Māzandrānī who inscribed these lines on the palace gates. *Fer.*, I. 326, says that Āzarī was given 40,000 Tankās along with 20,000 Tankās as travelling allowance. Āzarī had been the king's tutor, and was the author of *Bahman Nāmāh*, the metrical history of the dynasty. He died at Isfarāin, his home, in 866/1462, at the advanced age of 82.

tions which show a marked contrast to the Gulbarga edifice. Here we see the Sufic or perhaps Shi'ah influence *par excellence*. The interior was decorated under the supervision of the calligraphist Murghis of Shīrāz, perhaps himself of the Shi'ah persuasion, who has inscribed the name of the Apostle of Islām and the fourth Caliph 'Alī in a hundred ways and inserted the Shi'ite *darūd*. As one enters the sepulchre one is overawed by its grandeur and sombreness and the impression one gets is one of immensity something like the impression of an Istanbul mosque on a small scale. One finds specimens of all styles of Arabic writing, Kūfī, Tughrā, Naskh and the rest, and, perhaps in view of the comparative darkness of the interior, the inscriptions are painted in bright colours, gold, vermilion, and green, or even a brighter background, studded here and there with resplendent stones, some of which are said to be real diamonds of inestimable value. The interior of Aḥmad Shāh's tomb must be ranked as one of the masterpieces of the calligraphist's art of Mediæval India.¹

The last building to which reference will be made here is the tomb of Ḥaḍrat Shamsu'd-Dīn at 'Usmanābād, who died in 730/1330. The tomb typifies practically all the peculiarities of architecture in vogue in those days, *viz.*, the slightly sloping sides of the Tughluq pattern, a high hemispherical dome surmounted on a low drum typifying Bahmanī style, and the lotus emblem at the base of the dome, revealing the hand of the Hindu architect.²

OLD-COMERS AND NEW-COMERS

ALL this shows the extent to which art and architecture and the general life of the people must have been influenced by these New-comers³ who came from overseas and made the Deccan their home. The influx had been going on for some time previously, but it was for the first time that, on his accession, Aḥmad appointed one of them, his old friend Khalaf

1. A fairly detailed description of Aḥmad's tomb is given in Bashīru'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-126. It is a pity that the book named "*Bidar*" containing "the survey of Bidar monuments which have been fully described and illustrated with over one hundred colour and monochrome plates," which was promised for 1932, has not yet seen the light of the day. For the Shi'ite *darūd* in Aḥmad's tomb see *Rep. Hyd. Arch. Soc.*, 1930-31, p. 4.

2. *Rep. Hyd. Arch. Dept.*, 1929-30, p. 4.

3. It is wrong to translate 'Afāqī as *foreigner*, as Haig has done in the Cambridge History of India, II, Ch. 15 and 16, since practically all of them had made the Deccan their home; I have preferred to use the epithet *New-comers* to indicate the party. As a matter of fact most of them were as much of the Deccan as the Normans of the time of Henry I of England were Englishmen, or the Turks of the time of Sulaiman the Magnificent were Europeans. In contradistinction to these New-comers I have preferred to use the epithet *Old-comers* for the other faction, especially as they came to include the Habashīs and we do not come across the Deccanī converts to Islām till the reign of Aḥmad II. See Bilgrāmī, *op. cit.*, part I, pp. 167 ff.

Hasan Baṣrī (who had, in a way, saved his life and put him on the throne) his Wakil-i-Saltanat or Prime Minister, creating him Maliku't-Tujjār or Prince of Merchants, a title which was regarded as one of the highest in the Deccan in times to come.¹ It was no doubt the great height attained by this statesman-merchant which was an eyesore to all his opponents and was the beginning of the great cleavage between the Old-comers and the New-comers which finally sounded the death-knell of the Bahmanī kingdom itself. Aḥmad tested the loyalty of his "Afāqī" courtier, time and again, especially when he was surrounded by the enemy during the Vijayanagar campaign early in his reign, and had a hair-breadth escape mainly owing to the great resource and courage of such New-comers as Syed Hussain Badakhshī, Mīr 'Alī Sistānī, 'Abdu'l-lāh Kurd, and others. The king thereupon ordered a special corps of three thousand archers from 'Irāq, Khurāsān, Transoxania, Turkey, and Arabia to be enrolled in the royal army, and appointed a New-comer Khwājā Hasan Ardistānī to teach bowmanship to the Princes. In 833/1430, after the successful Konkan campaign led by the Maliku't-Tujjār, the king conferred upon him a suit of his own royal robes and other gifts, "the like of which had never been presented by a king to any of his subjects."²

The antipathy generated by this phenomenal rise of the New-comers, most of whom perhaps belonged to the Shī'ah persuasion, had its first unfortunate reaction quite early, during the campaign against Gujarat over Mahāim.³ It is alleged that after the campaign was over a party of Old-comers went in deputation to the Crown Prince, who was commanding the Bahmanī forces, and told him that although it was they who really fought the enemy, the New-comers got all the credit, and consequently they had decided to retire from the fray altogether. The Prince was much impressed by what he was told, and the result of this non-co-operation was that the Gujaratis defeated Maliku't-Tujjār's forces, and his own brother Khumais b. Hasan was taken prisoner along with many others.

Perhaps the next great influx of the New-comers was in connection with the advent of Shāh Khalīlu'l-lāh, son of the saint Shāh Nī'matu'l-lāh Kirmānī. It will be remembered that the Bahmanīs were great patrons of learning and piety and the more thoughtful of them tried to get to the Deccan those whose intellectual worth made them prominent in their own spheres. Aḥmad was himself noted for his piety and for his erudition in arts and sciences, and always regretted that there was no one of any eminence in the world of learning left in the Deccan after the death of

1. This shows that at least in the fifteenth century it was regarded as an honour in the Deccan to be a merchant and to be called one.

2. *Fer.* I, 321, 327.

3. For the campaign see below. Mahāim (modern Māhim, now a suburb of the city of Bombay) was originally an island with the Mahāim river to the north, the sea to the west, and salt ranns to the east and south. See Burnell, *Bombay in the days of Queen Anne*, Hakluyt Society, 1933; map of the island as it was in 1770, opposite p. 90.

Hadrat Gēsū Darāz.¹ So when he heard of the great piety and learning of Shāh Ni'matu'l-lāh he began to think of getting him to the Deccan and sent Shāikh Habibu'l-lāh Junaidī and Mīr Shamsu'd-Dīn Qummi with numerous presents to him requesting him to grace the Deccan by his presence. The saint sent one of his disciples Mullā Qutbu'd-Dīn Kirmānī to Bidar instead, with a twelve-peaked crown as a present to the king. It is said that immediately on seeing the Mullās approach the king exclaimed that this was the person whom he had seen in a dream on the night of the battle with Fīrōz, with the identical crown in his hands.² The king now sent another deputation to Kirmān consisting of Khawājā 'Imādu'd-Dīn Samnānī and Saifu'l-lāh Hasanābādī, asking the saint to send at least one of his sons if he could not come to the Deccan himself; but this time also the saint made his excuses saying that he had only one son Khalilu'l-lāh from whom he did not want to be parted, and sent his grandson Shāh Nūru'l-lāh instead. On receiving this auspicious message Aḥmad sent his own palanquin to the Chaul harbour and commissioned Syed Muḥammad Sadr and Mīr Abu'l Qasim Jurjānī to receive Shāh Nūru'l-lāh on the boat itself. When the cavalcade arrived near Bidar, he himself went out as far as Rāmtūr to receive the honoured guest. The spot where Shāh Nūru'l-lāh met the king was henceforward called Ni'matābād, while Shāh Nūru'l-lāh was created Maliku'l-Mashāikh, giving him precedence over all the Mashāikh of the Deccan, including the descendants of Hadrat Gēsū Darāz whom he venerated so much.³ The king admitted him into the bosom of his own family by marrying his own daughter to him. After Shāh Ni'matu'l-lāh's death on 22-7-834/5-4-1431 his whole family migrated to Bidar, including Shāh Habibu'l-lāh, sur-named Ghāzī, who also became the king's son-in-law and was given the jagir of Bīr, and Shāh Muḥibhu'l-lāh who was given the daughter of the Crown Prince 'Alāu'd-Dīn in marriage.⁴ The king inculcated such a belief in the Mashāikh and the Syeds in general and the Kirmānī family in particular that with the first anniversary of Shāh Ni'matu'l-lāh's death he himself washed the hands of the Mashāikh gathered together for the occasion.

There are two episodes to show the great regard which Aḥmad had for those from 'Irāq and possibly his inclination towards the Shī'ah doctrine. It was no doubt due to his deep piety that he sent thirty thousand silver

1. Bur. 54. For Shāh Ni'matu'l-lāh Kirmānī see Browne, *Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, p. 463 ff. Names of envoys given in Fer. I. 329 are different from those in Bur. 54, where Shāikh Khōjān, a disciple of Shāh Ni'matu'l-lāh, Qaḍī Mūsā Naulakhī, tutor of Prince Muḥammad, and Maliku'gh-Sharq Qalandar Khān are mentioned.

2. Fer. I, 329, Munt. III, 72.

Raintur (near Bidar).

Ni'matābād, now Ni'matu'llāhābād, on the Mānjirā.

3. Bur. 65.

4. Fer. I, 329. Washing of the Mashāikh's hands, Bur. 68.

Tankās to be distributed to the needy Syeds of Karbalā. It is also related how, when a member of the Deccan aristocracy, Shēr Mulk by name, insulted one Syed Naṣīru'd-Dīn Karbalāī, he had the culprit trampled to death by a mad elephant regardless of his rank in society.¹ It seems that towards the end of his reign the Old-comers or the "Dakhnī" party began to be entirely neglected by the king, and his entourage became wholly composed of the New-comers.

SYNTHESIS OF CULTURES

IT might seem from the foregoing account of the influx of the New-comers that there was no trace left of any Hindu influence in the polity of the Bahmanī kingdom, but this is far from the truth. We have already seen the attempts of Fīrōz to create a composite culture in the Deccan and these attempts were carried on by Aḥmad as well.

For the influence of the Hindu culture on the Bahmanīs we have only to refer to the manner in which the 'Urs or the anniversary of the king's death is celebrated to this day. The first thing to remember is that the anniversary is celebrated not according to the Hījri reckoning but according to the Hindu calendar, i.e., on the twentieth of the lunar month in which the Hōlī festival is celebrated, and this is the date on which the ceremonies connected with the 'Urs really start. Then it is the Jangam or the head of the Lingayets of Madhyāl in the Gulbarga district who comes to Bīdar with a train of about three hundred men and a number of camels and horses. It is this Jangam who enters the sepulchre every day of the 'Urs with orchestra and all emblems of royalty, blows the conch, crushes open the coconuts according to the accepted Hindu fashion, and makes an offering of flowers to the sepulchre. But mark! This Jangam is dressed as an orthodox Muslim with the cap of Dervishes on his head and a staff in his hand, and is clothed in the flowing robes of a Muslim divine. The 'Urs is attended by thousands of Hindus and Muslims who consider Aḥmad to be a saint without any distinction whatever.²

Aḥmad was himself a man of creative temperament and it is related that he invented a number of new designs in artillery technique.³ Bīdar must have been a great place for the manufacture of munitions of war, and there is still a ward of the town named after the polishers of iron where swords and daggers used to be polished. The public of Bīdar was also made to attend to manly exercises, and even to-day the city, or

1. Fer. I, 328. Most of the New-comers from Irāq and Irān, especially from Karbalā were no doubt Shī'ah. Shāh Ni'matu'l-lāh, surnamed Nūru'd-Dīn (*Bur.* 65), was a son of Mir 'Abdu'l-lāh who was descended from the fifth apostolic Imām, Hadrāt Muhammad Bāqir. I have been told that the descendants of Shāh Khalīlu'l-lāh at Bīdar are Shī'ah. See *Hyd. Arch. Dept. Rep.*, 1930-31, p. 4, where he is said to have Shī'ah predilections.

2. Zāhiru'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, 166.

3. *Munt.*, III, 68.

what is left of it, is divided according to the four great schools of athletics and military training, although nothing but the name is left.¹

We have already related how the Bahmanī influence found its place in the architecture of Vijayanagar. But perhaps even more strange is the fact that, in one of the inscriptions, one of the copper plate grants of June 26, 1424, calls the Dēva Rāya II of Vijayanagar "Suratrāna" or Sultān. We are also told that as early as 1430 there were ten thousand Muslims in the Vijayanagar cavalry and that one of the companions of Dēva Rāya himself was a Muslim named Aḥmad Khān,² facts which clearly remind us that in Aḥmad Shāh's time the line of demarcation in the Deccan could not have been purely communal by any means.

This aspect of life is also to be perceived in the advice which the king is said to have given to his sons when he made the eldest Crown Prince and gave charge of the provinces to his other sons towards the end of his reign. Apart from the promise which they were made to swear that they would not oppose each other they were admonished to be good to the following classes of their subjects : (i) The learned, who were the possessors of the secrets of knowledge of matters temporal as well as spiritual, (ii) servants of the state, as in them lay the power of doing good to the people, (iii) royal councillors, as it was they who helped to frame the policy of the state, and (iv) farmers and cultivators, as it was they who provided food for all and sundry.

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1. Zahiru'd-Din, 33.

2. Sewel and Aiyangar, *Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 214, relying on Satyamangalam, C. P. Grant, and V. R. I., Bellary, 356, 18 of 1904.

IQBAL'S POLITICAL THEORY

IQBAL, as a leading exponent of Islamic thought and institutions, believed in a progressive spiritual universe, and spiritual beings with their distinct individualities realising their destiny by mastering their environment under a universal structure, founded on divine law and organisation—all organically related to one another.

Iqbal sets forth a philosophy of life regarding man's vision of himself, his God and the world that surrounds him. "The Qur'ān," he says, "awakens in man the higher consciousness of his manifold relations with God and the universe." The ultimate character of reality is spiritual, and religion seeks a closer contact with reality. The Ultimate Reality is a "rationally directed creative life," and an ego is a "rationally directed creative will." God is an Ultimate Ego and a unique Individual. The individuality of the Ultimate Ego is emphasised in the Qur'ān by the name of Allah. The Islamic conception of God signifies many important elements such as "Creativeness, Knowledge, Omnipotence, and Eternity."

Reality, according to Iqbal, is spirit, but there are degrees of spirit. The Ultimate Reality is the Ultimate Ego, from which all egos proceed. "The creative energy of the Ultimate Ego, in whom deed and thought are identical, functions as ego-unities. Every atom of Divine energy, however low in the scale of existence, is an ego. But there are degrees in the expression of egohood. Throughout the entire gamut of being runs the gradually rising note of egohood until it reaches its perfection in man. That is why the Qur'ān declares the Ultimate Ego to be nearer to man than his own neck-vein. Like pearls do we live and move and have our being in the perpetual flow of Divine life."¹ "Thus, "from the unity of the all-inclusive ego, who creates and sustains all egos, follows the essential unity of mankind."²

Vision and power combined are essential to the spiritual expansion of humanity. Vision without power may bring moral elevation, but no lasting culture. Similarly, power without vision results in destruction and

1. Iqbal, *Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, pp. 99 and 100.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 129.

tyranny. Without organization there is no progress, material or spiritual. The chief formative factor in the life-history of Muslims is the ethical ideal that Islam puts forth and a definite type of polity that it establishes—the attainment of the former is the end and the construction of the latter a means to that end. Thus, the ethical ideal represents vision and the organization of the Islamic political system means power—a combination of which secures the spiritual growth of mankind. "The State, according to Islam, is only an effort to realise the spiritual in a human organization."¹ Philosophically speaking, Islamic political theory, as enunciated by Iqbal, is normative in its character. It is concerned with a specific ethical ideal—the raising of humanity to the highest well-being both materially and morally by means of an extensive commonwealth built up on the belief in one God, whose sovereignty is supreme.

Religion, as was stated above, seeks a closer contact with the Ultimate Reality. Islam is not only a religion or a name for beliefs or certain forms of worship; it is, in fact, a philosophy of life—a complete code for the guidance of the individual's entire life—from the cradle to the grave and from the grave to the world beyond. The Holy Qur'ān lays down the broad principles of life; the details came from the Prophet. Islam is thus all-embracing in its nature and affects all aspects of human activity—a transformation of the individual, Millat, and humanity. The essence of religion is faith, and the essential aim of religion is the "transformation and guidance of man's inner self and outer development." The goal of life is the realisation and perfection of the individual self, which depends on the development of human faculties in the right direction. Guidance is necessary in every sphere of life and Islam provides the details of law—a complete code of creed and morals, a social order creative of a polity with every institution of an extensive commonwealth. "Islam," says Iqbal, "is not a departmental affair, it is neither mere thought, nor mere feeling, nor mere action; it is an expression of the whole man."²

Islam is, thus, a harmonious blending of its various elements in a harmonious whole; no one aspect can be isolated or considered without reference to the other. In Islam, state, Millat, Imām, individual, and Government cannot be treated separately.³ Again, the various aspects of a man's life—social, religious, political and economic—cannot be isolated. "In Islam it is the same reality which appears as church looked at from one point of view and state from another." "Islam," contends Iqbal "is a single unanalysable reality, which is one or the other as your point

1. Iqbal, *Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious thought in Islam*, p. 217.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

3. جلال باد شاہی ہو کہ جمہوری تماشا ہو
 ہوئی دین و دولت میں جس دم جدائی
 جدا ہو دیں سیاست سے تورہ جاتی ہے چنگیزی
 ہوس کی امیری ہوس کی وزیری
 دوئی ملک و دیں کے لئے نا مرادی
 دوئی چشم تہذیب کی نابصیری

of view varies."¹ "Thus, the Qur'ān considers it necessary to unite religion and State, ethics and politics in a single revelation."² Islam, in short, represents a noble ideal of a harmonious whole.

In Islam, the Creator and the universe, spirit and matter, church and State are all organic to each other. A Muslim is not required to renounce the temporal world in the interests of a world of spirit. "Man is not the citizen of a profane world to be renounced in the interest of a world of spirit situated elsewhere. To Islam matter is spirit realising itself in space and time."³ Iqbal accepts the world of matter along with its limitations and establishes a relation between the world of matter and spirit. He says, "It is the mysterious touch of the ideal that animates and sustains the real, and through it alone we can discover and affirm the ideal. With Islam the ideal and the real are not two opposing forces which cannot be reconciled. The life of the ideal consists, not in a total breach with the real, which would tend to shatter the organic wholeness of life into painful oppositions, but in the perpetual endeavour of the ideal to appropriate the real with a view eventually to absorb it, to convert it into itself and to illuminate its whole being."⁴ Thus Islam rejects the old static view of the universe and reaches a dynamic view. The ethical ideal being the spiritual expansion of humanity, the Muslim is directed to secure the highest well-being both materially and morally. Islam sets forth a standard of conduct: "enjoin right and forbid wrong."⁵ Rightness or wrongness of conduct may be considered with reference to its tendency to good or evil. Conduct is right when it is according to rule, and conduct is good when it is valuable or serviceable for some end. Islam is a creed of service and leads its followers to seek the welfare and final perfection of humanity in a co-operative spirit.⁶ The end in Islam is thus a perfection of humanity, and the goodness or badness of a Muslim's conduct consists in its serviceableness for this end. Similarly that conduct of the Muslim is alone right, which is according to the law of the Qur'ān. The Shari'at will tell him what is right that is to be enjoined, and what is wrong that is forbidden.

It is this ethical ideal of Islam that furnishes these basic emotions and loyalties, which may gradually unify scattered individuals and groups and finally transform them into a well-knit people called the Millat, possessing a moral consciousness of their own. "As an emotional system of unification," says Iqbal, Islam "recognises the worth of the individual

1. Iqbal, *Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 216.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 231.

3. Iqbal, *Presidential Address of the All-India Muslim League*, Allahabad, 1930.

اسی قرآن میں ہے اب ترک جہاں کی تعلیم جس نے مومن کو بنا یا مہ وپرویں کا امیر

4. Iqbal, *Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 12.

5. Qur'ān 22 : 6.

6. Qur'ān 5 : 17.

as such, and rejects blood-relationship as a basis of human unity."¹ "All human life is spiritual in its origin. Such a conception is creative of fresh loyalties."² When a number of individuals profess Islam, they adhere to its principles and acquire a passion for it: they are loyal to Islam, they are loyal to their brethren-in-Islam, they are loyal to their leader-in-Islam, and firstly and lastly loyal to their Allah. These emotions and loyalties create the solidarity which is so essential to the development and organisation of a corporate life. This organised life is marked by the attainment of a moral consciousness on the part of every member and an incessant striving towards the realisation of the ideal.

Every organised life is marked by the existence of certain laws and institutions and Islam also provides for the same. Islamic life is lived according to Islamic laws and Islamic institutions, which in pursuance of the ethical ideal are essentially creative of social order and moral development. And this is the culture of Islam. Unlike other systems, Islam is not the name of a type of society, but is capable of transforming the life of individuals professing the faith into a well-ordered and well-organised community of moral and material well-being. The life of Islam, consequently, has a peculiar cultural force, and is distinguished by a complete organization and a unity of will and purpose in the Millat. "Muslim society, with its remarkable homogeneity and inner unity," says Iqbal, "has grown to be what it is, under the pressure of the laws and institutions associated with the culture of Islam."³ The structure of Muslim society, in other words, is entirely due to the working of Islam as a culture inspired by the specific ethical ideal.

Islam believes in a universal polity—a politico-religious system or a social polity—based on fundamentals that were revealed to the Prophet. A rational interpretation of the principles of Islam began with the Prophet himself, whose constant prayer was: "God: Grant me knowledge of the ultimate nature of things." It was the Prophet's religious experience that created a distinct social order. It was again this social order that developed into a polity with implicit legal precepts. The structure and working of the Islamic State rested on an analysis and systematisation of these fundamentals into a body of rules called the Shari'at. The religious ideal of Islam is therefore organically related to the social order and the social order to the Islamic polity. Islam is not a church, but an organised life animated by an ethical ideal, which regards man as a spiritual being possessing rights and duties under a social mechanism.

To Iqbal, the true religion is Islam, the best organization is the universal Islamic polity and structure, and the fittest leader of humanity is the Muslim Millat.⁴ Iqbal was thus inspired by a vision of a world-wide

1. Iqbal, *Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 205.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 205.

3. Iqbal, *Presidential Address*, the All-India Muslim League, Allahabad, 1930.

4. اے ترا حق خاتم اقوام کرد بر تو هر آغاز را انجام کرد

Islamic State of a unified Muslim Millat, no longer divided by racial or territorial considerations. The Millat is a free and solid Muslim brotherhood, with Ka'ba as its centre, knit together by the love of Allah and devotion to the Prophet. In the *Asrār-i-Khudī* (Secrets of the Self), Iqbal deals with the life of the individual Muslim, and in the *Rūmūz-i-Baikhudī* (Mysteries of the Negation of the Self), he discusses the life of the Islamic Millat and organisation.

The Muslim and the Millat require, in the first instance, a social order for their development and realisation. What is Iqbal's conception of the Islamic social order? It is a matter of ordinary experience that the development of the individual self depends on the nature of the environing society and the ideology which animates the entire social structure. Numerous factors, therefore, favour and stimulate the self-development of the individual—they are, in short, the natural and cultural forces that make up his being. Self-development presupposes a society. An ideal society can only be based on the principles of equality, social justice, and human brotherhood. The social order of Islam as a World-unity is founded on the principle of *Tauhīd* (Unity of God). Islam as a religion has been a living factor in the intellectual, emotional, and progressive life of mankind. The ideal society according to Iqbal is one which is in consonance with the Prophet's conception of Islam. Being inspired by the teachings of Islam, Iqbal neither disregarded the past nor disbelieved in the organic change of human society. No people can afford to forget their past, which has made and retained their present identity. Iqbal preached the social values of Islam, and maintained that they form the best guide for the modern world. The social order of Islam is built up on the broadest humanitarian basis.

Iqbal enunciates the principles of Islam as an ideal society. The individual, who loses his self in the Millat, reflects both the past and the future as in a mirror, so that he transcends mortality and enters into the life of Islam, which is infinite and everlasting. In order to acquire a creative urge, the Muslim is directed to return to the Prophet¹—the particular life-centre—which is a source of the deepening of both the individual and collective consciousness. There is much difference between the prophetic and mystic types of consciousness. Iqbal wrote, "The mystic does not wish to return from the repose of 'unitary experience'; even when he does return, as he must, his return does not mean much for mankind at large. The Prophet's return is creative. He returns to insert himself into the sweep of time with a view to control the forces of history and thereby to create a fresh world of ideals."² At another place Iqbal says, "Another way of judging the value of a Prophet's religious experience, therefore, would be to examine the type of manhood that he has created,

1 طرح عشق انداز اندر جان خویش تازه کن با مصطفی پیمان خویش

2. Iqbal, *Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 173.

and the cultural world that has sprung out of the spirit of his message.”¹

Iqbal has based his philosophy of life on his philosophy of the ‘self.’ The real cause of Muslim deterioration is Nafi-i-Khudī, the lack of self-cognisance,² and Iqbal suggests Ithbāt-i-Khudī, self-recognition, as the remedy. ‘Khudī’ is here used in a philosophical sense, and means recognition of one’s self.³ Man has a unique capacity to recognise his self and the purpose of his creation.⁴ This capacity makes him supreme over other creatures. The life of man should therefore begin with the study of his self and culminate in the perfection of his self. Khudī is accordingly, name of several attributes found in an ideal character, such as self-realisation, self-assertion, boldness, spirit of independence, sense of respect, noble idealism and action. The object is spiritual elevation.

Iqbal did not believe in a universal life; to him all life is individual in character. God himself is an individual, but the most unique individual. The universe, as an organised association of ‘individuals,’ is in a state of organic growth. Man plays an important part in this process of evolution. The ethical and religious ideal of Islam is not self-negation, but self-affirmation. The individual attains to this ideal by becoming more and more individual or unique. The Prophet said, “Create in yourself the attributes of God.” Thus, man has as his ideal the most unique Individual, whom he has to follow. The highest form of life is the Khudī or Ego, in which the individual becomes a “self-contained exclusive centre” both physically and spiritually.⁵ The individual draws closer and closer to God, until he is the completest person. Success lies in the struggle against all material forces which hinder the progress of man.” The life of the Ego is a kind of tension caused by the Ego invading the environment and the environment invading the Ego.”⁶ The true person masters the environment and, consequently, absorbs God into his Ego. The Ego attains to freedom by removing all obstructions in its way by assimilating them. Life is, thus, a “forward assimilative movement.” The Ego

1. Ibid. p. 174.

2 خودی کی موت سے مشرق ہے مبتلائے جذام
بدن عراق و عجم کا ہے عروق و نظام
نفس عوا ہے حلال اور آشیانہ حرام
کہ بیچ کھائے مسلمان کا جامہ احرام

3 خودی کیا ہے بیداری کائنات
نہ حد اس کے پیچھے نہ حد سامنے

4 خدا بندہ سے خود پوچھے بتا تیری رضا کیا ہے

5 ہرچہ می بینی ز اسرار خودی است
آشکارا عالم پندار کرد

خودی کی موت سے مغرب کا اندروں ہے نور
خودی کی موت سے روح عرب ہے تب و تاب
خودی کی موت سے ہندی شکستہ بال و پر
خودی کی موت سے پیر حرم ہوا مجبور
خودی کیا ہے راز درون حیات
ازل اس کے پیچھے ابد سامنے
خودی کو کر بلند اتنا کہ ہر تقدیر سے پہلے
پیکر ہستی ز آثار خودی است
خوبشتر را چون خودی بیدار کرد

6. Iqbal, *Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 143.

“reaches fuller freedom by appropriating the Individual who is most free—God.” Life is an endeavour to be free: “And verily towards thy God is the limit,” says the Qur’ān.

The Ego or Person is the centre of life in man. Personality is a “state of tension;” the moment it ceases, relaxation follows. The development of the Ego is not possible without an ideal. Life is a ceaseless activity after the ideal—a perpetual desire.¹ ‘Man’ is a restless being engrossed in ceaseless pursuit of fresh scope for self-expression and realisation.² He is a “Creative Activity, an ascending spirit who, on his onward march, rises from one state to another.”³ The idea of personality sets forth a standard of value—a problem of good and evil. Accordingly, that which strengthens personality is good; that which weakens it is bad. “The Ego is fortified by love,”⁴ which means the desire to assimilate or absorb. “Its highest form is the creation of values and ideals and the endeavour to realise them. Love individualises the lover as well as the beloved.”⁵ The effort to realise the most unique individuality individualises the seeker and implies the individuality of the sought, for nothing else would satisfy the nature of the seeker.”

The Ego passes through three stages in its onward movement towards uniqueness—(1) obedience to the law,⁶ (2) self-control, the highest form of self-consciousness or Egohood, and (3) Divine Vicegerency. The Vicegerent of God is the completest Ego on earth. The goal of humanity is a combination of the highest power and the highest knowledge. The Vicegerent is therefore “the real ruler of mankind; his kingdom is the kingdom of God on earth. Out of the richness of his nature he lavishes

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|---|---|---|
| 1 | اصل او در آرزو پوشیده است
تا نگردد مشت خاک تو غبار
از شعاع آرزو تابنده ایم | زندگی در جستجو پوشیده است
آرزو را در دل خود زنده دار
ماز تخلیق مقاصد زنده ایم |
| 2 | مسافر یہ تیرا نشیمن نہیں
جہاں بچھ سے ہے تو جہاں سے نہیں
طلمس زمان و مکان توڑ کر | خودی کی یہ ہے منزل اولین
نری آگ اس خاک داں سے نہیں
بڑھا جا یہ کوہ گران توڑ کر |

3. Iqbal, *Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 15.

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|---|--|---|
| 4 | عشق ہے اصل حیات موت ہے اس پر حرام
زیر خاک ماشرار زندگی است
زنده تر، سوزنده تر، تابنده تر | مرد خدا کا عمل عشق سے صاحب فروغ
نقطہ نورے کہ نام او خودی است
از محبت می شود پائندہ تر |
| 5 | چشم اگر داری بیا بنائمت
خوشر و زیبا تر و محبوب تر | ہست معشوق نہاں اندر دل
عاشقان او ز خوبان خوب تر |
| 6 | تا کمند تو شود یزدان شکار
می شود از جبر پیدا اختیار | عاشقی محکم شواز تقلید یار
در اطاعت کوشاے غفلت شعار |

the wealth of his life on others, and brings them nearer and nearer to himself.”¹ “ For the present he is a mere ideal ; but the evolution of humanity is tending towards the production of an ideal race of more or less unique individuals, who will become his fitting parents. Thus, the kingdom of God on earth means the democracy of more or less unique individuals, presided over by the most unique individual possible on this earth.” Thus, aspiration and passionate idealism serve as dynamic forces, which strengthen the ‘ self.’ But, if Khudī is properly disciplined by obedience and self-control and rightly cultivated, it develops a personality worthy of representing God on earth. “ It is the lot of man to share in the deeper aspirations of the universe around him and to shape his own destiny as well as that of the universe.”²

The philosophy of Khudī has as its corollary the conception of Bai-khudi (negation of the self). It means the losing of one’s self in the community to serve a common end.³ Individuals develop their Khudī to such an extent that they submit to the Millat, but remain animated with an intense love of action and freedom.⁴ Such individuals are a source of strength to the Millat, and the Millat exalts their position.⁵

Man is a social being, and can only live in the society of his fellow-men.⁶ The individual and the Millat reflect each other : the individual is elevated through the Millat, and the Millat is organised through individuals.⁷ An isolated individual is ignorant of his ideals and capabilities. The Millat inspires him with a knowledge of his functions in life, and forces him to be free by enslaving him under an organised social structure.⁸ It is on account of a craving for association that the individual forms the basic unit of the Millat.⁹ Out of necessity, he is a member of the Millat ; he depends on the Millat for his self-expression and realisation.¹⁰ As soon as the individual loses his ‘ self ’ in the Millat he finds his personality

1 نائب حق در جهان بودن خوش است
بر عناصر حکمران بودن خوش است
نائب حق همچو جان عالم است
هستی او ظل اسم اعظم است

2. Iqbal, *Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 16.

3 واحد است و بر بنی تابد دوی
من ز تاب او من استم تو توی

4 فطرتش آزاد وهم زنجیری است
جزو او راقوت کل گیری است

5 فرد را ربط جاعت رحمت است
جوهر او را کمال از ملت است

6 در جاعت فرد را بینم ما
از چمن او را چو گل چینم ما

7 فرد می گیرد ز ملت احترام
ملت از افراد می یابد نظام

8 چون اسیر حلقه آئین شود
آهونه رم خون او بشکین شود

9 پخته تر از گرمی صحبت شود
تا بمعنی فرد هم ملت شود

10 در دلش ذوق نمو از ملت است
احتساب کار او از ملت است

an embodiment of past traditions and reflects both the past and the future as in a mirror.¹

His individuality shines in the multiplicity of the Millat, and the diversity of the Millat acquires unity through his individuality.² Thus the Millat, which is composed of individual Muslims, is required to achieve a real collective Ego, to live, move, and have its being as a single individual.³ The institution of Prophethood unifies the Millat and completes its formation under an organised system of law and order.⁴

The Islamic Millat is based on the fundamental principles of the Unity of God and the finality of the Prophet.⁵ The principle of Tauhid demands loyalty to God. God is the ultimate spiritual basis of all life ; loyalty to God, therefore, amounts to man's loyalty to his own ideal nature. All human life is spiritual in its origin. Psychologically, the principle of Tauhid seeks to restore an integral unity to the distracted and torn world. It brings a new sense of courage and frees the outlook of man from fear and superstition.⁶ Despair, fear, and diffident mentality are the worst tendencies in man and destroy noble life.⁷ The remedy lies in an implicit faith in Allah and submission to His will.⁸ Iqbal thus advocates a ceaseless struggle in the pursuit of the ideal,⁹ which constitutes real life. It is the principle of Tauhid that unifies the diverse elements and groups comprising the Islamic Millat.¹⁰ The doctrine of Tauhid carries with it a principle

- 1 مایہ دار سیرت دیرینہ او رفتہ و آئندہ را آئندہ او
2 وحدت او مستقیم از کثرت است کثرت اندر وحدت او وحدت است
3. "Hold fast to yourself ; no one who erreth can hurt you, provided you are well-guided"—Qur'an,
4: 11.
4 تا خدا صاحب دل پیدا کند کوز حرفے دفترے املا کند
ساز پردازے کہ از آوازہ خاک را بخشد حیات تازه
ذرہ ے مایہ ضو گیرد ازو ہر متاعے نرخ نو گیرد ازو
دیدہ اومی کشد لب جان دہد تا دوی میرد یکی پیدا شود
تا سوئے یک مدعائش می کشد حلقہ آئین بپائش می کشد
نکتہ نوحید باز آموزدش رسم و آئین نیاز آموزدش
بیم وشک میرد عمل گیرد حیات چشم می بیند ضمیر کا ثبات
نہ ہونومید ، نومیدی زوال علم و عرفان ہے امید مرد مومن ہے خدا کے راز داروں میں
از رضا مسلم مثال کوکب است درہ ہستی تبسم بر لب است
گر خدا داری زغم آزاد شو از خیال بیش و کم آزاد شو
مرگ را سامان ز قطع آرزو است نا امیدی زندگانی را سم است
ملت بیضا تن و جان لالہ ساز مارا پردہ گردان لالہ
لا الہ سرمایہ اسرار ما رشتہ اش شیرازہ افکار ما

of action and forms the basis of the advancement of humanity. It is not only the conviction of the truth but the acceptance of a proposition as a basis of action. "Those who believe and do good," means that no belief is acceptable unless it is carried into practice by performing duties to Allah.¹

Allah is the real owner of sovereignty. The sovereignty of Allah extends to the entire universe, the whole of humanity, and all organization. Allah is the real source of religion, philosophy, and law, and the bestower of power, strength and authority.² "Say, O God : Owner of sovereignty, thou givest power unto whom thou wilt and thou withdrawest power from whom thou pleasest."³ The Muslim Millat being extraordinarily God-conscious is permeated by a religious control which extends to every sphere of its conduct.⁴

The extraordinary and remarkable personality of the Prophet Muhammad provides a connecting link between the various loyalties characteristic of the fundamental polity of Islam. It is this concentration of loyalties that transforms the Muslims into a well-defined unified Millat,⁵ representing a message of hope for humanity.⁶ The Prophet is the guide and unifier of the Muslim Millat. The Millat owes its being to him,⁷ and through him the Muslims are one and possess oneness of purpose.⁸ The Millat is a unified association of individual Muslims, animated by a strong desire for unity.⁹ The unity of the Millat is the outcome of the religion of humanity, which was revealed to the Prophet.¹⁰ So long as the Millat retains this unity of will and purpose, its life is secure and lasting.¹¹

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|----|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1 | امتحان ازل عمل باید ترا | تا ز اسرار تو بناید ترا |
| 2 | زور ازو، قوت ازو، تمکین ازو | دین ازو، حکمت ازو، آئین ازو |
| 3 | Qur'an—3 : 3. | |
| 4 | این اساس اندر دل ما مضمراست | ملت ما را اساس دیگر است |
| 5 | از رسالت دین ما آئین ما | از رسالت در جهان تکوین ما |
| | جزو ما از جزو اولاینفک است | از رسالت صد هزار مایک است |
| 6 | اهل عالم را پیام رحمتیم | ما ز حکم نسبت او ملتیم |
| 7 | این سحر از آفتابش تافته است | زندگی قوم ازدم اویافته است |
| 8 | هم نفس هم مدعا گشیم ما | از رسالت هم نوا گشیم ما |
| 9 | پخته چون وحدت شود ملت شود | کثرت هم مدعا وحدت شود |
| 10 | وحدت مسلم ز دین فطرت است | زنده هر کثرت ز بند وحدت است |
| | در ره حق مشعل افرو خیم | دین فطرت از نبی آمو خیم |
| 11 | هستی ما با ابد هدم شد | تا نه این وحدت ز دست ما رود |
| | وحدت هو فنا جی سیه الهام بهی الحاد | هم زنده فقط وحدت افکار سیه ملت |

The Prophet of Islam is the last, and his Ummat is the best people and leaders of the rest. Allah completed the faith for the Muslims, and sent his last message through the Prophet of Islam.¹ There will be no Prophet after Muhammad, and no Ummat after the Muslims.² The Muslim Millat is charged with the duty of perfecting the world-order and raising humanity to a higher, nobler, and spiritual state of life.³ Thus, there is no Sultanate or Badshahat in Islam.⁴

The object of the Prophethood of Muhammad is to establish the fundamental unity of mankind on the basis of equality, liberty, and fraternity. It was a message of human equality in social status and legal rights. God sent many messengers and prophets to reform the corrupt condition of the world. It has been the mission of every messenger to establish an ethical ideal, and a system of life having its basis in the sovereignty of God. The original doctrine was soon mixed up with polytheism; and the origin of all mischief was to impose the Godhood of man over man.⁵ Slavery was in vogue, which debased the nature of man.⁶ Muhammad, the Prophet of Islam, being the last messenger, came with the final message to free humanity of the Godhood of man. "He (God) is your Rabb (Benefactor) and your Ilāh (Overlord), who is the Creator of you and the universe. Do not recognise any one as your Lord except Him," thus preached the Prophet of Islam. Slaves were freed, social equality was enforced, and a world-conquering Ummat came into being.⁷ The Prophet taught

1. "This day have I perfected for you your religion and completed My favour on you and chosen for you Islam as a religion."—Qur'ān : 5 : 3.

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|---|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| | بر رسول ما رسالت ختم کرد | س خدا بر ما شریعت ختم کرد |
| | اورسل را ختم و ما اقوام را | رونی از ما عقل ایام را |
| 2 | برده ناموس دین مصطفی است | لائی بعدی ز احسان خدا است |
| | نعره لا قوم بعدی می زند | دل ز غیر الله مسلمان بر کند |
| 3 | داد ما را آخرین جامے کہ داشت | خدمت ساقی گری با ما گزاشت |
| | عدل فاروقی و فقر حیدری است | سروری در دین ما خدمت گری است |
| | دیده بیدار و خدا اندیش زی | در قبائے خسروی درویش زی |
| 4 | مسلمان کو ہے ننگ وہ پادشاہی | خریدیں نہ ہم جس کو اپنے لمہویے |
| 5 | نا کس و نا بود مند و زیر دست | بود انسان در جہاں انسان پرست |
| | بند ہا درد ست و پا و گردنش | سطوت کسری و قیصر رھزنش |
| | بہر یک نخچیر صد نخچیر گیر | کا ہن و با با و سلطان و امیر |
| 6 | نغمہ ہا اندر نے او خون شدہ | از غلامی فطرت او دون شدہ |
| 7 | بندگان را مسند خاقان سپرد | تا امینی حق بچند اران سپرد |
| | بندہ را با زاز خداوندان خرید | تازہ جان اندر تن آدم د مید |
| | امتے گیتی کشائے آفرید | نقش نو بر صفحہ ہستی کشید |

the world lessons in equality, liberty, and fraternity long before the architects of the French Revolution repeated these words. Every Muslim is a trustee of the Millat, and the bond of love is the source of liberty for all.¹ The unshakable faith in the unity of God and the prophethood of Muhammad binds all the Muslims together, and this is the true Islamic spirit of a practical brotherhood. The fundamental unity of mankind becomes possible and real, if the conception of Islamic fraternity is revived and enforced.

The Islamic Millat, being based on the principles of the unity of God and the finality of the Prophet, is not confined to territorial limits. Nationalism is foreign to Muslim polity : to a Muslim the entire world is his abode and place of worship, for it lies within the sovereignty of his Allah.² As opposed to the idea of nationalism based on the accident of geographical situation, race, colour, and language,³ Iqbal seeks to base the community of mankind on the belief in one God, and, consequently, on the belief in human brotherhood and fraternity. Iqbal was thus fully convinced of the universal spirit of Islam, which meant submission to the will of God and peace with all fellow-men. A Muslim believes in one Supreme God and his Prophet and, consequently, in the universal idea of Islamic fraternity, and so cannot confine himself to a particular locality or geographical area.⁴ The Prophet's own departure from his home-land solved the riddle and the Islamic Millat was put on a world-wide basis.⁵ It is, however, surprising that Iqbal characterised Jamāl-ud-Dīn

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|---|---|---|
| 1 | بر چراغ مصطفی پروانه
حرمت سرمایه در آب و گلش
در نهاد او مساوات آمده | امتی از ما سوا بیگانه
کل مومن اخوة اندر دلش
ناشکیب امتیازات آمده |
| 2 | صلح کیش و صلح کین ملت است
ناقه اش را ساربان حریت است | هر یکے از ما امین ملت است
عشق را آرام جان حریت است |
| 3 | مسجد ما شد همه روی زمین
بر زمان در جستجوی پیکرے
تازه تر پروردگارے ساخته است
نام او رنگ است و ہمہ ملک و نسب | تاز بخششہائے آن سلطان دین
فکر انسان بت پرستی بت گرے
با ز طرح آذری انداخته است
مایہ خون ریختن اندر طرب |
| 4 | جو پیرهن اس کا ہے وہ مذہب کا کفن ہے
بادۂ تندش بجائے بستہ نیست
رومی و شامی گل اندام ماست
مرز و بوم و بجز اسلام نیست | ان تازہ خداؤں میں بڑا سب سے وطن ہے
جوہر ما با مقامے بستہ نیست
ہندی و چینی سفال جام ماست
قلب ما از ہند و روم و شام نیست |
| 5 | از وطن آقائے ما ہجرت نمود
بر اساس کلمہ تعمیر کرد
این ز اسباب ثبات مسلم است
دے توبہی نبوت کی صداقت پہ گواہی | عقدہ قومیت مسلم کشود
حکمتش یک ملت گیتی نورد
ہجرت آئین حیات مسلم است
ترک وطن سنت محبوب الہی |

Afghani as "a living link between the past and the future of Muslims,"¹ and spoke so highly about a person who infused the spirit of nationalism in every Muslim country, thus striking a blow at the idea of a universal Khilāfat.

Islam as a world-system is a living force, and frees the outlook of man from racial, geographical, and materialistic conceptions. On the political side, Islam definitely rejects the claims of racial and geographical factors to order the loyalties of the Muslims.² No territorial nationalism or aggressive patriotism is allowed in Islam. Such a notion disrupts the essential unity of mankind³ and narrows down the cosmopolitan outlook of Islam. The national idea produces a materialistic outlook on life, and racial and territorial consciousness counteracts the humanising spirit of mankind.⁴ The Millat is thus defined not by economic, linguistic, or psychological values but by spiritual traditions and inner consciousness, derived from the immutable laws of revealed religion.⁵ Thus the Islamic Millat is further predestined and has no time-limit.⁶ The Millat has a peculiar vitality and permanence of its own, and is perfected through the worship of and submission to Allah.⁷

1. Iqbal, *Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 136.

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|---|--|---|
| 2 | چمن زادیم و از یک شاخساریم
کہ ما پروردہ یک شاخساریم | لے افغانیم و نہ ترک و تناریم
تمیز رنگ و بو بر ما حرام است |
| 3 | بر وطن تعمیر ملت کردہ اند
نوع انسان را قبائل ساختند
آدمی از آدمی بیگانه شد
آدمیت گم شد و اقوام ماند | آن چنان قطع اخوت کردہ اند
تا وطن را شمع محفل ساختند
مردمی اندر جہان افسانہ شد
روح از تن رفت و ہفت اندام ماند |
| 4 | تسخیر ہے مقصود تجارت تو اسی سے
کمزور کا گھر ہوتا ہے غارت تو اسی سے
قومیت اسلام کی جڑ کٹتی ہے اس سے | اقوام جہاں میں ہے رقابت تو اسی سے
خالی ہے صداقت سے سیاست تو اسی سے
اقوام میں مخلوق خدا بنتی ہے اس سے |
| 5 | یعنی از قید مقام آزاد شو
رہ بھر میں آزاد وطن صورت ماہی
ارشاد نبوت میں وطن اور ہی کچھ ہے | صورت ماہی بہ بحر آباد شو
ہو قید مقامی تو نتیجہ ہے تباہی
گفتار سیاست میں وطن اور ہی کچھ ہے |
| 6 | از اجل فرمان پذیرد مثل فرد
اصلش از ہنگامہ قالوا بلی است
استوار از سخن نزلناستی | گرچہ ملت ہم ہمیرد مثل فرد
امت مسلم ز آیات خدا است
از اجل این قوم بے پرواستی |
| 7 | ملت اسلام بیان بود دست و ہست
امتنے محبوب ہر صاحب دلے | در جہاں بانگ اذان بودست و ہست
امتنے در حق پرستی کا ملے |

The organisation of a Millat rests on law, and the law of the Islamic Millat is the Qur'an.¹ The Islamic Millat is to be organized according to its own distinct law.² Allah is not only the Creator and an object of worship, but is also the law-giver. The law of the Qur'an manifests the Will of Allah. The Shari'at,³ the path of virtue or the divine code of ethical and social laws, is supreme, and, politically, the individual and the Amīr, being members of the Islamic Millat and subject to the same law, were never regarded as immune or absolute.⁴ Thus, the supremacy of the divine law is one of the fundamental tenets of Islamic polity.⁵ The rule, therefore, is that the Millat is deprived of legislative powers. The liberty of the individual is ensured through the divine law.⁶ The Millat is to submit to the Apostle, for he proclaimed and interpreted the divine commandments as His messenger.⁷ All Muslims have equal status and enjoy equal rights in the body-politic. This sort of civil liberty and the theory of equal opportunities dependent on it is the peculiar feature of Islamic politics. It is clear from the above that the Islamic system of government is not democracy of the Western type, where a law may be enforced, changed, or modified at the will of the majority.⁸

Every Muslim believes in the supremacy of Islam. Islam, in the words of Iqbal, does not suppress the human soul and the development of its latent potentialities, but merely lays down limits to its activity. These limits are known as the Shari'at-i-Islamia or the Divine Law of Islam. The 'self,' when subordinated to Divine law, turns Islamic. The self in a modern conception is not bridled by any law except the law of force, but 'self' in Islam is subject to the laws and ethics of

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| 1 | زیر گردون سر تمکین توچست | توہمی دانی کہ آئین توچست |
| | حکمت اولایزال است و قدیم | آن کتاب زندہ قرآن حکیم |
| 2 | از نظام محکمے خیزد دوام | ملت از آئین حق گیرد نظام |
| 3 | اصل سنت جز محبت هیچ نیست | علم حق غیر از شریعت هیچ نیست |
| 4 | نیست ممکن جز بقرآن زیستن | گرتو می خواهی مسلمان زیستن |
| 5 | کون ہے بارک آئین رسول مختار | مصلحت وقت کی ہے کس کے عمل کا معیار |
| 6 | باطن دین نبی این است و بس | ہستی مسلم ز آئین است و بس |
| | پیکر ملت ز قرآن زندہ است | از یک آئینی مسلمان زندہ است |
| 7 | شرح او تفسیر آئین حیات | ہست دین مصطفی دین حیات |
| | پختہ تر از وے مقامات یقین | فرد را شرع است مرقات یقین |
| 8 | بندوں کو گنا کرتے ہیں تو لا نہیں کرتے | جمہوریت اک طرز حکومت ہے کہ جس میں |
| | کہ از مغز دود خد فرکان نے ہی آبد | گریز از طرز جمہوری غلامی پختہ کارما |
| | جس کے پردوں میں نہیں غیر از نوائے قیصری | ہے وہی ساز کہن مغرب کا جمہوری نظام |

Islam. So long as the 'ego' of nations is not subordinated to the Divine law, world-peace remains an unrealised dream. The working of the present League of Nations amply proves this.¹

Iqbal also discusses the doctrine of Ijtihād, thus maintaining a correct balance between the categories of permanence and change. "The ultimate spiritual basis of all life as conceived by Islam," says Iqbal, "is eternal and reveals itself in variety and change. A society based on such a conception of Reality must reconcile, in its life, the categories of permanence and change. It must possess eternal principles to regulate its collective life; for the eternal gives us a foothold in the world of perpetual change."² "The teaching of the Qur'ān that life is a process of progressive creation necessitates that each generation guided, but unhampered, by the work of its predecessors, should be permitted to solve its own problems." This implies the right of Ijtihād—independent judgment and interpretation of law in the light of changed and changing circumstances, which Iqbal holds essential to the healthy development of the body-politic. "The closing of the door of Ijtihād," contends Iqbal, "is pure fiction."

The characteristic virtue of the Millat is attained by adopting the manners and way of living practised by the Prophet.³ The Muslim temperament should therefore be all affection, and the words and deeds of a Muslim are to be an example to be followed by others.⁴ One who deviates from this path is not to be counted as a genuine member of the Millat.⁵ True organization is based on holding fast to the ideal of the Millat, which is the preservation and propagation of the principle of the Unity of God.⁶ Islam believes in an active utilisation of the forces of nature, thereby to gain an effective control over material environment.⁷

1 برفتد تا روش رزم درین بزم کهن درد مندان جهان طرح نو انداخته اند
من ازین پیش ندانم که کفن دزدے چند ہر تقسیم قبور انجمنے ساخته اند

2. Iqbal, *Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 207.

3 غنچہ از شاخسار مصطفیٰ گل شواز باد بہار مصطفیٰ
از بہارش رنگ و بو باید گرفت ہرہ از خلق او باید گرفت

4 فطرت مسلم سرا پا شفقت است درجہاں دست و زبانش رحمت است

5 وز مقام او اگر دور ایستی از میان معشر ما نیستی
چون حیات از مقصدے محرم شود ضابط اسباب این عالم شود

6 زانکہ در تکبیر راز بود تست حفظ و نشر لالہ مقصود تست

7 ہر کہ محسوسات را تسخیر کرد عالمے از ذرہ تعمیر کرد
کوہ و صحرا دشت و دریا بحر و بر تخته تعلیم ارباب نظر
اے کہ از تاثیر افیون خفته عالم اسباب را دون گفته
خیز و واکن دیدن محمور را دون عنوان این عالم مجبور را

In order to fulfil the material needs of the Millat, the development and proper use of science is essential.¹ Thus, the socio-political order of Islam is keenly alive and responsive to the fact of change. Iqbal realises that life is a perpetual change or motion, and advocates a ceaseless struggle in the pursuit of the Islamic ideal. The Islamic Millat is required to possess a real collective ego, to live, move, and have its being as a single individual. The development of such a consciousness depends on the preservation of the history² and traditions of the Millat.³ The centre of the Islamic Millat is *Ka'ba*.⁴

Iqbal was not an advocate of war, and no Muslim acquainted with his faith can be a supporter of war as such. According to the dictates of the Qur'ān there are only two grounds for waging war (Jihād), in the first place, in self-defence, and in the second place, for the establishment of conditions of universal peace or to enforce the regime of law in human society. When Muslims are tyrannised over and driven out of their homes, they are *permitted* to appeal to arms. War may also be waged for "Collective Security." In no other circumstances is war permissible. War for "appeasement of land-hunger" is unlawful in Islam.

According to Iqbal, "the ultimate fate of a people does not depend so much on organisation as on the worth and power of individual man. In an overorganised society, the individual is altogether crushed out of existence. He gains the whole wealth of social thought around him and loses his own soul."⁵ The only effective force, in the words of Iqbal, is the rearing of self-concentrated individuals. "Islam is neither nationalism nor imperialism but a league of nations, which recognises artificial boundaries and racial distinctions for facility of reference only, and not for restricting the social horizon of its members."⁶ Among the Muslim nations of today, Iqbal praises Turkey, which "alone has shaken off its

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| 1 | استحان ممکنات مسلم است | غائشی توسیع ذات مسلم است |
| | ذو فنونیهائے توگردد نظام | تاز تسخیر قوائے این نظام |
| 2 | داستانے قصہ پارینہ | چیت تاریخ اے زخود بیگانه |
| | آشنائے کار و مرد ره کند | این ترا از خویش آگه می کند |
| | خیزد از حال تو استقبال تو | سرزند از ماضی تو حال تو |
| 3 | سوزنش قطع روایات کهن | ربط ایام است مارا پیرهن |
| | از نفسهای رسیده زنده شو | ضبط کن تاریخ را باندہ شو |
| | رشته ماضی راز استقبال و حال | مشکن از خواهی حیات لا زوال |
| 4 | روزگارش را دوام از مرکزے | قوم را ربط و نظام از مرکزے |
| | سوز ما هم ساز ما بیت العرام | راز دار و راز ماییت العرام |

5. Iqbal, *Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 212.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 224.

dogmatic slumber and attained to self-consciousness."¹ Iqbal thus appeals to every Muslim nation "to sink into her own deeper self, temporarily focus her vision on herself alone, until all are strong and powerful to form a living family of republics."²

MUHAMMAD AZIZ AHMAD.

1. Iqbal, *Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, pp. 225, 226.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 223.

CHANDA ŞAHIB'S RELEASE AND HIS ALLIANCE WITH MUZAFFAR JANG

THERE is a great difference of opinion among historians about the actual method and time of Husain Dōst Khān's (generally known as Chandā Şāhib) release from the captivity of the Marathas. We know that he was constrained to surrender the fortress of Trichinopoly to Rāghūji Bhonsla who, at the instance of Sāhū, conducted a destructive invasion of the Carnatic in 1741, from the evil effects of which the political organization of that part of the country seems not to have recovered for a considerable time.¹ Morār Rāo Ghorepade was appointed Governor of Trichinopoly and Chandā Şāhib, being unable to pay a heavy ransom to the Marathas, was sent as a prisoner to Berar in March 1741, and was later transferred to Satara.² He was a prisoner in the hands of the Marathas for nearly seven years. Rāghūji Bhonsla had written to Dumas, the French Governor of Pondicherry, to surrender to him the family of Chandā Şāhib also, along with their treasures, but Dumas refused to be taken in and did not comply with his demands.

When Dupleix came to Pondicherry from Chandernagar in January 1742 as Governor, Chandā Şāhib's family was still there. It was from the members of Chandā Şāhib's family and especially from his son Raḍa Şāhib that Dupleix came to know about his father's ambitions to secure domination over the Carnatic with the help of the French. Just after his arrival in Pondicherry he started direct communications with Chandā Şāhib, assuring him of his help.

The years following the Maratha invasion of the Carnatic brought with them murders, anarchy, and general confusion. Murtuḍa 'Alī of Vellore was ruthless enough to murder two Nawābs, one after the other, and escape all punishment. Being the leader of the Nawāits, he formed designs against Anwaruddīn Khān, whom Nizāmu'l-Mulk had appointed

1. Guyon, *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, Vol. II, p. 331, (first published in 1744).

2. *Tārikh-i-Fatḥiyah*. So far as I know this is the only contemporary Persian authority which says that Chandā Şāhib was directly sent from Trichinopoly to the headquarters of Raghōji Bhonsla in Berar. Among later historians Muḥammad Faiḍullāh, author of *Khazāna-i Rasūl Khāni*, is also of the same opinion.

as the Nawāb of the Carnatic after the foul murder of Prince Muḥammad Sa'id Khān, son of the assassinated Nawāb Śafdar 'Alī Khān. The Nawaits had still considerable influence in the country as the chief fief-holders and Qilledars, in spite of Anwaruddin Khān's attempts to suppress them. Chandā Śaḥib's near relatives held some of the important fortresses of the Carnatic at this time and their interest lay in creating mischief and trouble for the new régime. The unscrupulous Murtuda 'Alī governed the fortress of Vellore; Taqī Śaḥib held Wandiwash, Muḥammad 'Alī occupied Polur, and Hirāsat Khān governed Satgar. Besides these almost all other fortresses of any importance were under the refractory Nawaits, who were allied to the late ruling house in many ways. Their turbulence and secret hostility to the new régime contributed greatly to the political anarchy in the Carnatic.

Anwaruddin Khān's appointment to the Nizāmat of the Carnatic was not even appreciated at Pondicherry. The French had been very friendly with the Nawait rulers of the Carnatic since the days of Nawāb Dōst 'Alī, who gave preference and encouragement to the French interests as against the English. With the advent of the new dynasty the English got an opportunity of cultivating better relations with it. Naturally, this was not relished by the French who had, so far, enjoyed the royal patronage for themselves alone and had succeeded in obtaining Karikal from Nawāb Śafdar 'Alī Khān, through the intercession of Chandā Śaḥib. Thus the French and Nawaits of the Carnatic had a common interest to conspire against Anwaruddin Khān. It was more or less in pursuance of their common policy that they entered into negotiations with Chandā Śaḥib, whose release was considered essential to the successful carrying out of their designs. Chandā Śaḥib was regarded as the fittest person to enter into competition with Anwaruddin Khān for the government of the Carnatic.

We know for certain that Chandā Śaḥib's captivity was not very irksome. He was allowed to communicate with his relatives and the French in order to be able to procure the sum of money required for his ransom. Being able and ambitious his thoughts, even in confinement, were principally occupied with the problem of repairing his fortunes and establishing his sway in the Carnatic. Quick to discern the difficulties of his position in the hands of the Marathas, Chandā Śaḥib overcame them by his cunning and resourcefulness.

Rāghūjī Bhonsla had despatched him to Berar under the escort of his trusted general Bhasker Pant. Chandā Śaḥib remained there for three years to the end of 1744, when he was transferred to Satara.¹ His whereabouts were kept secret for a good long time in the early stages of his confinement. Rāghūjī wanted to wrest as much money from Chandā Śaḥib as possible, while the Peshwa, the inveterate opponent of Rāghūjī, had a game of his own in view. He tried to prevent Rāghūjī from making

1. G. S. Sardesai, *Modern Review*, Dec. 1943.

a profitable bargain out of Chandā Śāhib's ransom, wanting to have a share of his own in it.

While he was in Berar, Chandā Śāhib succeeded in inducing certain influential persons in Sāhū's court and some prominent Satara bankers to negotiate a loan with a view to his release by paying off the ransom demanded by Rāghūji Bhonsla. The latter agreed to deliver Chandā Śāhib into the hands of those who would pay him the ransom of 7½ lakhs of Rupees. Of this sum 4½ lakhs were on Chandā Śāhib's own account and the remaining 3 lakhs for his son 'Ābid Śāhib, who was a prisoner along with him. Early in August 1744 Rāghūji came especially to Deur, his Inam village near Satara, in order to execute the document of debt for the delivery of Chandā Śāhib. The arrangement was finally concluded on the 6th of September, 1744, when Baburao Malhar Burve *alias* Ramchandra Malhar advanced Rupees 4½ lakhs and took charge of Chandā Śāhib's person. As some guarantee was required for his proper security, Vishwanath Bhat Vaidiya, Vithoba Wakde, and Baburao Konhar passed a deed of guarantee to Ramchander Malhar, who had paid the amount of ransom to Rāghūji Bhonsla. Three lakhs were directly recovered from Chandā Śāhib, whose wife had managed to send the money after selling her jewellery and valuables. It is improbable that Dupleix could have helped him at this stage, being hard-pressed for money himself. Chandā Śāhib was delivered to Shamji Govind Talke, the Peshwa's Vakīl at the Nizām's Court near Aurangabad.¹ From there he was brought to Satara and securely kept in the fortress by the guarantors of his loan, under the custody of the Maratha Government. Chandā Śāhib remained there from December 1744 to June 1748, when he was released and permitted to go to the Carnatic.

During his captivity in Satara Chanda Śāhib's main diplomatic activity was directed (1) to getting recognition of his claims to the government of the Carnatic from Nizāmu'l-Mulk, and (2) to securing French support for his pretensions.

He knew that Nizāmu'l-Mulk, on the occasion of his visit to the Carnatic in 1743-44, had publicly declared that he ultimately intended to confer the government of Arcot on Muḥammad Sa'id Khān, son of the late Nawab Śafdar 'Alī Khān, as soon as he attained the age of manhood. Anwaruddīn Khān was particularly directed to take care of the young Nawāb as his guardian. When Nizāmu'l-Mulk was appraised of the assassination of Muḥammad Sa'id Khān, he severely reproached Anwaruddīn Khān for the gross neglect of his responsibilities and even thought of replacing him by some one more competent.² It was at this psychological moment that Chandā Śāhib offered his unconditional allegiance to Nizāmu'l-Mulk and proposed sending his son 'Ābid Śāhib to his court to

1. G. S. Sardesai, *Modern Review*, Dec. 1943.

2. *Despatches to England*, 1743-47, p. 22 (Records of Fort St. George).

find out the conditions on which he would agree to support his claims.¹ Amānat Khān, son of Shāh Ahmad Khān, who was in the service of Nizāmu'l-Mulk, was making his best endeavours to induce the latter to confer the Nizamat of Arcot on Chandā Śāhib.² In the meantime Chandā Śāhib had succeeded in securing the good graces of Sāhū and the Peshwa Balaji Rao, who promised him support provided he agreed to the restoration of Trichinopoly to the Maratha rule. Nizāmu'l-Mulk, who had recovered Trichinopoly from the Marathas in August 1743, was averse to this arrangement, which Chandā Śāhib had proposed to Balaji Rao in order to secure the latter's help and approval for his designs in the Carnatic. Moreover, Chandā Śāhib's anxiety to please the Peshwas must have made him suspect in the eyes of Nizāmu'l-Mulk. So the negotiations of Chandā Śāhib with Nizāmu'l-Mulk fell through, the latter could not be prevailed upon to associate himself with the ambitious pretensions of the former against Anwaruddin Khān, the ruling Nawab of Arcot.

While in confinement at Satara Chandā Śāhib had striven to secure the good-will of the French from whom he expected aid in expelling Anwaruddin Khān's dynasty from the Carnatic and establishing his own sway. His family lived in Pondicherry under the protection of the French Government. Madame Dupleix became an intimate friend of Chandā Śāhib's wife. Martineau believes that Dupleix did not exert himself to obtain Chandā Śāhib's liberation from the hands of the Marathas till 1745, as he did not want to put his friend Nawab Šafdar 'Alī Khān into difficulties.³ But when Anwaruddin Khān, against the general opinion of the people of the country, established himself in the Carnatic, Dupleix thought of taking full advantage of the situation by gradually undermining the Nawāb's influence and establishing French predominance in South India. But from the evidence furnished by the *Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai* we have come to know that Dupleix did not wait till 1745 to get in touch with Chandā Śāhib. In fact, just after his arrival in Pondicherry as the Governor, his fertile brain took into account surrounding circumstances and conditions that naturally pointed to the use of methods which later on he was destined to develop into a fine art. In spite of his cordial friendship with Nawāb Šafdar 'Alī Khān, Dupleix had no hesitation in carrying on his machinations to free Chandā Śāhib from the captivity of the Marathas and use him as his own tool. He advanced twenty-one thousand Rupees in 1742-43, from his personal account, to finance Chandā Śāhib's affairs.⁴ This shows that Dupleix's policy was planned, consistent, and far-seeing from the very beginning, aiming at acquiring effective power in South Indian politics by interfering in the affairs of the country powers. For the realisation of this purpose no one could have been more helpful

1. *The Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai*, Vol. III, p. 274-75.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 118.

3. Martineau, *Dupleix et l'Inde française*, Vol. III, p. 80.

4. *The Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai*, Vol. I, p. 84.

than the ambitious and daring Chandā Śāhib, who added to the qualities of a warrior, a power of political organization and an infinite capacity for intrigue. He would have served as a very useful tool in the hands of the French more than anyone else.

M. Cultru holds that Chandā Śāhib was set at liberty in 1745 without French intervention.¹ In support of this he has adduced the letter which Chandā Śāhib wrote to Dupleix in 1745 after being transferred from Rāghūji Bhonsle's custody to the Satara Government, and in which he recounted the facts about his release in the following words :—

“ I am sure you must have been apprised of all that took place since the misfortune that befell me. So I need not repeat it all here. Rāghūji and other Maratha Lords have promised to put me in possession of my rights. I am resolved to give them whatever they have asked for. In this manner I today enjoy all the means of their protection. Not having the funds at my disposal to satisfy the conditions of Rāghūji, I requested Bābū Rāo, nephew of Bālāji Rāo, who is a wealthy person and a merchant of high repute, to kindly advance to Rāghūji the sum I had promised him.² Bābū Rāo was large-hearted enough to do so. He has not only been good enough to advance several lakhs to Rāghūji on my behalf but he is not even willing to charge any interest on the sum advanced as a loan to me. Besides he has promised to provide me with whatever would be required either as presents to the Nizām or for other private expenses. He has asked me not to be anxious about my affairs. . . . Having obtained from Rāghūji leave of departure I have come to Bālāji Rāo and propose to send my son (‘Ābid Śāhib) to Nizāmu’l-Mulk, who seeing me so strongly protected will not fail to restore me to my rights. I soon hope to be in a position to enter the Carnatic. In this connection I should like to assure you that after all these vicissitudes of fortune, I shall have great pleasure in seeing you. Your predecessor Monsieur Dumas knew my heart and the way of my feeling and thinking about your nation. This is why we were so perfectly attached one to the other. I hope that the same cordial friendship will exist between us and that I shall soon be able to give you

1. Cultru, *Dupleix, ses plans politiques, sa disgrâce*, p. 230.

2. Bābū Rāo Malhar Burve *alias* Ramchandra Malhar was a trusted diplomat of Bāji Rāo, who lived at Delhi during Nādir Shāh's invasion and advised Bāji Rāo on the lines of action suitable to the Maratha interests. This Bābū Rāo Malhar Burve was at Satara from 1742 onwards till his death in 1749. He had foreign dealings with different courts for a considerable time. He was connected with the Peshwa's family by blood relationship. Bāji Rāo's mother was Radhābai; and Bābū Rāo Malhar was her brother's son: the brother's name was Malhar Burve. But this Bābū Rāo cannot be the nephew of Bālāji Rāo, rather the other way. There is no nephew of the Peshwa with the name of Bābū Rāo to be traced. Probably the French translator of Chandā Śāhib's letter committed mistake by inadvertence. Although it is said that Chandā Śāhib knew French, he probably did not know it so well as to be able to correspond in the language. There was another Bābū Rāo, son of Vishwanāth Vaidiya, a well-known banker of Satara. But he came to prominence after 1760 when he became trusted colleague of Nāna Farnavis. He was not related to the Peshwa (The writer is indebted to Rai Bahadur G. S. Sardesai for kindly helping him to trace this information).

proof of this.”¹

According to Cultru this was the first letter of Chandā Śāhib to Dupleix, in which he addressed him as if he did not know him previously and wanted to form a friendship with him. Moreover there is no reference in it to the loan from the French to pay off the ransom. And from the general tone and tenor of the letter it appears as if he was not in need of money any more. It also appears from the text of the letter cited above that Chandā Śāhib was at liberty in 1745 and was preparing to go to the Carnatic after getting Nizāmu'l-Mulk's sanction and approval. But somehow Chanda Śāhib's scheme for his return to the South did not materialize and he had to remain in confinement for nearly three years more.

Dupleix also refers to Chandā Śāhib's release from the captivity of the Marathas in his letter addressed to the Controller-General of the French East India Company (dated 5th October 1745) wherein he says :—

“ He (Chandā Śāhib) has after all obtained his liberation from the Marathas and is now trying to find favour with the Nizām. He is also supported by the Rāja of the Marathas (i.e., Sāhū) to get the government of this province. It is desirable that Chandā Śāhib, brother-in-law of Nawāb Safadar 'Alī, be the Nawāb ; we should obtain from him far different protection from that received from these new-comers who only think of replenishing their purses and owe us no particular obligation.”²

On the 4th of May, 1745, the Pondicherry Council promised Chandā Śāhib a loan of a lakh of rupees to help him to become the ruler of the Carnatic, but the money was not paid to him even as late as January, 1747. The text of the proceedings of the Pondicherry Council held on 4th May 1745, is unfortunately not extant, but the reply sent by the French company about negotiating a loan with Chandā Śāhib exists and runs thus :—

“ Your thoughts regarding Chandā Śāhib are very judicious. It would certainly be of great advantage to the nation to help to obtain his release so that he might one day become the ruler of the province of the Carnatic ” (dated 17th February 1747).³

It is noteworthy that in spite of the documentary evidence adduced by M. Cultru, in his otherwise admirable work, about Chandā Śāhib's release in 1745, something went wrong with the negotiations in this connection. After obtaining his first release in September 1744 from the captivity of Rāghūji Bhonsla, Chandā Śāhib was transferred to Satara from Berār under the protection of the Satara Government. There he secured the good graces of most of the important personalities including Rāja Sāhū and his Rāni, Peshwa Bālāji Rāo, Fateh Singh Bhonsla and

1. Cultru, p. 229 (Bibl. Nationale, fond., Fr. N. Acq. 139) lettre de Chanda Sahib a. M. le Gouverneur de Pondichery. Depot des anciennes archives de l'Inde de Pondichery.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 230. (Arch. Col. Dossier Dupleix au controlleur general, 56, 1745).

3. *Correspondence du Conseil Superieur de Pondichery et de la Compagnie*, tome IV, p. 447, No. 147.

others, and succeeded in inducing them to espouse his cause. Probably the Peshwa wanted to use Chandā Śāhib as his tool in the Carnatic but he dared not do it openly on account of Nizāmu'l-Mulk, who would have considered it as an act of hostility.

In 1747 Bālāji Rāo despatched his cousin Sadāshivrāo Bhau on an expedition into the Carnatic on the pretext of punishing some of the Deshmukhs who had driven away the agents of Bāpūji Nā'ik, who had obtained the rights of Chouth and Sardeshmukhi of the territory between the Krishna and Tungabhadra for the annual sum of seven lakhs of Rupees. Bāpūji Nāik was asked to defray the expenses of the present expedition and to relinquish the rights of Chouth and Sardeshmukhi in favour of Sadāshivrāo Bhau. The latter levied contributions as far as the Tungabhadra and reduced several fortresses to which the Marathas laid claim. Thus Bālāji Rāo was trying to push the Maratha conquests in the South in a gradual and systematic manner. He wanted to oust Bāpūji Nā'ik, who was a partisan of Rāghūji Bhonsla, the great opponent of the Peshwa, in favour of his own man. Nizāmu'l-Mulk looked with disfavour on the Peshwa's attempt to extend his sphere of influence in the Carnatic. He directed Nāsir Jang to proceed to the Carnatic to checkmate the Maratha activities. Nāsir Jang, while evincing friendship towards the Peshwa in his correspondence with him, marched to the Carnatic and peremptorily demanded the withdrawal of Bāpūji Nā'ik's forces from the territory south of Tungabhadra, non-compliance with which, he threatened, would be followed by drastic action.¹ Murārāo Ghorpade, chief of Gooty, also joined him with his forces. Sadāshivrāo Bhau hurriedly returned to Satara without doing much in the way of establishing the Peshwa's authority in the Carnatic. This was last of the languid campaigns undertaken by the Peshwa to extend his dominion in the South. Bāpūji Nā'ik, when hard pressed from all sides, begged Nāsir Jang's permission to be allowed to spend the monsoon in the Carnatic as he apprehended that his immediate return to Satara would bring disgrace upon him,² but Nāsir Jang insisted on his compliance with his demand. Bāpūji Nā'ik, yielding to his threats, broke up his camp and marched away.³

In these circumstances Nizāmu'l-Mulk was apprehensive of the alliance which Chandā Śāhib had contracted with the Peshwa, which was bound to give the latter the leading hand in the Carnatic. At the time when Sadāshivrāo Bhau was in the Carnatic, the Peshwa thought of sending Chandā Śāhib at the head of Maratha forces to conquer the Carnatic. But probably Nizāmu'l-Mulk and Nāsir Jang had got an inkling of this important development, and made proper arrangements on the confines of the Carnatic not to allow Chandā Śāhib to proceed further. In one of his letters to Dupleix received at Pondicherry on 18th July, 1747, Chandā

1. *Selections from the Peshwa's Daftar*, Vol. 25, letter No. 60.

2. *Ibid.*, Vol. 25, letter No. 58.

3. *Ibid.*, Vol. 25, letter No. 60.

Śāḥib mentions this in the following words :—

"Just as I had gathered troops to set out on my journey, I heard that Nawab 'Asaf Jāh and Nāṣir Jang were already at Sirpi or thereabouts. I am therefore waiting. Nāṣir Jang remains, even now that Nizāmu'l-Mulk has departed for Aurangabad. He has been ordered to collect the Peshkash from Mysore and the Arcot arrears, but that is all. The rains have set in and delay his return. I am only awaiting his departure when the rains are over ; and as soon as I arrive, my power shall be yours. " In his own hand Chandā Śāḥib added : " Nāṣir Jang is ordered not to pass the Ghats, but to camp about Sirpi and collect revenue, and he will not go to Arcot. You need not fear anything from him. As soon as the rains are over I myself will come and destroy your enemies like fire set to a heap of cotton."¹

After being disappointed with Nizāmu'l-Mulk, Chandā Śāḥib's diplomatic activity was mainly turned towards the Peshwa and the French. But by the end of 1747, the Peshwa's domestic difficulties had produced too much work for him at home to allow him to devote much time and energy to the vague policy of expansion in the Carnatic for which Chandā Śāḥib's position and influence could be utilized. Moreover, he was shrewd enough to see through the weakness of Chandā Śāḥib's pretensions and the difficulties involved in claiming his own prize for the mercenary help. Even if Chandā Śāḥib obtained the investiture to the Nizamat of Arcot through Maratha help, it was not advisable to ignore or alienate Nizāmu'l-Mulk's feelings in the matter. And he knew that the latter would not allow his own nominee to be ousted by Chandā Śāḥib whom he had come to regard with suspicion and contempt. In these circumstances the Peshwa had no reason to be particularly enthusiastic about Chandā Śāḥib's fortunes, especially when, after the withdrawal of Sadāshivrao Bhāu, he had no more ambition to consolidate the Maratha power in the Carnatic. Chandā Śāḥib's claim that, if Nizāmu'l-Mulk refused to take interest in his case, Bālājī Rāo was determined to march at the head of an army of thirty thousand with a view to expelling Anwaruddīn Khān from the Carnatic was mere eye-wash, meant to encourage Dupleix.²

Inspired by his victories against the English in 1746, Dupleix dreamed of bringing the whole of the Carnatic under the French sphere of influence through the instrumentality of Chandā Śāḥib, who also needed French aid to realize his own ambitions. Thus the interest of both Dupleix and Chandā Śāḥib coincided. Dupleix, while negotiating for peace with Nawab Anwaruddīn Khān after the battle of Mylapore, was on the other hand exerting his influence to the utmost on the Marathas in order to obtain the release of Chandā Śāḥib from captivity. He asked Rajo

1. *The Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai*, Vol. IV, p. 125-26.

2. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 275.

Pandit, the agent of Chandā Śāhib in Pondicherry, to prepare a draft of a letter to be sent to Rāja Sāhū and other influential Maratha Lords in this connection. In the first draft it was written : " If you send Chandā Śāhib, I (Dupleix) will be responsible for the money payable to him." When Dupleix asked Ananda Ranga Pillai's advice in the matter, the latter suggested that he (Dupleix) should not commit himself explicitly in that way. Dupleix agreed and the following words were substituted : "As regards the amount for which Chandā Śāhib holds himself liable, I will endeavour to collect it, as your agent. I will use all my influence to ensure that this money reaches you. Without myself he would not be able to collect a cash."¹ While this letter was being handed over to Rājō Pandit to be despatched to Chandā Śāhib, Dupleix suggested to Ananda Ranga Pillai that he should ask Chandā Śāhib's wife to write to Muḥammad 'Alī Khān (elder brother of Chandā Śāhib at Satara) that Anwaruddin Khān was ill, and that his two sons, with their troops, were marching near Madras on their way to Pondicherry. This was the proper time for him to advance into the Carnatic with his army, and seize and imprison its old and infirm ruler. The Governor of Pondicherry would supply him with the requisite equipment and soldiers. If this plan was carried out with the help of Murtuḍa 'Alī Khān of Vellore and Taqī Śāhib, success would be certain.²

In one of his letters to Dupleix received at Pondicherry on July 18th, 1747, Chandā Śāhib congratulated the Governor on the success that had attended the French arms against Nawāb Anwaruddin Khān, and wrote to say :—

" It gave me unspeakable joy to hear of your welfare, courage and fortitude, your victories, renown, and liberality from Jayaram Pandit who has returned after visiting you and Rāghūjī's Bhonsla gumastas. He related Your promise to pay on my behalf one lakh of Rupees as soon as I leave Satara, a second when I reach Cuddapah, and a third when I reach Arcot, together with 10,000 to Jayaram Pandit if he brings me safe there. Your kindness to him, to my family, and to my son gave me great joy when I heard of it. My affairs are already more prosperous, for Jayaram Pandit has mentioned your promise to Sāhū Rāja, Rāghūjī Bhonsla, and others. God will therefore bless you with yet more victory and fame. If any English ships are cruising about, with your courage and with a fort as strong as Lanka³ you need fear nothing. But should they fire on the town, the children and infants in my house would be terrified. Please send them to Wandiwash or

1. *The Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai*, Vol. III, p. 140 (entry for 3rd Dec. 1746).

2. *Ibid.*, p. 150 (Entry for 5th Dec. 1746).

3. The defences of Pondicherry have been likened to the mystic fortress of Lanka, which was supposed to have been impregnable. Chandā Śāhib refers to the rumours then prevalent that the English were going to attack Pondicherry in order to avenge the loss of Madras. Pondicherry was besieged by Admiral Boscawen but he was compelled to raise the siege in October, 1749.

some other place of safety out of reach of the cannon."¹

This letter shows that although the Pondicherry Council had granted a loan of a lakh of Rupees to Chandā Šāhib, Dupleix on his own responsibility raised it to three lakhs for the payment of his Maratha troops whom Dupleix expected soon to arrive and help him to destroy the English in the Carnatic. Chandā Šāhib had informed Dupleix in the same letter that he was prevented from setting out owing to the presence of Nāšir Jang on the frontier of the Carnatic. But it is noteworthy that even when the rains were over and Nāšir Jang had departed for Aurangabad, Chandā Šāhib, although nearly a year had elapsed after his communication was received at Pondicherry, did not set out for a considerable time to come. Most probably he was not free to do so, as he pretended. He only wanted Dupleix to believe that he (Chandā Šāhib) was no longer in captivity in order to make him as sanguine as he himself was regarding the outcome of events in the Carnatic.

The delay in Chandā Šāhib's arrival exasperated Dupleix and made him impatient. His faith in Chandā Šāhib's earnestness of purpose was rudely shaken. Chandā Šāhib's arrival in the Carnatic was constantly reported but he did not come. Dupleix was expectantly and anxiously waiting for his arrival when Admiral Boscawen laid siege to Pondicherry. He was expecting that the march of Chandā Šāhib's army in the Carnatic would serve as an effective diversion for the English, who confidently hoped that the loss of Madras would speedily be avenged by the capture of Pondicherry. The effect of the fallacious news of Chandā Šāhib's coming is evident in the discourteous attitude adopted by Dupleix towards the former's family resident in Pondicherry.

During the siege of Pondicherry by the English, Nawāb Dōst 'Alī Khān's wife and Chandā Šāhib's wife, when they were leaving the French settlement, were treated shabbily and were stopped at the toll-gate of Valuduvur, but later they were allowed to depart. Raḍa Šāhib, younger son of Chandā Šāhib, was kept as a hostage by Dupleix. He offered to pledge his jewels for the debt owned by his family to which Dupleix harshly said that as he intended to go to Europe, he could not keep the jewels in his possession. But this was a mere excuse. In this connection

1. *The Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai*, Vol. IV, p. 125-26. Similar concern about the family of Chandā Šāhib is shown by Muḥammad 'Alī Khān, elder brother of Chandā Šāhib, who was at Satara. Writing to Charles Floyer, Governor of Madras, he says:—"I have been informed that your ships of war are arrived from England and that you intend to undertake an expedition against Pondicherry, I wish that God may grant you victory in your undertakings. I think it necessary to inform you that Nawab Dost 'Alī Caun's of Chandā Šāhib's and Zayanel Abodeen's their Families live in Pondicherry at present and as these are of Noble Men's families, it is requisite that you should take care of them especially at the time of War. I therefore embrace this opportunity of writing to you hoping that you'll on account of the friendship that subsists between you, myself and Chandā Šāhib, order your servants at the time of the siege to take special care of the said Families, as each other's reputations are the same in reality. I don't doubt you'll oblige me in this respect." (*Country Correspondence*, 1748, p. 54, entry for the 7th August 1748).

Ananda Ranga Pillai observes : " Men say that today's action has obliterated all the good done to them since May 1740."¹

When Rajo Pandit, the agent of Chandā Śāhib, saw Dupleix in October 1748, the latter condemned Chandā Śāhib's false promises. Rajo Pandit replied that he had been hindered by 'Ābid Śāhib's (elder son of Chandā Śāhib) illness and the rains. To this Dupleix replied, 'I don't believe it.'² But a few days later he changed his attitude and became anxious to write a compensating letter to Chandā Śāhib to explain away his conduct towards his family. He asked Ananda Ranga Pillai to write to him as follows :—

"Your wife, 'Alī Dōst Khān's wife, and others went away against my will by reason of the troubles ; so in order to get them back, I stopped your son, using my loan to you as a pretext, merely in order to prevent his departure."³

This letter was clearly meant to conciliate Chandā Śāhib, whose feelings would certainly have been hurt by the harsh and discourteous treatment meted out to his family by Dupleix in his impatience.

The passing away of the great Nizāmu'l-Mulk on May 21st, 1748 started a scramble, as much between Nāsir Jang and Muẓaffar Jang, as the neighbouring powers, the Peshwa, the French, the English and the Arcot Nawab. Chandā Śāhib, who had an extraordinary capacity for diplomatic dissimulation, undertook to win over the Peshwa by specious promises of profuse advantages which the death of Nizāmu'l-Mulk offered. It is quite likely that the Peshwa himself facilitated the escape of Chandā Śāhib sometime in June, 1748, without cash payment to his creditors. Although Chandā Śāhib gave promises of early payment of the loan it was never paid back in spite of Dupleix's guaranteeing the engagement.⁴ Chandā Śāhib would possibly have paid if he had lived. But this was not to be.

The Peshwa furnished Chandā Śāhib with three thousand troops before giving him leave to depart, in order to enable him to establish his position in the Carnatic with the help of Muẓaffar Jang and the French.⁵

1. The *Diary of A.R.P.*, Vol. V, p. 288.

2. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 8.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 30.

4. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 140 ; according to *Tārikh-i-Fathiyah* Chandā Śāhib made part payment of the loan before his release.

5. In his entry of 25th August, 1748, Ananda Ranga Pillai reports the contents of Chandā Śāhib's letter to Dupleix as follows :—

"I have taken leave of Sahu Raja and have advanced three days' march with my army to receive Subah of Arcot. I shall proceed thither as rapidly as possible. Because of your message by Jayaram Pandit, all my affairs have been settled and I have now set out to re-establish my authority in our former capital. Everything shall be settled through you. How can I thank you enough for your help in the celebration of my daughter's marriage ? My body is yours ; so of a surety all that belongs to me is yours also. My son will inform you of other matters ." (*Diary*, 254)

Thus, with the spirit of an adventurer, Chandā Śāhib left Satara intending to make common cause with Muzaffar Jang, who was aspiring to the Nizāmat of the Deccan. It is likely that Muzaffar Jang had hurried interview with the Peshwa and Chandā Śāhib at or in the vicinity of Satara, about which stray notices of a casual nature are found in some Marathi records, and about which Chandā Śāhib informed Duplex.¹ But I have not been able to verify this from the contemporary Persian and other records.

During the year that elapsed between Chandā Śāhib's release from Satara and his descent in the Carnatic, his movements are uncertain and obscure. But it is certain that he proceeded slowly to the South, waiting for the communication of his friends and partisans. At the time of the siege of Pondicherry he had arrived on the western confines of the Carnatic.

On his arrival at the river Krishna he was approached by the Vakils of the Rājā of Chitaldrug and the Rani of Bednur, then engaged in open war. Both parties solicited Chandā Śāhib's services at the head of their respective troops. Chandā Śāhib, fancying himself slighted by the vakil of the Rani of Bednur, joined the service of the Rājā of Chitaldrug. The rival armies met at Myconda, south of the river Tungabhadra. The forces of the Rājā were routed and Chandā Śāhib was taken prisoner. The elder son of Chandā Śāhib named 'Abid Śāhib was slain in the battle. This was a severe shock to Chandā Śāhib from the effect of which it took him some time to recover. In the suggestive words of Ananda Ranga Pillai, Chandā Śāhib, having lost his son, has become as it were a lame man."²

Chandā Śāhib was, however released from captivity, on producing a declaration of Rājā Sāhū which enjoined all the Rājas and Polliars of the South to respect the person of Chandā Śāhib and provide him with all possible facilities, on pain of incurring the resentment and displeasure of the Maratha Government. According to Wilks, Chandā Śāhib was kept in the custody of some Jemadar with whom he conspired to obtain this release. The Jemadar himself, along with some troops, marched off under the command of Chandā Śāhib who promised great rewards in the immediate future. According to Orme he was now at the head of six thousand men.³

Criticising Orme and Wilks, Dodwell holds that these writers have given us legendary stories of wars, defeats, and amazing liberations which

(contd.)

Muhammad 'Alī Khān, elder brother of Chandā Śāhib, writing to Charles Floyer, Governor of Madras also refers to his departure from Satara in the following words :—

"He (Chandā Śāhib) is expected to leave this province in short time with glory and power, he having already obtained his leave from Sāhū Rājā and set out with a large force and marched four stages. By the blessing of God you'll see him in few days in the province" (*Country Correspondence* entry for 7th August 1748).

1. Sardesai, *Marathi Riyāsat*, part II, Vol. III, p. 330.

2. *The Diary of A.R.P.*, Vol. VI, p. 102.

3. Orme, *Military Transactions*, Vol. I, p. 121. Wilks, *Historical Sketches of the South of India*, p. 257.

do not seem to be true. According to him Chandā Ṣāhib was employed in raising money for Muẓaffar Jang in the districts near Bijapur out of which arose the Bednur affair.¹ Here Dodwell has mixed up two different series of facts and events. Chandā Ṣāhib took part in the battle of Myconda which was probably fought sometime in July 1748 on the side of the Raja of Chitaldrug and was imprisoned. After his release he joined Muẓaffar Jang and persuaded him to invade the Carnatic. In preparation for this expedition he received help from the Raja of Chitaldrug. The Ruler of Bednur also contributed 2½ lakhs when Chandā Ṣāhib was collecting revenue and tribute from different Polligars and Rājas of the Subah of Bijapur on behalf of Muẓaffar Jang.² Being appointed Muẓaffar Jang's Diwān much later, he started collecting the revenue early in 1749. So in spite of the conflicting statements of Orme and Wilks to which Dodwell has taken exception, there is no inherent discrepancy in the historical facts and their sequence relating to the Chitaldrug-Bednur affair.

It was after the Chitaldrug affair that Chandā Ṣāhib joined Muẓaffar Jang.³ He himself was in a dejected condition on account of his son's death and his troops were tired and demoralised. The identity of fortunes and interests had already cemented the bonds of friendship between the two. Chandā Ṣāhib acknowledged Muẓaffar Jang as his overlord and obtained the title of 'Khudā Nawāz Khān Bahādur' and the post of Diwān.⁴ When they heard of Nāṣir Jang's march to North India, at the summons of the Emperor, they found it the most suitable opportunity for advancing their cause by organising resistance. They started levying contributions in the districts near Bijapur in order to acquire enough treasure to maintain a large army for the invasion of the Carnatic.

Nāṣir Jang, while going to the North, had directed Shāh Nawāz Khān and Syed Lashkar Khān to march in the direction of the Krishna at the head of an army to checkmate the designs of Muẓaffar Jang and Chandā Ṣāhib, if they, taking advantage of Nāṣir Jang's absence, marched towards Hyderabad.⁵ They both proceeded there and warned Muẓaffar Jang of the consequences of his action, but without the desired result.⁶

1. *Dupleix and Clive*, p. 37; see also Dodwell's Introduction, A.R.P., Vol. VI, p. vi.

2. *The Diary of A.R.P.*, Vol. VI, p. 109; *Country Correspondence*, 1749, p. 7.

3. *Tārīkh-i-Fathiyah*, MS. (Daftar-i-Diwani); *Swānīh-i-Deccan* (Asafia Lib. Pers. Hist. MS. No. 604).

4. *Tārīkh-i-Zafra*, by Girdharilal Ahqar, p. 114.

5. *Tuhfat-ush-Shu'ra*, by Mirza Afzal Qaqshal (Asf. Lib. Per. MSS. Tazkira No. 122); *Tuzuh-i Walājāhī*; *Hadiqat-ul-Ālam*, II, p. 192.

6. Shāh Nawāz Khān writing to Mir Ghulām 'Alī Azād from his camp at Koilkuntla writes :—

"I write to tell you something about the happenings here. On the 8th Rajab (14th July 1749) I reached the town of Nalanga and met Naseer Jang (Syed Lashkar Khan). Here I was told that His Excellency (Nawab Nasir Jang) had returned to Aurangabad on 23rd June 1749. In obedience to the command I intended to go to Gulberga which is only five days' journey from here. As it was not considered feasible that Naseer Jang and myself should go to him (Muẓaffar Jang), Tarsoon Muhammad Khan has been despatched in order to bring him to the right path. Naseer Jang has received reply from His

It seems that MuẒaffar Jang was in favour of consolidating his position by staying in his Jagir while Chandā Śāhib, who had his own game in view, tried to persuade him to conquer the Carnatic first and make it a base of his operations against Nāsir Jang. This seemed to be the most obvious and feasible direction for the fulfilment of their ambitions. Chandā Śāhib convinced MuẒaffar Jang, who was first hesitating, that it was no use wasting time and efforts in the Deccan where the latter's authority was precarious. If he succeeded in establishing his own nominee as the Nawab of Arcot he would thereby acquire great strength and material resources for the more arduous enterprise of winning the Subedari of the Deccan, and his success would also bring him into close association with the French, a prospect full of future possibilities. It was finally decided to embark on the plan of seizing the Carnatic with the help of the French.

Excellency that it was left to his option either to stay on and camp somewhere or return to Aurangabad. I was ordered to go to Hyderabad at the head of five thousand troops. But I sent a petition per return asking permission to tour the districts to realise the dues instead of staying in Hyderabad. The auspicious letter granting permission reached here on 5th Shaban (11th July 1749), directing me not to waste time in neglect and tardiness as the issues are urgent. It was also ordered that troopers whose horses were found to be weak should be dismissed. Thus our military organization had fallen to pieces when we heard of MuẒaffar Jang's departure for Sira. I started towards the Krishna on 9th Shaban (4th August 1749) and was joined by Tarsoo Muhammad Khan at Kalyan, he having returned from MuẒaffar Jang's camp. He said that Hidayat Muhiuddin Khan (MuẒaffar Jang) had solemnly vowed on the Holy Quran that if Naseer Jang (S. Lashkar Khan) and myself would also take an oath on the Quran that his life and honour would be respected he was prepared to return to his Jagir. At once I said "It was all a dissimulation. He (MuẒaffar Jang) is simply pretending to be the injured party in order to advance his interests and to show to the people that he has been oppressed (by Nāsir Jang)." I told Tarsoo Muhammad Khān that the Quran was my faith and I was prepared to take an oath on it. But besides this it was considered necessary to send all those articles of equipment which needed repair to Hyderabad. It was also decided that Naseer Jang (S. Lashkar Khan) should remain in camp while I should go about in the districts of neighbourhood.

"In the meantime news arrived that the distance between the army of MuẒaffar Jang and that of Shahāmat Jang (Anwaruddin Khan) was not more than fifteen miles. On 12th Shabān (18th August 1749) I set off from Chinchauli in order to cross the Krishna. But on 16th Shabān (22nd July 1749) the war (between MuẒaffar Jang and Anwaruddin Khan) was already over. But as we had no knowledge of this we proceeded by forced marches over heavy and sodden ground caused by severe rain and mud and reached Gurmatkal. Here we were apprised of the destined circumstances ordained by Divine decree. In the meantime several letters from His Excellency were received ordering us to hasten to the aid of Shahamat Jang. Although these orders were not the result of sagacity and prudence and difficulties of the situation were repugnant to its observance, yet in the condition of servitude it is incumbent to obey and we, as far as lay in our power, advanced with all expedition towards the Krishna. Obviously no aid could be sent from here as it was too late.

"Now Bahādur Khān at the head of two thousand troops has joined 'Abdun-Nabi Khān, the latter has not got more than seven hundred cavalry. The orders are that I should resist if MuẒaffar Jang proceeds towards Cuddapah. In this regard the anxiety of relatives (of Nasir Jang) is justified, firstly because they themselves do not seem to be of one mind and all sorts of rumours are afloat, and secondly because the force consisting of one thousand and five hundred men is inadequate, especially when the horses have become useless on account of incessant rains. Moreover the troopers are disheartened on account of the orders regarding the horses, and as they have heard that there was going to be tough

Nāsir Jang's absence provided the most suitable opportunity to fall upon Anwaruddin Khan. Events seemed at first to favour their audacious speculation. Before starting for the Carnatic Muẓaffar Jang granted a Sanad to Chandā Ṣāhib as Nawab of Arcot, Gingee, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, and Madura with their territories and forts therein. A covered Palanquin, a sword, and a dress of honour were also bestowed on him.¹

Before undertaking the Carnatic expedition Chandā Ṣāhib sent an embassy to Dupleix towards the end of February, 1749, and entered into an agreement with him to the effect that he would take into his pay a body of two thousand French soldiers and grant the French the neighbouring district of Villiyanallur as Jagir, which they had long been asking from Nāsir Jang in exchange for Madras.²

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fighting, everyone desired to be dismissed. If the horses of any one of them are drowned in the crossing of the Krishna, they will have to pay the price. In these circumstances it has been decided that we should camp at some place about twenty miles from Hyderabad till the end of the monsoon. In view of the developments that are taking place and after hearing of the martyrdom of Shahāmat Jang, it is but right and proper that His Excellency should set out from Aurangabad after a week and camp at Dharur where the armies from different parts may join him. The equipment that was not ready might be sent to Dharur. Now there is no time to be lost. If His Excellency had set out in this direction just after his accession to power, he (Muẓaffar Jang) had none to support him. He would have been compelled to submit and join service. His Excellency's going to the North created lot of confusion and mischief. A country like the Carnatic and a leader like Anwaruddin Khan have been lost. In these circumstances it is the plain duty of those who like me are in the list of loyal servants, and like you who have relations of cordial friendship and love, to let His Excellency know explicitly that he should neither rely on the Afghans and their army nor on leaders like Ramchandra Rao and Janoji, but should himself come forward to chastise the rebel. With the grace of the Almighty none would dare face His Excellency. It is also essential to create regard and reverence in the heart of the people, especially in the hearts of the soldiers, who, on account of their meagre emoluments of thirty or forty Rupees and the successive promises of better prospects given them, are discontented and impatient of discipline" ((*Makātib-i Shāh Nawāz Khān*, Asafia Lib.).

1. *The Diary of A.R.P.*, Vol. VI, p. 124.

2. At the accession of Nāsir Jang Dupleix wrote to Imām Ṣāhib about procuring the grant of the two districts of Valudavur and Villiyanallur in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry. The letter runs thus:—

"I have written letter of congratulations to Nasir Jang as you desire. Since you understand all things decide the amount which should be given as a Nazar and I will give it to your son here. I wrote to you to procure grant of the two districts of Valudavur and Villiyanallur as a Jagir. You replied that you would speak about it to Nasir Jang and let me know the result. Nizāmu'l-Mulk is dead, and Nasir Jang formerly promised to speak to his father and settle the matter, but now by God's grace Nasir Jang enjoys full authority to make the grant itself" (*The Diary of A.R.P.*, Vol. V, p. 109). Dupleix had first urged Imām Sahib to obtain the Parwana from Nāsir Jang for the grant of the above-mentioned Districts in April 1747 (*A.R.P.*, Vol. IV, p. 72).

THE INFLUENCE OF THE SLAVES IN THE MUSLIM ADMINISTRATION OF INDIA

THE infant Muslim State in India would not have survived the threat of Mongol invasions and the dangers of internal revolts if vigour has not been infused into the administration by the unique institution of the 'slave system.' Slavery as it prevailed in the Roman and Greek empires had an evil odour about it. It meant denial of freedom and degradation of human labour. The slaves were alien; as 'living tools' they were subject to the will of others. They were dedicated to 'illiberal' forms of toil and they were an entirely different order from the freemen. But the 'slave system' as devised by the early Muslim rulers of India proved to be a beneficial institution because slaves were not regarded as 'chattels,' men without any rights, but were treated with great consideration. Paradoxical as it may appear, the slave system enshrined the principle of equality. Muslim society was supple and vigorous because it tried to achieve the high ideal of 'social equality.' Theoretically the slave was the property of his master, but in actual practice he was treated as a member of the family. The equalitarian nature of Muslim society is well illustrated by a story of Sultān Maḥmūd. Maḥmūd loved the sister of his slave Ayāz. He consulted his friend Abū Naṣr Miškānī as to whether it would not lower him in the eyes of the public if he married a slave girl. Abū Naṣr replied, "Many cases similar to this have occurred. Several kings of the Samānian dynasty married their own slave girls. This act will not seem to the world to be derogatory to the king's honour and rectitude. Perhaps Your Majesty is unaware that Qubād, at the time when he went to Turkistan, took as his wife the daughter of a villager, from whom was born Naushīrwān. In Persian history I have also read that Bahrām Gūr married a washerman's daughter."¹ The slave was indeed not looked down upon but was treated generously. Thus when Quṭb-ud-Dīn was purchased as a slave by Qāḍī Fakhr-ud-Dīn, he read the Qur'ān with the Qāḍī's sons and acquired the polite arts.² Balban was purchased as a slave by Khwāja Jamāl-ud-Dīn of Basra. The Khwāja used to "foster

1. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, 184.

2. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, 41.

him in the hall of his kindness like a son.¹ Quṭb-ud-Dīn gave the title of son to İltutmish and honoured him by keeping near his own person.² İkhtiyār-ud-Dīn Aetkin, originally a slave, became a powerful noble and espoused the sister of Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn Bahrām Shāh.³ One daughter of Yaldoz was married to Quṭb-ud-Dīn and the other to Qubacha.⁴ "Social equality" in fact proved to be the secret of the success of this institution. Muslim society was organised on the basis of equality, it did not emphasise the principle of segregation and exclusiveness. Not only were the slaves treated generously, they were given opportunities of progress. Muslim society retained its vigour and energy because power was not concentrated in the hands of a few families. Men of humble ranks in life forged ahead and came to shoulder the responsibilities of State. It was due to the vigour and energy displayed by men of remarkable ability—Quṭb-ud-Dīn, İltutmish and Balban—who began their career as slaves, that the Muslim empire in India was strengthened. The 'Forty' played an important part in consolidating the Muslim power.

The origin of the institution was due to the exigencies of the time. To concentrate the government of a large area under one ruler was a matter of endless difficulty, especially in those days of slow communications. The regional commanders and provincial governors enjoyed a very large measure of autonomy and were frequently tempted to conspire against or defy the Sultān. In the court of the Sultān itself, powerful nobles stood jealously ready to seize the throne when occasion arose. It was necessary therefore for the Sultān to gather around him men of administrative experience and of tried loyalty. The slave was faithful to his master. If generously treated the slave would be ready to lay down his life for his master. Hence it was in the interest of the Sultāns to win over the slaves and retain their loyalty by kind treatment. It was Muḥammad Ghori who realised the significance of this institution. When a courtier expressed concern at the fact that Muḥammad Ghori had no sons, the Sultān replied, "I have many sons in my Turkish slaves; they will inherit my lands and continue the Khuṭba in my name when I am dead and gone."⁵ That the Sultāns attached much importance to the selection of the right type of slaves is clear from the high price which they sometimes paid for really brave, enterprising, and intelligent slaves. İltutmish purchased Qamr-ud-Dīn Kirānī-Tamur for the sum of 50,000 Sultānī dirhams.⁶ Jamāl-ud-Dīn Chishti wanted to sell İltutmish for 1,000 Rukani dinars to Muḥammad Ghori. The Sultān considered the price to be unusually high and ordered that no one should purchase İltutmish. But as in those days no Turkish lad of a more handsome appearance and with greater intelligence had come to Ghazni, Quṭb-ud-Dīn Aibak prevailed upon the Sultān to revoke his order in his favour. Quṭb-ud-Dīn was permitted

1. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, 281.

2. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari*, 57.

3. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, 253.

4. *Ibid.*, 133.

5. *Ibid.*, 132.

6. *Ibid.*, (Raverty), 742.

to purchase the slave Iltutmish not at Ghazni but at Delhi.¹ Thus ultimately the high price demanded for Iltutmish had to be paid. As the services of the really enterprising and intelligent slaves were highly in demand, it became a regular business to find out the best slaves and to give them proper education and training and then to sell them to the Sultān or to eminent nobles. The slaves selected, were not like the Negro slaves purchased by the Europeans for manual labour; some of them really belonged to noble families, but on account of the disturbed conditions created by Mongol conquests had been captured as slaves. The father of Iltutmish, Islām Khān, was the chief of a group of the tribes of Turkistan. His brothers or nephews, owing to the jealousy and hatred which they bore him in his youth, took him like Yūsuf to some gardens and fields for amusement, and there sold him by force to a merchant.² The father of Balban was a Khān of about 10,000 families of the tribe of Ilbari in Turkistan.³ When Balban and his younger brother (who later on rose to the position of a Malik and was known as Malik Saif-ud-Dīn Ibak-i-Kashlī) decamped before the Mongols, on their way was a marshy ground and the younger brother fell out of the waggon in which he was riding, into the mud, and no one had the power to take him out of the quagmire because the Mongols were at their heels. They urged forward their waggons and he remained in the same place. Ulugh Khān returned to the spot where his little brother was and took him up. A second time the Mongols came up behind them, and they fell into the hands of the Mongols and were sold as slaves.⁴ Malik Nuṣrat-ud-Dīn Sher Khān was the cousin of Balban; his father was also a person of importance in Turkistan.⁵ Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn Arslān Khān was one among the sons of the Khwārizm Amīrs in the territory of Syria and Egypt and had been carried away captive from these parts and sold as a slave.⁶ The household officers of the Sultān were mainly recruited from his slaves. A careful study of the career of the slaves who rose into importance and played a conspicuous part in the history of India throws a flood of light on the various gradations of official rank in the bureaucracy. The slaves were first given minor offices, but if they impressed the Sultān by their ability, they were promoted to the higher posts and might rise to the highest rank in life, and if they were men of exceptional ability they could even get a chance of shouldering the responsibilities of State. The chief dignitary of the household was the Wakil-i-Dār, who controlled the entire household and supervised the payment of allowances and salaries to the sovereign's personal staff. The royal kitchen, the Sharāb Khāna, the stables and even the royal children were under his care.⁷ Two slaves, Malik Saif-ud-Dīn Khān Bat Khān Ibak and Tāj-ud-Dīn Arslān rose to this eminent position.⁸ Of equal importance was the rank of Amīr-i-Hājib. He was the master of

1. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, 56-57. 2. *Ibid.*, 56. 3. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, 281. 4. *Ibid.*, 279. 5. *Ibid.*, 276.
6. *Ibid.*, 265. 7. *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, by Dr. I. H. Qureshi, p. 57. 8. *Ibid.*, 259.

ceremonies at the court; it was his duty to marshal the nobles and the officials in accordance with the precedence of their rank and to safeguard the dignity of all royal functions. All petitions were presented to the Sultān through the Amīr-i-Ḥājib. His post therefore commanded great prestige and was generally reserved for princes of royal blood or the Sultān's most trusted nobles.¹ Badr-ud-Dīn Sankar-i-Rūmī, a slave of Iltutmish, became Amīr-i-Ḥājib.² Balban's brother Malik Saif-ud-Dīn Aibak also occupied this eminent post.³ The Sultāns had also a number of picked soldiers called Jandars who acted as their bodyguard; only tall, handsome, brave, young men of imposing physique were chosen to serve in this capacity. It was their duty to be present on all occasions when the Sultān appeared in public. The Jandars were generally slaves of proved loyalty and were commanded by a trustworthy noble who was styled Sar Jandar.⁴ Almost all the distinguished slaves who rose into importance enjoyed the privilege of serving as Sar Jandar. Tāj-ud-Dīn Sanjar Kuret Khān (who was noted for his gallantry) and Saif-ud-Dīn Bat Khān served as Sar Jandar.⁵ The Akhurbek or the superintendent of the royal horses was one of the most important officials of the household. It was the ambition of every brave and intelligent slave to obtain this coveted post because, after serving in this post for some time with distinction, the incumbent of the office was invariably posted as commander of a local area. Almost all the slaves who became Malikis of importance were given this post—Tāj-ud-Dīn Sanjar Tēz Khān,⁶ 'Izz-ud-Dīn Tughril Khān,⁷ Qamr-ud-Dīn Kiran,⁸ etc. The Amīr-i-Majlis was responsible for organising the Sultān's private parties, where the Sultān met his friends. Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn Yūz Bak Tughril Khān acted as Amīr-i-Majlis.⁹ An important officer called Amīr-i-Shikār was the 'grand huntsman'; Balban served in this capacity.¹⁰ An important officer associated with justice was the Amīr-i-Dād. In the absence of the Sultān the Amīr-i-Dād presided over the court of Mazālim; in the monarch's presence he was responsible for its executive and administrative business.¹¹ Malik Saif-ud-Dīn Aibak acted as Amīr-i-Dād.¹² There were a number of minor offices which were filled by the slaves. 'Izz-ud-Dīn Tughril Khān¹³ and Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn Karakash¹⁴ began their career as cup-bearers. Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn Altūniya was appointed to the office of Sharābdār.¹⁵ Badr-ud-Dīn Sankar-i-Rūmī served as Ṭashtdār.¹⁶ (ewer-bearer), Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn Yūz Bak Tughril Khān served as Nāib Chāshnīgīr.¹⁷ (deputy comptroller of the royal kitchen).

1. *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, by Dr. I. H. Qureshi, 59.

2. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri* 255. 3. *Ibid.*, 279. 4. *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, by Dr. I. H. Qureshi, p. 61.

5. *Nāṣiri*, 258 and 259. 6. *Ibid.*, 260. 7. *Ibid.*, 242. 8. *Ibid.*, 247. 9. *Ibid.*, 261. 10. *Ibid.*, 285.

11. *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, by Dr. I. H. Qureshi, 153.

12. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri* 276. 13. *Ibid.*, 242. 14. *Ibid.*, 250. 15. *Ibid.*, 251. 16. *Ibid.*, 254.

17. *Ibid.*, 261.

The slaves climbed from the lowest rung of the ladder, thus gaining valuable administrative experience. Some of the distinguished slaves were trained to occupy a throne. It was a hard school, but no king had a better. It brought them face to face with realities. They saw the meaning of duty and discipline and entered into the life of the common people. They owed this advantage to the fact that they had the good fortune not to be born heirs to the throne.

The qualities which led to the promotion of slaves were of a varied nature. The early Muslim rulers of India and their nobility were military adventurers and hence courage, bravery, determination and loyalty were amply rewarded. Tāj-ud-Dīn Sanjar-i-Kureṭ Khān was a gallant soldier. He was a Turk of great manhood, courage, and energy, and among warriors, in warlike accomplishments he was peerless in all the ranks of the army of Islam while in horsemanship and skill in arms he had no equal. For example, he would have two horses under saddle, one of which he would ride and the other he would lead after him, and thus he used to dash on, and, while the horses were galloping, he would leap from this horse to that with agility, so that, during a gallop, he used several times to mount two horses. In archery he was so skilful that no enemy in battle and no animal in the chase could escape his arrow. He never used to take along with him into any Shikargah either leopard, hawk, or sporting dog; he brought down all with his own arrow; and in every fastness in which he imagined there would be game he would be in advance of the whole of his retinue.¹ Enterprising slaves of this type generally rose to be Sar Jandars. When Muḥammad Ghori came to India to struggle with the Khokhars, Iltutmish joined Qutb-ud-Dīn with the army of Badaun. In the battle Iltutmish, who, in the matter of bravery and valour, had become one of the greatest of the age, rode into the water in the full panoply of war and attacked the enemy. Muḥammad Ghori noted his great bravery and energy, sent for him and distinguished him with rewards and royal favours.² Good looks, ready wit and engaging manners were passports to success for such posts as those of Amīr-i-Majlis, Sāqī and also Sar Jandar. 'Izz-ud-Dīn Tughril Khān,³ Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn Aet Khān⁴ and Qamr-ud-Dīn Kirān⁵ were noted for their good looks. The polished manners of a courtier were as necessary as good looks or martial bearing. Liberal entertainment of their masters and those who were in power was one of the means of success. Tāj-ud-Dīn Yalduz was a slave of Muḥammad Ghori. He was made the Amīr of Kirmān. Whenever the Sultān in the course of his expeditions into India passed through Kirmān, Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn feasted all the nobles and made presents to them of one thousand robes and one thousand caps and he conferred gifts on every individual of the Sultān's retinue in accordance with his condition.⁶ The same policy was followed with success by Qutb-ud-

1. Nāsiri, 258.

2. *Tabaqāt-i-Akhbari*, 64.

3. Nāsiri, 242.

4. *Ibid.*, 252.

5. *Ibid.*, 247.

6. *Akhbari*, 46.

Dīn. Muḥammad Ghori gave liberal gifts to Quṭb-ud-Dīn who bestowed these in the shape of rewards on those who spread the carpets and arranged the furniture and on other menials. Muḥammad Ghori heard about it and honoured Quṭb-ud-Dīn.¹ Even in that rough but vigorous society of military adventures, men of piety were honoured. Hindu Khān was a man of exceedingly good disposition and of exemplary conduct. Throughout the reigns of Iltutmish and Raḍīya he was honoured and esteemed. He held the office of Treasurer. All the slaves of Iltutmish who attained offices in the State and positions of greatness were objects of his regard and affection, and they too looked upon him as a kind of loving father.² Malik Saif-ud-Dīn acted as Amīr-i-Dād. He was thoroughly honest. He did not extort the customary fees at the rate of ten or fifteen per cent. which other Chief Justices before him had imposed.³

The slave system was thus a great source of strength to the Muslims, and the advantages of the system have been well explained by Lane-Poole :—“ While a brilliant ruler's son is apt to be a failure, the slaves of a real leader of men have often proved to be equals of their master. The reason of course is that the son is a mere speculation. He may or may not inherit his father's talents ; even if he does, the very success and power of the father creates an atmosphere of luxury that does not encourage effort ; and good or bad, the son is an immovable fixture ; only a father with an exceptional sense of public duty would execute an incompetent son to make room for a talented slave. On the other hand the slave is the ' survival of the fittest ' ; he is chosen for physical and mental abilities, and he can hope to retain his position in his master's favour only by vigilant effort and hard service. Should he be found wanting, his fate is sealed.”⁴ Gibbon has summed up the history of Asiatic dynasties as “ one unceasing round of valour, greatness, discord, degeneracy and decay.” The hereditary succession to the throne was very faulty. Capable rulers were followed by weak successors and the empires were lost. The mighty empire founded by the valour of Maḥmūd was whittled away into pieces by the folly of his successors. Ranjit Singh was followed by Kharak Singh and other weak successors and the Sikh kingdom was destroyed. There were however two exceptions to this general rule. The first six Mughal emperors were exceptionally able rulers ; similarly the first four Peshwas. Otherwise the hereditary succession was weighed in the balance and found wanting. The opposite principle was enunciated by Napoleon in Europe as “ careers open to talents.” Napoleon's marshalls,—Ney, Murat Soult, Junot—all rose to high positions from humble ranks. This was the principle followed by the early Muslim conquerors in India. It took the form of the slave system. It was rather fortunate that Muḥammad Ghori had no son and therefore took great interest in some of his able slaves who distinguished themselves under his patronage. Quṭb-ud-Din helped his

1. Akbari, 43. 2. Nāṣiri, 248. 3. Ibid., 275.

4. Medieval India, Lane-Poole : 64.

master Muhammad Ghori in his conquests of India. He conquered Hansi, Meerut, Delhi Panthambor, and Nehrwalla. His able lieutenant, Muhammad ibn Bakhtiyār Khiljī, conquered Bengal and Bihar. If Ghori had been succeeded by an incompetent son, ten to one he would not have been able to consolidate the Muslim power in India. Qutb-ud-Dīn was succeeded by his incompetent son, Ārām. Fortunately Iltutmish, a capable slave of Qutb-ud-Dīn, ousted him from power. The infant Muslim State in India was in great danger at that time from the Mongol invasions. Changez followed Jalāl-ud-Dīn Khwārizm Shāh and defeated him on the bank of the Indus.¹ Jalāl-ud-Dīn crossed the Indus and allied himself with the Khokhar chief.² All the pro-Mongol writers acclaim Jalāl-ud-Dīn as a very great warrior. Fortunately Iltutmish was the Sultān of Delhi and Jalāl-ud-Dīn did not dare to come into conflict with him and returned to Ballala and Nikala.³ We can very well imagine what must have been the fate of the Muslim empire of Delhi if Ārām had been the Sultān. Further, Turti the Mongol commander captured Nandanah and besieged Multan. Moreover the Mongol commander Chughtā'i's army wintered in Kalinjar. Changez himself had halted for some time on the bank of the Indus. We can again very well imagine that if a weak ruler had been on the throne of Delhi, the Mongols would have been tempted to destroy the Muslim power in India. Iltutmish not only established his authority over his rivals Yaldoz and Qubacha but also asserted his power in Bengal and Gwalior, Malwa and Ujjain. Thus Iltutmish consolidated the Muslim power in India at a critical time. After the death of Iltutmish the hereditary succession prevailed for some time, and we learn from Baranī that there was anarchy and confusion. Fortunately another slave, Balban, came into power and saved the infant Muslim State from Mongol attacks and Hindu revolts. When the Mongol leader Mangutah laid siege to Uch, it was Balban who with energy marched at the head of an army, compelling Mangutah to raise the siege.⁴ Shēr Khān was put in charge of the frontier districts of Sunam, Lahore and Dipalpur. According to Baranī he several times routed the Mongols.⁵ But the pressure of Mongol attacks increased and Prince Muhammad was defeated and killed.⁶ If Balban, an intrepid warrior, held his own with difficulty against the Mongols, we can very well imagine what must have been the fate of the Delhi empire if one of the incompetent sons of Iltutmish had been on the throne. Baranī has very clearly brought out how by his policy of blood and iron Balban succeeded in restoring order by suppressing the Mewatis, the Khokhars and the rebels of Katehr. He also suppressed the formidable Bengal rebellion. Thus it stands to reason that but for the slave system, the infant Muslim State in India would have succumbed to internal anarchy and external Mongol attacks.

Besides these slaves who rose to be the Sultāns of Delhi, others became

¹ *Tārikh-i-Jahān-Gusha*, Juwayni, 141. ² *Ibid.*, 145. ³ *Ibid.*, 145.

⁴ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri* p. 288. ⁵ Baranī, p. 65. ⁶ Akbarī, 96.

Maliks of importance and played an important part in consolidating the Muslim power in India. Malik Shēr Khān held the fiefs of Sunam, Lahore and Dipalpur in the reign of Balban. Barani makes a very sweeping statement about the achievements of Shēr Khān. He asserts that Shēr Khān kept a large, well-organised and efficient army in his service and that he had many a time fallen upon the Mongols, crushed and dispersed them, and caused the Khuṭba to be read for Sultān Nāṣir-ud-Dīn at Ghazni; and that because of his vigilance, strength, and valour, it was impossible for the Mongols to prowl around the frontiers of Hindustan.¹ This statement Major Raverty has severely criticised. He says that what actually happened was that Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, the deputy of Shēr Khān in Multan, merely captured many Mongol prisoners and sent them to Delhi. The reference to the Khuṭba's being read in Ghazni may be an exaggeration, but the whole statement of Barani cannot be dismissed as fantastic. The statement does contain an element of truth namely that Shēr Khān held his own against the Mongols. Malik Nuṣrat Khān Badr-ud-Dīn held the fiefs of Tabrindah and Sunam, Jhejhar and Lakhwal and he performed distinguished services by guarding the frontier against Mongol attacks.² Malik Qamr-ud-Dīn Qirān-i-Taimūr held the fief of Oudh. In that part, as far as the frontier of the Tirhut territory, he performed great deeds and obtained possession of vast booty and compelled the Raes and Ranas and independent tribes of that country to pay him tribute.³ Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn Tughril-i-Tughān Khān held the fief of Lakhnauti. He made an inroad into the country of Tirhut from Lakhnauti, and acquired much valuable booty.⁴ Malik Taj-ud-Dīn Sanjar-i-Tēz Khān led successful expeditions against Mewat.⁵

The demerit of the slave system was that it encouraged a party spirit among the various slaves who did not readily submit to any one of their fellow-slaves when he became a king. The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* gives many illustrations of this tendency. Iltutmish had to exert himself to bring under control his rivals (slaves) Yaldoz and Aubacha. The accounts of the invasions of Changēz, Turti and Chughtā'i clearly show that it was the Mongols and Jalāl-ud-Dīn who weakened the power of Yaldoz and Qubacha and thus enabled Iltutmish to gain a victory over them. Otherwise the infant Muslim State in India would have suffered a good deal from the triangular contest for power between the three slaves Iltutmish, Yaldoz and Qubacha. Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn Kabir Khān was one of the slaves of Iltutmish. Sultān Rukn-ud-Dīn Fērōz Shāh gave him the district of Sunam. But he joined the rebels and gave a good deal of trouble to the Sultān. Radiya won him over to her side but after sometime he again showed signs of rebellion. The rebellion was put down.⁶ Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn Tughril Khān was another slave of Iltutmish. In the time of Rukn-ud-Dīn Fērōz Shāh he was the ring-leader of the rebels. In the

1. Barani, 65. 2. Nāṣirī, 274. 3. *Ibid.*, 248.

4. *Ibid.*, 243. 5. *Ibid.*, (Raverty), 760. 6. *Ibid.*, 235.

time of Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn Mas'ūd Shāh he rebelled but was pardoned.¹ Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn Balban-i-Kishlu Khān was another slave of Iltutmish. He was also the ring-leader of the rebels in the time of Sultān Rukn-ud-Dīn Fērōz Shāh. Later on he proceeded to Iraq in the presence of Halākū and came back to Uch. The Mongol intendent began to exercise his authority in his province.² Thus he even intrigued with the Mongols against the Delhi Sultāns. Malik Shēr Khān was another slave of Iltutmish. He also proceeded towards Upper Turkistan and went to the Urdu (camp) of the Mongol leader, Mangū Khān.³

The slave system was organised on an efficient basis by Fērōz Shāh Tughlaq. Even 'Alā-ud-Dīn Khilji kept 50,000 slaves.⁴ It was however Fērōz Shāh who took the keenest interest in the recruitment of slaves. 'Afif has given an interesting account of the slave system as it prevailed in the time of Fērōz Shāh. The Sultān ordered his fief-holders and officers to capture slaves whenever they were at war and to pick out and send the best for the service of the court. When the feudatories went to court, they took with them beautiful slaves, dressed and ornamented in the most splendid style. Great numbers of slaves were thus collected and were employed usefully in the service of the State. The most energetic were recruited for the army; others with a literary taste were offered different jobs—they spent their time in reading and committing to memory the Holy Book, or in copying books. The Sultān was very anxious to have expert artisans to work in the State Kārkhānas, and hence the most intelligent of the slaves were taught mechanical arts so that about 12,000 slaves became artisans of various kinds. A large number of slaves had to serve as escort to the king. When the Sultān went out in state the slaves accompanied him in distinct corps, first the archers fully armed, next the swordsmen, the fighting men, the bandgan-i-mahili riding on male buffaloes, and slaves from the Hazara mounted on Arab and Turkish horses, bearing standards and axes. The inferior type of slaves were employed in all sorts of domestic duties as water-coolers, butlers, etc. In fact there was no occupation in which the slaves of Fērōz Shāh were not employed.⁵

DHARAM PAL.

1. *Nāṣiri*, 261.

2. *Ibid.*, 272.

3. *Ibid.*, 277.

4. 'Afif, 272.

5. Elliot and Dowson, 342.

THE MUSLIM THEORIES OF EDUCATION DURING THE MIDDLE AGES

طلب العلم فريضة على كل مسلم ومسلمة

“To acquire learning is obligatory on every Muslim, man and woman.” —TRADITION

SOURCES OF MUSLIM EDUCATION

ISLAM appeared with the Qur'ān, which enjoined on its followers to read and learn it.¹ The revelation of the Qur'ān not only stimulated education in the illiterate population of Arabia, but also initiated a number of new branches of learning. Copying, reading, and studying of the Holy Scripture was so rapidly growing that within 25 years of his prophethood the Prophet of Islam had made Arabia a great centre of educational activities. It is curious to see that Muslim education, which made such a good start in the beginning, has found few historians to record its periodical progress. Lack of sources was commonly supposed to have been the cause of this shortage of works on the Muslim science of education. The appearance of the edition of Zarnuji's brochure on the Education of the Student *تعليم المتعلم* in 1907, first drew the attention of European scholars and since then a number of editions of this and similar works have been published. The recent publication of *Tadhkirat-as-Sām'i, al-Minhāj, Islāmī Nizām-e Ta'lim* and other original works on Muslim education in India have undoubtedly brought to light considerable material regarding the Islamic system of education, but none of them furnishes us with a scientific study of the principles observed by the Muslim educationists. We therefore propose to give below a brief survey of the nature of Arabic sources on the Muslim science of education before going deeper into the study of the main subject.

It has been generally supposed that Muslims have contributed little to the science of education ; but a search into the antique lore of the Muslims reveals facts just the contrary. In the collections of Traditions like the *Ṣaḥiḥs* of Bukhārī, Muslim, Abū-Dā'ūd, and Tirmidhi, the subject of knowledge forms a chapter of the main work. In these chapters all the apostolic Traditions which encouraged learning and explained the importance and value of knowledge have been collected. As early as 463 A.H. Ḥāfiẓ Ibn 'Abdul-Barr wrote an independent work on the nature of erudition under the title *Jāmi' Bayān-il-'Ilm*, which has been epitomised by Mahmasani al-Azhari. This work is also compiled on the lines of the

1. Vide Qur'ānic Verses, 17/14 ; 96/1 ; 69/91 ; 73/20.

Traditionists and it contains more about the importance of knowledge and the place of the Ulema in society than about the science of education. It is only in the *Ihyā' al-'Ulūm* of al-Ghazzālī, (d. 505) and the *Muqaddama* of an-Nawāwī¹ (d. 671) that we for the first time come across direct references to the classification of education into religious and non-religious, lawful and unlawful, and to the qualifications required for the teacher and the student. But in *Ihyā'* as well as in a later work entitled *Jawāhir al-'Iqdāin* by as-Samhūdī² (d. 911), in which similar references to education are found, the methods of education and courses of studies are not dealt with. Burhānuddīn' Zarnuǧī (d. 6th cent.) and Qāḍī Badruddīn-ibn-Jum'a (632) are the only authors who devoted their works chiefly to the science of education. In Zarnuǧī's work *Ta'lim-ul-Muta'allim* and Ibn-Jum'a's *Tadhkirat-Sāmi'* not only are the importance of education and qualifications of scholars discussed but the classification of education, subjects of studies, and methods of teaching are also mentioned. The most remarkable features of these two works are that : Zarnuǧī is a Ḥanafī scholar while Ibn-Jum'a is Shāfi'ī; Zarnuǧī in his work generally quotes a number of Ḥanafī scholars like Imām Abū-Hanīfa (d. 150 A.H.) Abū-Yūsuf (d. 182) Mohd. b. Ḥasan ash-Shaibānī (d. 189) Burhānuddīn al-Murghinānīy the author of *Hidāya* (d. 593 A.H.) Zahiruddīn Marghinānī, Najmuddīn an-Nasafī, etc., while Ibn-Jum'a in his work refers to a majority of Shāfi'ī authorities such as Muḥammad b. Idrīs ash-Shāfi'ī (d. 204), Al-Humaidī (d.209), Qāḍī Ḥusain. b. Muḥammad ash-Shāfi'ī (d. 462). Imām al-Ghazzālī (d. 505), etc., the methods and courses of studies mentioned by both authors are distinctly at variance with each other.

It is this last mentioned characteristic of these books which we shall discuss when we deal with their theories. These varying principles become still more prominent when we compare the two treatises with other minor works written on or about education. Among these minor works are: (1) a commentary on Zarnuǧī's *Ta'lim al-Muta'alim*³ and (2) Ibn-Sā'id's (d. 749) *Irshād al-Qāsid-'ila Asnā Maqāsid*⁴ which throw further light on the Ḥanafī school. With regard to the Shāfi'ī school ample references are found in Ghazzālī's *Ihyā-ul-'Ulūm*, the *Muqaddama* of Nawawī, the *Muqaddama* of Ibn-Khaldūn, and an anonymous MS.⁵ in which selections from *Ihyā'*, *Jawāhir ul-'Iqdāin* and other works have been summarily collected. Further, in the 10th century A.H., a scholar of Yamen (probably Mohd. b. 'Alī ash-Shaukānī ash-Shāfi'ī?) wrote *Ādāb at-Ṭālib-wa-Muntaha al-Arab*.⁶ It is a sort of a guide for students. The author has

1. MS. Osmania University Library No. 297.

2. MS. O. U. L. No. 719.

3. MS. O. U. L. No. 295., and Asafīa MS.

4. MS. O. U. L. No. 296.

5. MS. O. U. L. No. 574; although Ibn-Khaldūn belonged to the Mālikī school, yet both Mālik and Shāfi'ī, being Traditionalists, did not differ much from one another.

6. MS. O. U. L. No. 232.

classified students into four categories, viz. (1) those who aspire to become Imāms or authorities in a particular branch of learning with a view to enlightening other people ; (2) those who confine their studies to the personal achievement and do not intend to benefit humanity by their learning ; (3) those who want to qualify themselves so far as to become good members of society ; (4) those who specialize either in art or letters, in science or craftsmanship. For all these four categories particular courses with special reference to their occupation have been prescribed, and in each course the Arabic language and Islamic theology are particularly introduced.

Besides the above-mentioned works, there are books which help us to understand the methods of teaching adopted by the Muslim teachers. Imām Abū-Ḥanīfa, for instance, wrote *Kitāb al-‘Ālim wal-Muta‘allim*¹ the Book of the Teacher and the Taught). It is written in conversational style and some scholastic problems are discussed in it. Similarly, Ja‘far ibn Maṣnūr al-Yamani, one of the Shi‘a missionaries of the 3rd century, wrote “the Book of the Teacher and the Taught”² This also is written in the form of conversation and expands the doctrines of the Ithna ‘Asharia sect ; but it does not so much reflect on the method of teaching as on the tactics employed by the missionaries to convert people to their creed. As soon as a student enters the school, he puts questions to the teacher, who answers the questions one after the other until the inquisitiveness of the student is carried to a climax whence he is led to confess faith in the leader of the organisation. It may be that this method was the usual mode of teaching in the Fātimid schools, the Dār-ul-‘Ilm where political tendencies were prevalent and along with Shi‘ite doctrines were taught the sciences inherited from Persia and ancient Greece.³

EARLY METHODS OF EDUCATION

In any case, a careful study of the above-mentioned works shows that their authors have tackled the subject of Muslim education from different view-points. They have not only formulated principles of education but have also adopted different methods in teaching. A sweeping survey of Muslim education shows that from the early days of Islam to the end of the Umayyad period the main subjects of study continued to be Qurano-logy, holy Tradition, the Arabic language, poetry, and mathematics.⁴ The method of teaching during these days was chiefly oral transmission of the lectures direct from the teacher to his pupil. Emphasis was laid

1. Edited by Iḥyā al-Ma‘ārif an-Nu‘maniya. Although the authenticity of this work has been disputed the contents of the work tally with what is generally known regarding the Ḥanafī school.

2. MS. Asafiya Library (Arabic Ethics. No. 428).

3. Hasting's *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*. (Architecture, Muhammadan in Syria and Egypt).

4. و قيل من تمام ما يجب للابناء على الاباء تعليم الكتابة والسباحة والحساب , see ‘ *Uyūn al-Akhbār*, and *Bayān wat-Tabayīn* by Jāhiz ed. Sanduli, Vol. II, p. 138 (ما يجب على الاباء للابناء).

on the authenticity of the transmitters. Only those scholars were considered authorities who had received their education through a trustworthy chain of transmitters. On delivering lectures every teacher had to repeat the chain of authorities from whom he had received the particular information. The tree of these authorities was carefully preserved and transmitted from father to son. When in the Umayyid period the system of dictating lectures was introduced, mention of the authorities remained part and parcel of the compilations. Both methods, oral and dictation, continued till the reign of the 'Abbasids, when the well-known legal schools Hanafi and Shāfi'i were formed, and the practice of committing the lectures to paper prevailed over the oral system.

DEFINITION OF MUSLIM EDUCATION

THE legal outlook of the Hanafi and the Shāfi'i schools was different; but the aim and object of education according to both schools was to understand the relation of man with God as revealed in the Holy Qur'ān. This spirit has remained the chief source of all educational activities of the Muslims, although it has been approached by different ways and means. Imām Abū-Ḥanifa says that "Education means understanding of what makes or mars a soul and learning something without putting it into actual practice is meaningless. One should therefore know how to distinguish between right and wrong in regard to both this world and hereafter and should choose the right conduct, so that his misguided intellect may not lead him astray and consequently Allāh's wrath may fall upon him."¹ From this statement it appears that education according to Abū-Ḥanifa means to teach a right way of thinking and living. In the like manner Zarnuji, a follower of the Hanafi school regards knowledge as a means to achieve Taqwa (pious conduct).² The word Taqwa is a comprehensive term and therefore requires explanation.

Different authors have explained Taqwa in different ways. The commentator³ of *Ta'lim al-Muta'allim* explaining the term says: "Literally it means to guard against injury and it implies strict precaution; in the terminology of the Shari'ā (divine law) it means keeping oneself from all that is injurious to the human soul from the point of view of

1. Zarnuji says, "Knowledge (علم) is a quality which illumines the mind and education (تقوة) provides insight into secrets of learning and methods of treatment;" and Imām Abū-Ḥanifa says:

الحققة معرفة النفس ما لها وما عليها قال ما العلم إلا العمل به الخ

See *Ta'lim al-Muta'allim*, Bombay edition 1307 A.H., pp. 3 and 4

2. *Ta'lim al-Muta'allim*, Bombay edition 1307 A.H., p. 3.

3. This commentary on the MS. of O.U. is ascribed to Mohd. b. Khalil while in the catalogue of the Asafia it is ascribed to Qāḍī Zakariya al-Anṣārī though the Asafia MS. does not contain the author's name, which in the published work is Shaikh Ismā'il (Cairo edition).

other-worldliness. It is stated that 'Umar ibn 'Abdul-'Aziz took it to mean discarding all that God has prohibited and executing what is ordained, and some scholars are said to have described the Muttaqi (pious or prudent) as one who foregoes even such things as are not objected to by the Shari'a, fearing that he may fall a victim to things objectionable.¹ Caliph 'Aliy is said to have stated that to obtain Taqwa (Piety) five habits are necessary; until the following five habits are acquired, Taqwa is not achieved.

1. Hard living and hard struggle should be preferred to the easy-going life.
2. Submission to the will and mercy of God should be preferred to confidence in one's own capacity.
3. Humbleness should be preferred to greatness and grandeur
4. Staple food should be preferred to the redundant.
5. Life after death should be preferred to the life of this world (or death should be preferred to life).

The commentator proceeds to explain that Taqwa is in fact divided into three stages. The first stage is to keep away from unlawful things with a view to avoiding the permanent punishment inflicted on the sinners in Hell, as this sense is used in the Qur'anic Verse (والذين هم كلمة التقوى - الفصح ٢٦) [And imposed on them the word of self-restraint]. The second stage is to refrain from all that makes one sinful by doing or not doing it. This is what is generally known as Taqwa in the Shari'a and the same meaning is used in the Qur'anic Verse (ولوا أهل القرى آمنوا واتقوا (الأعراف ٩٦) [And if the people of the township had believed and kept from evil]. And the third stage is to abandon everything that makes one forget God and to devote oneself whole-heartedly to His service. This meaning of Taqwa is found in the Qur'anic Verse (يا أيها الذين آمنوا اتقوا الله حق تقاته - آل عمران ١٠٢) [O Ye who believe! Observe your duty to Allāh with right observance]. Knowledge, the commentator goes on to say, is a means of achieving Taqwa (pious conduct), because refraining from unlawful things is possible only when one knows what is forbidden and what is lawful, and without this knowledge none can prevent himself from committing sin.²

From the above explanation it is obvious that knowledge according to the Muslim educationists is a means to achieve right conduct (Taqwa) and not an end in itself. The Muslim education therefore prepares mankind for a particular conduct prescribed by the Prophet of Islam. This conduct implies purging the heart of all worldly ambitions and raising the standard of the intellect to a level which aims at ruling the forces of

¹. See Commentary اسم الاتقاء من الوفاة وهي فطر الصيانة وفي عرف الشرع عبارة عن كمال التقوى
on Ta'lim. MS. O.U. Leaves 15 and 16; see also Raghīb al-Isfahānī's *Mufradāt-al-Qur'ān* تقوى

². Commentary on Ta'lim. MS. O.U. Leaf 16.

وانما صار العلم وسيلة الى التقوى لان الاتقاء عما نهى الله تعالى موقوف على العلم الخ

nature and to utilize it for the betterment of humanity. Thus the Muslim education, equipping the student with beauties of head and heart, enables him to live in a world where Prophets and Caliphs as vicegerents of God rule over a population of right-thinking, plain-living and God-fearing men. In other words, "Muslim" to the educationists of Islam is a synonym of gentleman—gentleman in the sense of one who follows principles of liberty, equality and fraternity in matters of this world and who lives and dies for faith, piety and justice in order to achieve the blessings of his Creator in the life after death. With this object in view the Hanafi school aims at the spiritual as well as intellectual development of human nature, as Ibn-Sā'id says, "We are in need of developing both the theoretical and the practical capacities of human beings since this is the only way of achieving blissful life, and when it is admitted that this object is gained through knowing the nature of the things which lead us to believe in God and do the right it becomes obligatory that we should acquire knowledge, for it helps us to understand the nature of things and enables us to choose virtues and avoid evil deeds."¹ In this definition the most striking point is that emphasis is laid on perfecting the man mentally as well as physically. In accordance with this definition education ought to awaken the inner capacities which lie dormant in human nature, and they should develop to their full extent in order to play their destined part in teaching man the right mode of living. This shows that knowledge in the opinion of Ibn-Sā'id may be acquired through intellect just as it is achieved by studying the revelations of the Prophets. Ibn-Sā'id acknowledges that divine revelation is superior to intellectual achievement; but he says that all branches of learning, however low their comparative intrinsic merits, are generally useful and not injurious as ignorance is.² This view seems to have been shared by Imām Abū-Hanīfa and his school, as Zarnuji writes:—

ويعرف الله تعالى بالبدل فان ايمان المقلد وان كان صحيحا عندنا لكن يكون اشما بترك الاستدلال

"That (a student) should believe in God on the basis of reason because the faith of an imitator or blind follower (المقلد), even if it is correct according to our school, will be considered a sin so long as it is not confirmed by reason and intellect."³

فان بنا حاجة الى تكميل نفوسنا البشرية في قواها النظرية والعملية اذ كان ذلك هو الوسيلة الى السعادة الالهية. ١. ولما كان هذا انما يتم بالعلم بتحقائق الاشياء على ما هي عليه لاعتقاد الحق ونقل الخير وجب علينا ان نعلم العلم المتكفل بتحقيق الحقائق وما هو اليه كالرسائل وما يشمل على بيان ما يجب ان يقصد من الفضائل ويحجب عن الرذائل

Irshād al-Qāsid, MS. O. U. Leaf 1.

واعلم انه لا شيء ولا واحد من العلوم من حيث هو علم يضار بل هو نافع ولا شيء من الجهل من حيث هو جهل ينافع بل هو ضار لانسنيين في كل علم منفعته التي

Irshād al-Qāsid MS. O. U. Leaf 3.

3. *Ta'lim al-Muta'allim*, ed. Bombay, p. 5.

This statement indicates what great importance the Ḥanafī school attached to the growth of the intellect and to the intellectual realization of the relation existing between man and God. Objections to these views of the Ḥanafī school seem to have been raised during the lifetime of Imām Abū-Ḥanīfa, who has defended his school of thought in a brochure entitled *al-‘Ālim wal-Muta‘allim*. In this brochure a student asks the Imām why we should enter into such (scholastic) studies, in view of the fact that they did not exist during the period of the Prophet's Companions. In answer to this question the Imām says, "The Companions of the Prophet were not in need of learning these (studies) for the simple reason that in those days there were not people who found fault with the religion of Islam and considered murder of the Muslims permissible; but now Muslims are bound to learn how to distinguish between the right and wrong-doer in order to defend themselves and their religion. And the example of the Prophet's Companions quoted above can be compared with that of people who have no fighting enemies standing against them and therefore do not require ammunition; but when Muslims are passing through trial and are brought face to face with fighting enemies the need for ammunition is imperative. Under these circumstances, even if a man keeps quiet and does not take active part in religious controversies, he cannot prevent his mind from occupying itself with them and being affected by the views of one of the two contending parties, and the mind being the main source of all activities it should be guarded against unhealthy influences. For if a man confesses the faith of Islam with the lip or tongue while he disbelieves it in his heart, he is not regarded as a Muslim, but if a man believes in Islam from the core of his heart, although he has not expressed it, he is a perfect Muslim in the eye of Allah."¹ This defence of intellectual studies shows that the question had remained a burning topic in the days of Imām Abū-Ḥanīfa. But later on it found support in Ibn-Sīnā's (d. 428) romance *Salman and Ibsal* and Ibn-Ṭufail's (d. 581) allegory *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzan*, in which human intellect is shown as capable of discovering divine wisdom. Ibn-Ṭufail's allegory explains the nature and inner capacities of human intellect. Ḥayy ibn Yaqzan is born to unknown parents in a barren island and is brought up under the care of a deer far from human society. Although he lives among animals, imitates the habits of the beasts, and copies the notes of the birds, yet as he grows up, he learns intuitively how to live like human being and consequently discovers the nature of the whole universe and its Creator with the help of his own intellect. Thus it appears that the intellectual theory of knowledge which originated in the Ḥanafī school received wider circulation and became popular in the eastern as well as the western parts of the Muslim world.

On the other hand, Imām Shāfi‘ī and his school held a different view of education altogether. In the opinion of this school knowledge received

1. *Kitāb al-‘Ālim wal-Muta‘allim*, Hyderabad, Deccan, pp. 2 and 3.

through channels other than prophetic revelation was of little importance, and an intellectual approach to the realization of divine wisdom was supposed to be misleading. Education according to Ibn-Jum'a was a medium for drawing people nearer to God and for spreading and reviving divine law.¹ Teachers, in the opinion of this school, are torch-bearers of prophetic revelation and it is their duty to illuminate the minds of their pupils with divine inspiration. To these educationists (unlike the Ḥanafis) faith in God as taught by the Prophet required no confirmation by human intellect. They therefore disliked philosophical studies and dogmatic theology. It is related that Abū-Ibrāhīm al-Muzni was once discussing with Imām Shāfi'ī in the style of the scholastics. After the discussion was over, Imām Shāfi'ī asked him: "My boy! shall I point out to you what is better than this (scholastic theology)?" "Yes," he said. "My boy," said the Imām, "for this learning (dogmatism) if you understand it correctly you will receive no reward, and if you misunderstand it, you will become an unbeliever. So why do you not learn a science for which, if correctly understood, you will be rewarded, and if mistaken, you will be doing no sin." "What is that learning?" asked al-Muzni. "It is Fiqh" (Islamic jurisprudence)" said the Imām. Whereupon al-Muzni began to study Fiqh under Imām Shāfi'ī.² Similarly, Abū-Thaur is said to have first followed the Ḥanafi school of law, whose adherents are called supporters of analogy (أهل الرأي) but when he came in contact with Imām Shāfi'ī he adopted the Shāfi'ī method in which apostolic Traditions are strictly followed. Furthermore, Imām Shāfi'ī is said to have mentioned that it is far better that God should see his servants plunged into all sorts of sins (except polytheism) than that He should see them indulging in dogmatic theology.

This attitude of the Shāfi'ī school against scholasticism continued until some members of the Shāfi'ī school protested. Imām Ghazzālī came forward and declared that one branch of learning should not be deprecated in order to exalt another, and he also suggested a middle course between the orthodox and the extreme scholastics.³ His attitude was similar to that of David Hume who was inclined to scepticism and yet believed in the limitations of the intellect. He refused blind faith on the one hand and on the other proved the inability of intellect to become a reliable source of knowledge (see *Munqidh min ad-Ḍalāl*. Imām Nawāwī

1. *Tadhkiratus-Sām'i*, p. 47.

2. *Tabaqāt ash-Shāfi'īa*, Vol. I, pp. 241 and 228; *Tadhkirah*, p. 116.

3. *Ihyā'-al-'Ulūm*, Vol. I, p. 50 (الوظيفة الخامسة) and see p. 20 where he says:

ولكن تغير الآن حكمه (علم الكلام) إذ حدث البدع الصارفة عن مقتضى القرآن والسنة ونهت جماعة لفقرائها شهاؤ ربو فيها كلاماً مزلقاً فصار ذلك المعذور بحكم الضرورة ما ذوما فيه بل صار من فروض الكفايات الخ.

See also *Iliām al-'Awām 'an 'Ilm il-Kalām*; strangely enough, Shāfi'ī scholars produced considerable literature on scholastic subjects. This may be due to the keen competition and intensive controversies which were then raging between the two schools.

also differed from Imām Shāfi'i in this respect, for he says: "Our Imām ash-Shāfi'i has exaggerated in showing the study of dogmatics as forbidden (حرام) and has gone too far to make it a sin for which severe punishment will be inflicted on its adherents."¹

From the above discussion it appears that knowledge from the point of view of its sources was divided into prophetic revelation and intellectual achievement. The Shāfi'i school devoted itself chiefly to the former theory while the Ḥanafī school combined both theories in its system of education. These differences of opinion in the theories of knowledge permeated both schools, and remained the main source of all their educational activities.²

CLASSIFICATION OF SUBJECTS

THESE schools not only differed from one another in their legal principles and educational theories but also held different views with regard to the classification of the subjects of studies, curricula, and methods of teaching. That these differences were not merely theoretical is proved by the fact that when Madrasas were transferred from mosques to separate buildings, Shāfi'i Madrasas existed separate from Ḥanafī Madrasas. In Bagdad, Mosul, Damascus, Halab, Egypt and Nisapur there were several Ḥanafī Madrasas under the 'Abbasids. In the 15th century in Damascus alone there were 33 Ḥanafī, 31 Shāfi'i, 9 Ḥanbalī, and one Mālikī Madrasas, and 6 were used by both Shāfi'is and Ḥanafis.³ Moreover, it is reported that Madrasas devoted to one out of the four legal schools had one Liwan on the court, a Madrasa used by two rites had two Liwans, and State Madrasas which accommodated four legal schools consisted of four Liwans and each sect was installed in one of the four Liwans.⁴ The separate quarter for each school in these monuments of architecture proves that each followed a particular course of studies. Not only that but also Shāfi'i professors were preferably employed in Shāfi'i Madrasas and Ḥanafī professors in Ḥanafī Madrasas. For instance, all those professors who are said to have been teachers in the Shāfi'iy Madrasas

1. ān-Nawawī's *Muqaddama* MS.O.U. باب اقسام العلم الشرعى

2. It is curious to find that although Ḥanafī scholars were supporters of intellectual learning, a great number of Shāfi'i scholars wrote on Islamic scholasticism (علم الكلام). This may be due to the fact that in view of the increasing demand of the intellectual sciences, the Shāfi'i scholars had to adopt a middle course in defence of their school, and had to reconcile the extreme rationalists on the one side and the enthusiast Traditionalists on the other.

3. *Encyclopædia of Islam*, "Masjid," p. 381

4. *Ibid.*, "Masjid" (Architecture p. 423 and p. 381.

at an-Nizamia at Bagdad were Shāfi'i scholars.¹

These schools of law did not confine their studies to a special course of jurisprudence as is generally supposed. That they taught in these Madrasas all branches of learning is apparent from the subjects of study which they recommended.

Subjects of study according to the Hanafi school were divided into compulsory (فرض) and optional (فرض كفايه). Explaining the Prophet's Tradition "To acquire knowledge is the duty of every Muslim, man and woman," the commentator of Zarnuji says: "To acquire knowledge is obligatory on every grown-up man and woman. And among the obligatory subjects are cognisance of the oneness of God and His attributes and faith in the mission of the Prophet, for conventional and blind faith in Islamic dogmas is not allowed by the Hanafis, on the basis of these Qur'anic Verses.²

1. So learn that there is no God save Allāh. . . (١) فاعلم انه لا اله الا الله (محمد ١٩)
2. We will certainly show them our signs. . . (٢) سنريهم آياتنا الـ (هم سجده ٥٣)

Further, it is obligatory on every grown-up Muslim, be he rich or poor, to learn rules and regulations of prayer, cleanliness, and to know the principles of Zakāt and pilgrimage in order to be able to perform these duties when required. But higher studies which enable one to pass individual judgement in matters of the Shari'a and to decide legal cases are enumerated among optionals (فرض كفايه) and this means that if one of the citizens has acquired optional subjects the rest of the population is not necessarily obliged to learn them."³ The Hanafis therefore enjoined on the reigning caliph to see that there was in a city at least one scholar fully qualified in higher studies. They also advised that higher studies should be taken up after learning some craft in order to provide livelihood so that the students might proceed in higher studies with peace of mind. In the view of this school those subjects were also regarded as compulsory which a Muslim needed in order to help him to distinguish between the lawful (حلال) and the forbidden things (حرام) in the occupation which he had undertaken. Thus the rudiments of devotional services (عادات), prayer (صلوة), cleanliness (طهارة),

1. Ibn-Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld. Further differences in their opinions and methods of teaching vide Ibn-Khallikān Nos. 560, 569, 578 and Nawāwī's biography of Shāfi'i. The school of Abū-Hanīfa called rationalistic by his opponents. Vide (Under Alp Arslan,) Ibn-Khallikān. The founder of the Nizāmīa at Bagdad had laid down that the chair of Philology in that institution should be held by a Shāfi'ite, vide Ibn-Khallikān, No. 565, Vol. VI, p. 80; Ib. Khal. pp. 5, 37, 38, 88, 373, 403, 606.

طلب العلم فرض عين على كل مسلم مكلف وسلامة مكلفه كالمعلم المكلف لبيان معرفته تعالى الخ و اما بلوغ رتبة الاجتهاد والافتاء ففرض كفاية .

2. See commentary on Ta'lim, MS. O.U., Leaf 12.

3. Commentary on Ta'lim, MS. O.U., Leaf 12.

Zakāt (زكاة) super-property tax, law of marriage and inheritance, etc.—are as much compulsory subjects as contractual transaction (معاملات) for men dealing in trade and commerce. Moreover, subjects like ethics, hygiene (medicine, طب) and astrology as far as it is helpful in finding out the direction of the Qiblah (Ka'bah), and timing of prayer are also recommended by the Ḥanafis.¹

This course of studies leads us to conclude that the Ḥanafī school possessed a wide range of studies in both the elementary and the higher stages of education, and left the selection of the subjects at the discretion of the student according to his varying need. They realized that all students are not intellectually fit to attain every kind of learning. They therefore wished to deal with each case individually, and advised that teachers should guide the students to select a course of studies according to their individual taste. That this fact was fully grasped by the Ḥanafis is observed in a statement of Zarnuġi and his commentator who says : " The teacher knows what particular subject suits a student and what goes hand in hand with his nature, for natures differ one from the other, and if jurisprudence (فقه) suits one, the Arabic language appeals the other."² That this theory was put into actual practice is shown by the fact that Mohd. Ibn Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī is said to have started reading the *Book of Prayer* (Fiqh) with Mohd. b. al-Ḥasan,³ who advised him to take up to the study of Holy Traditions. Hereafter Bukhārī commenced the study of the apostolic Tradition and subsequently became Imām of this branch of learning and his *Ṣaḥīḥ* is regarded as next to the Qur'ān. This shows that the Ḥanafī school allowed free play to individual initiative. But such scope and choice of subject are not found in the Shāfi'i school.

The subjects of study were classified by the Shāfi'is into religious (شرعى) and non-religious (غير شرعى). Non-religious subjects comprised the forbidden (حرام), the disliked (مكروه), and the permissible (مباح). The most strictly forbidden subjects were sorcery, astrology, philosophy and all that was likely to stimulate doubt in the minds of the believers. Religious education was divided into three classes, viz. (1) obligatory (فرض عين), (2) optional (فرض كفاية), voluntary or supererogatory (نفل). Among the compulsory subjects the Shāfi'is included all that was necessary to enable a Muslim to perform devotional services, like the rules of ablution, prayer, etc. Imām Shāfi'i and his followers further made it obligatory on the parents to teach their children what was required of them as Muslims. Besides knowing elementary rules of cleanliness, praying and fasting, they ought to know the unlawfulness of adultery, theft, drinking, lying, backbiting, etc. Such subjects of ethics to some members of this school were permissible and to some obligatory, and when they were supplemented by subjects like Quranology, Fiqh, the

1. *Ta'lim al-Muta'allim*, ed. Bombay, p. 5 and the MS. O. U. No. 295, Leaf 3.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 8 and Commentary MS. O.U., Leaves 25 and 26.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

Arabic language, etc. this course was regarded as praiseworthy, مستحب. But all members agreed that the education of the children and young slaves on the basis of the Qur'ānic verse يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا اتَّقُوا اللَّهَ وَأَطِيعُوا أَرْوَاحَكُمْ وَآلِهَكُمْ تَارًا was compulsory. They further laid down that the cost involved in compulsory education should be withdrawn from the child's property, and in case the child had no property, his guardian was made responsible for his education. Similarly the cost of praiseworthy or secondary education was to be borne either by the child or by his guardian, but Imām Shāfi'i made the expenses of compulsory education a necessary part of the total expenditure legally payable to the mothers of the children.¹

Optionals according to Shāfi'i school, as far as religious education is concerned, are all those subjects which are indispensable for Muslims in understanding fully the faith of Islam, such as learning of the Qur'ān, Prophetic Traditions and their allied subjects, jurisprudence, the Arabic language and grammar and biographies of the Traditionists, the principles connected with consensus of opinion (إجماع) and legal differences (خلاف). Optionals among the non-religious studies are all those subjects which men require for the maintenance of human society, like medicine, mathematics, etc.

The last kind of education in the Shāfi'i school is what is called voluntary (نفل), and it means to have command over all the principles of learning and to master subjects already studied as optionals.²

Education as classified above by the two schools reveals the following differences :—

HANAFI

1. Faith in Allah and the Prophet should be rooted in the mind and based on firm intellectual grounds.

2. Compulsory education in the elementary stage should consist of all those religious and non-religious subjects which one requires daily in practical life.

3. The higher stage of education provides a vast choice of subjects for study; intellectual studies are combined with the religious, and selection of the subject is made according to the taste of the student.

SHĀFI'I

1. Faith in Allah as revealed in the Qur'ān should be accepted unquestioningly.

2. At the elementary stage such religious subjects are compulsory as children will require for devotional services when they grow up.

3. The higher stage of education includes deeper knowledge of the different branches of religious learning and some non-religious studies like mathematics, medicine, history, literature, etc. but purely intellectual and scholastic studies were discouraged.

COURSES OF STUDY

As the above-mentioned theories were fundamentally different from each other, each school followed its own course of study. Hanafis did

1. Nawawi's *Muqaddama* MS. O.U. No. 297 (باب اقسام العلم الشرعى) and *Ihya' al-'Ulūm*.

2. *Muqaddama* of Nawāwī (باب اقسام العلم الشرعى) *Ihya' al-'Ulūm*, pp. 13-20.

not allow conventionalism and blind following in matters of faith; the philosophy of Divinity (*'Ilm-at-Tauhid*) was therefore given first place in their curriculum. Next to the tenets concerning God and His attributes the science of jurisprudence was taught. It was followed by Arabic language, grammar, calligraphy, and dialectics as far as necessary.¹ But as education with the Shāfi'is was based on submission to Tradition and Divine Revelation, they required no intellectual study of faith and started their studies with the Qur'ānic exegesis. Their principle was that subjects which were superior according to their intrinsic merits should supersede the other subjects. Quranology was succeeded by the study of Ḥadīth, principles of theology, principles of Fiqh, the particular school of Fiqh, legal differences of the jurists, Arabic grammar and Dialectics.² That the Shāfi'i practically adopted this course of studies is proved by the fact that al-Qāsim ibn Sallām ash-Shāfi'i is said to have studied first the Qur'ān and then Ḥadīth and finally jurisprudence.³ Similarly, Ibn Abi Ḥātim says that his father did not allow him to take up Ḥadīth literature until he had studied the Qur'ān.⁴

Although the text-books in the Shāfi'i and Ḥanafī schools were changed from time to time yet their principles in adopting a particular curriculum remained the same. These principles were firstly that one should proceed from simple and epitomised works to detailed and more difficult subjects; secondly that the subjects which are important and superior with regard to their intrinsic merits should supersede other subjects.⁵ These principles continued till the 7th century A.H., as Zarnuji and Ibn-Jum'a are quite conscious of their different methods and record them pointedly while discussing the selection of the subjects. Even in the days of Ibn-Khaldūn the Shāfi'i curriculum may have been current in the western lands of Islam, for Ibn-Khaldūn, referring to the branches of religious education in order of precedence, gives first place to Quranology, which is followed by Ḥadīth, principles of Fiqh, Fiqh (jurisprudence), scholastic theology (علم), and Arabic literature.⁶ But in the 8th century A.H., in the western parts of the Muslim world, some reaction against this curriculum seems to have been at work, since Ibn-Khaldūn (d. 808) mentions a protest lodged against the teaching of the Qur'ān at the elementary stage while children were unable to understand the meaning of the Qur'ānic Verses.⁷ Further, when Qāḍī Abū-Bakr ibn al-'Arabi proposed that the teaching of Arabic language and literature should be undertaken first, as is done in the Andalusian schools, and then mathematics, Quranology, principles of theology, Fiqh, dialectics

1. Commentary on *Ta'lim al-Muta'allim*, MS. O.U. Leaves 16 and 17.

2. An-Nawāwī's *Muqaddama*, *Tadhkira*, pp. 35, 36, 58. *Ādāb at-Ta'lim*, MS. O.U. No. 574, p. 22.

3. *Tabaqāt-as-Shāfiya*, Vol. I, p. 270, and *Tadhkira*.

4. *Tadhkirat* (Dhahabi), Vol. III, p. 47.

5. *Ta'lim al-Muta'allim*, ed Bombay, p. 13 and *Tadhkira as-Sam'i* pp. 55, 57, 113.

6. *Muqaddama* of Ibn-Khaldūn, p. 381.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 494.

and the science of Tradition should be followed, Ibn-Khaldūn supported this scheme and also defended the commencement of education with the reading of the Qur'ān. He held that they started studies with the teaching of the Qur'ān as a good augury on account of its sanctity and that it was useful in the elementary stage of education, for older children do not study the Qur'ān so readily as they do under the supervision of their parents.¹ The fact is that in countries where Arabic was not the mother-tongue, the starting of education with the Qur'ān seems to have become a problem, since the community was not prepared to break away from its conventional environment ; but in Arabic-speaking countries the question did not arise, and therefore the Ḥanafī and Shāfi'i educationists of the Arab world have not tackled the problem. With them it was only in the secondary stage of education that the study of Arabic language and literature became important. The eastern lands of Islam also differed from the western in the fact that in the east there were separate Maktabas for teaching Arabic script, whereas in the west the Arabic language and its script were taught together in one and the same school. Another notable feature of the Andalusian school of studies was that it not only gave precedence to Arabic language and literature but also imparted instruction daily in more than one subject of arts and science.² Such a combination of subjects was allowed by Shāfi'is only in exceptional cases, with students who were considered capable of learning more than one subject at a time.³

A glance at the courses adopted by Muslim scholars in India shows that they followed the Ḥanafī curriculum as scholastic science and jurisprudence were taught before Quranology and Tradition. Arabic language and logic were also given preference at the elementary stage.⁴

METHODS OF TEACHING

APART from the above-mentioned differences in the courses of studies, the methods of teaching adopted by both the Shāfi'i and Ḥanafī schools were remarkably distinct from each other. The Ḥanafīs aimed at developing the mental and memorial faculties of the students. For this purpose they laid down that a lesson should begin with as much as a student could memorize by repeating it twice, and the quantity should be gradually increased until the student becomes accustomed to learning lengthy lessons.⁵ But Ḥanafīs took care that, however lengthy a lesson

1. *Muqaddama* of Ibn-Khaldūn, p. 494.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 493.

3. *Tadhkirat-as-Sam'i*, pp. 57, 116 and 117.

4. The curriculum known by the name of Nizāniya which the Indian schools adopted was as follows :—

1. Etymology.

5. Logic

9. Principles of Islamic Law.

2. Syntax.

6. Arithmetic

10. Scholasticism.

3. Rhetoric.

7. Philosophy (ancient).

11. Qur'ānic Commentary.

4. Literature.

8. Islamic Law

12. Hadith.

5. *Ta'lim al-Muta'allim*, ed. Bombay, p. 13.

might be, it should provide ample time for the student to concentrate over it and to enable him to grasp its meaning completely. With a view to training the intellect, the Ḥanafis laid great emphasis on the necessity for discussion (مأظاره) and deliberation (مطارحه) between the students, while Shāfi'is adopted (مراقبه) comradeship and encouraged them to repeat lessons together. The motto in the Ḥanafī school was "concentrate and understand" "تأمل تدرك", and they also said, "To remember two letters is better than to hear a good deal."¹ It was therefore quality and not quantity that counted with the Ḥanafis.

Shāfi'is also preferred quality to quantity; but as they were Traditionalists, their quality meant not intellectual training for original research but accuracy and correct reading and remembering of the texts. They therefore emphasized the collation and correction of the texts before remembering them.² So the teacher in this school was asked to explain his lectures with the help of similes, resemblances, references to different versions, demonstration of their accuracy, strong and weak points of the texts, the authenticity of the authorities quoted, and the teacher's own views supported by authentic sources. This method of teaching leads us to say that Shāfi'is adopted comparative methods in their studies. To elucidate the point further we may quote below the modes of discussion employed by Imām Abū-Ḥanīfa and Imām Shāfi'i in explanation of their points of view.

SHĀFI'I METHOD

Ishāq ibn Rahwayh asked ash-Shāfi'iyy what was his opinion about the lawfulness of using the hide of a dead animal.

"To tan the hides is to clean them," said the Imām.

"What is your reason?" asked Ishāq. Whereupon Shāfi'i quoted the Ḥadīth which is traced back to Maymūna: The latter said that the prophet passed by a dead goat and said, "Why do you not make use of the goat's skin?"

Ishāq replied that in a Tradition of Ibn 'Ukaim the Prophet is said to have written to them only one month before he died that they should not make use of the hides of dead bodies. As this message was written only one month before the Prophet died, it can be taken to have abrogated the Ḥadīth of Maymūna. Shāfi'i said, "My authority in this case is authoritative Tradition and in yours, a letter" (authenticity of which is considered doubtful).—

HANAFI METHOD

On a student's asking Imām Abū Ḥanīfa whether a believer who has committed unpardonable sin will be regarded as an enemy of God (unbeliever), the Imām replied:

"He will not be considered as an enemy of God so long as he has not abandoned Tauḥīd (faith in the oneness of God). That is because an enemy hates his foe and finds fault with him, while the believer, however great a sinner he may be, loves God more than anything else. (The test is that) if he is asked to choose between the punishment of hell and belying of God, he will prefer the hell fire." The student said, "If he loved God, he would not have disobeyed him." "Yes," said the Imām, "the son loves his father and sometimes disobeys him. Similarly the believer loves God even if he disobeys him."³—

1. *Ta'lim al-Muta'llim* pp. 13 and 14.

2. *Tadhkira as-Sanī*, pp. 121 and 142.

3. *Ṭabaqāt as-Shafiya*, Vol. I, p. 237, 49; *Kitāb 'Ālim wal-Muta'allim*, pp. 14 and 15.

Thus we see in these modes of discussion that with the Shāfi'i's authority is the sole criterion for judging all problems while reason is the pivot of discussion in the Ḥanafī method.

Both schools, however, agreed that the lectures should not be committed to paper unless they are fully understood and remembered. They also unanimously held that by education the students should intend to achieve pious conduct and look up to the Prophet for guidance in life. They should in no case use education as a means to gain worldly ambitions. They therefore made education a sacred duty equal in merit to devotional exercises. To them the place of learning, be it mosque or Madrasa, was a holy sanctuary where both the teacher and the taught assembled to serve Allah. To receive education was as good a duty as praying, fasting, etc., because Muslims intending to learn would have to equip themselves with pious motives and abide by a prescribed etiquette of learning just as they prepared themselves for praying and other Islamic rites. The rules and regulations of this etiquette were defined and a number of brochures under the title *Ādāb al-Muta'allim*, "Conduct of the Students," had been written. According to this etiquette the relation of the teacher and his pupil was like that of father and son and the examples set by the Prophet, his Companions, and the recognised Ulema were followed. The teacher used to put on clean clothes, perform ablution, and read out verses of the Qur'ān before starting his lecture. In the Madrasa, however, there was all the environment required for a Muslim community. It was as it were a miniature of the Muslim society existing outside the school. As the students of the Madrasas found a more or less similar environment outside their school, the cry of modern educationists that school education has departed too far from the actualities of life did not then exist.

MOHD. ABDUL MU'ID KHAN.

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

HYDERABAD

The All-India Law Conference.

THE originality imbibed and the activity fostered among the Alumni of the Osmania University has exacted the tribute from the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru who recently observed that Hyderabad had become one of the big centres of thinking and doing in India.

Under the patronage of His Exalted Highness and the auspices of the Osmania University, the first All-India Law Conference was convened in Hyderabad in the third week of July last, with Sir Maurice Gwyer as General President-elect, and others as Sessional Presidents.

The Hon. Nawab 'Ālam Yār Jung Bahādur, Law and Ecclesiastical Member, delivered the welcome address and remarked that a common meeting ground for legislature, class-room, Bench and Bar had become a great need. Hyderabad was a fit place for holding the first session for its glorious legal traditions, past and present. If it was in Kalyani (Hyderabad) that *Mitākshara* was compiled, it was also here that we produced *Fatāwā Kāfūriya* and *Fatāwā Tātār-Khāniya*. As for the present-day work, our *Dā'iratul-Ma'ārif* and *Ihyā'ul-Ma'ārif an-Nu'māniya* have already earned international reputation for editing classical books on Muslim jurisprudence. We are in advance of British India in relieving judiciary from the burden of Revenue and providing the highest legal education through the medium of an Indian language, besides translating into Urdu about a score and more standard books on different branches of Law from half a dozen languages.

H. E. the President of the Council, in inaugurating the Conference, conveyed the Royal Message, so graciously sent by H. E. H. the Nizam to the Conference. It reads :—

The Royal Message

“ I send my greetings to this first session of the All-India Law Conference. There exists in my Dominions the complete separation of the executive from the judiciary, and this separation is one of the basic features of my administration. The High Court, endowed with

my charter, enjoys a position of dignity and independence as the highest court in the State. A special department for the study and teaching of Law has been created in the Osmania University and has been contributing not only to the personnel of my judicial service but also to the Bar, the relations between which and the Bench have remained cordial.

"Underlying both the administration and the study of Law is the fundamental idea of a reign of Law which must be the foundation of every administration. I trust that in promoting a study of Law and of its different aspects and in affording a medium for exchange of ideas, this Conference will not only succeed in creating popular interest in an academic study of Law but also result in a full appreciation of its place in the life of a community."

On account of the unavoidable absence of Sir Maurice Gwyer, due to his indisposition, Sir 'Abdul-Qādir took the Chair and said Hyderabad had now become a great centre of learning in all branches of studies. She was rendering a special service by adopting Urdu as the medium of instruction instead of a foreign language. He emphasized on the need of raising the standard of legal profession and teaching; and testified to the high standard maintained in the Osmania University, for he had examined papers and theses many a time; in this connection he particularly referred to the originality of Osmanians who were covering fields in research not yet trodden by others before.

Among the Sessional Presidents Mr. Mīr Akbar 'Alī Khān spoke about the law of fiefs and royal grants in the Islamic State of Hyderabad. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru referred to the vast field of researches in Islamic Law and pointed out the many original contributions of Abū-Yūsuf and others. A number of learned papers were contributed, of which the following may be noted here :—

1. Law of Marriage : A Study in Comparison and Contrast, by Dr. Hamid Ali.
2. Muslim Notion of Conflict of Laws, by Dr. M. Hamidullah.
3. Muslim Law of Hyderabad, by Mr. Basit Ali Khan.
4. Similarities in Muslim and Hindu Jurisprudence, by Mr. B. N. Chobe.
5. Evolution of the Islamic Administration of Justice, Mr. Md. Ghawth.
6. Law and Custom, with Particular Reference to Islam, by Mr. 'Abdul-Qadir.
7. Origin and Development of the Company Laws of Islam, by Mr. Wahidullah Khan.
8. Muslim Conception of Liberty and Freedom, by Mr. 'Abdus-Sattār.

9. Place of Fuqaha in Islamic system of Law.

Among the resolutions passed by the Conference the following are of Islamic interest :—

In legal teaching more attention should be paid to oriental theories than has so far been the case.

It is desirable that an annual survey of world laws should be undertaken.

Law Exhibition.

It was a novel idea to organise a Law Exhibition in order to make the Law Conference more popular and attractive and it was a great success. Hon. Dr. Sir Mahdī Yār Jung Bahādur, the Education Member, performed the opening ceremony. The entrance gate was decorated with the inspiring Qur'ānic quotation *وإذا حكمتم بين الناس ان تحكموا بالعدل*. The first room depicted justice in Hyderabad, old and new. The legal publications of Hyderabad fitted many a stall. The books compiled by Osmania Law Graduates were in five languages. The scenes of old Islamic courts of Cordova and Baghdad and the Dirra (whip) bore a favourable contrast with the "Chamber of Horrors," representing mediæval religious persecution and inquisition in the West.

The history of Islamic Law had many attractive features. "The first written constitution in the world" was promulgated by the Prophet. Sarakhsiy was imprisoned in the well, for several years on political grounds and he never ceased lecturing to his pupils who assembled over the side of the well. These extempore lectures of his dictated from memory have filled :—

(a) Thirty folio volume of كتاب الميسوط (printed in Cairo).

(b) Four stout volumes of شرح السير الكبير (printed in Hyderabad).

(c) About a thousand pages of اصول الفقه (MS. Sa'idīyah Library, Hyderabad.)

The *Fatāwā Kāfūriya* was dedicated to Malik Kāfūr, the first conqueror of Deccan (MS. Iḥyā'ul-Ma'ārif Society). The seven folio volumes of *Fatāwā Tātār Khāniya* were a pride of Deccan ever since their compilation during the Tughluq period. Even the president of the compiling committee of *Fatāwā 'Ālamgiriya*, Mullā Nizāmuddīn had hailed from Deccan and completed his work probably in Aurangabad.

Large wall-maps depicted the genealogy of Muslim schools of Law and the codifications of Ḥadīth. The Tagore Law lectures also contained several books on Muslim Law. The Swiney Prize Publications (equivalent to "Nobel Prize" in Law) had great attraction as also several rooms occupied by medical jurisprudence.

The Conference has wisely decided to have a permanent house in the Osmania University, under a Standing Committee of the All-India working Committee.

The Conference published a very interesting booklet, *Law and Justice in Hyderabad*, which may be had from the Law Union, Osmania University. Another تذکرہ شعبہ قانون describing the history of the Osmania Law Faculty and its great achievements was being printed while these lines were being written.

During the Conference, the local daily *Rahbar-e-Deccan* brought out a very learned special number with several articles of Islamic interest.

M. H.:

All-India Urdu Congress Exhibition.

THE exhibition was opened by Nawab Salar Jung Bahadur. His Excellency Nawab Saheb of Chhatari, Nawab Sir Mahdi Yar Jung Bahadur, Nawab Khusru Jung Bahadur, Hon'ble Mr. Ghulam Muhammad, Nawab Alam Yar Jung Bahadur and other nobles and high officials of the State attended the function.

As the visitor enters the Exhibition Hall, he confronts a skilfully executed portrait of His Exalted Highness the Nizam whose patronage of the Urdu language has become proverbial. Close to the portrait was placed in a glass show-case the poetical verses of His Exalted Highness, which was kindly lent by Nawab Sir Amin Jung Bahadur. These works had been for the first time displayed to the general public.

It is high time that our country should be made exhibition-minded and well-planned exhibitions based on scientific lines should be arranged as often as possible. These exhibitions may represent various branches of learning and the different phases of life; their educative value is remarkable and even a layman may be initiated in the desired subject, and may have a general and comprehensive idea of the concerned subjects in a popular and easily understandable manner with the help of graphs, statistics, illustrations, photographs and actual objects of interest.

The exhibition was arranged in connection with All-India Urdu Congress in the Departmental Progress Pavilion, Public Gardens, which was an ideal example of the type. With the help of skilfully prepared graphs and charts the extent, scope and history of the Urdu language were illustrated in a lucid and instructive manner. The comparative statement showing the number of people who spoke Indian languages, the number of dailies, weeklies and monthlies, issued in each language showed a mark of preference in favour of Urdu and clearly established its claim for an all-India language.

There was an enthusiastic response both from the Hyderabad Dominions and from outside.

Afzal-ul-Ulema Khan Bahadur Dr. 'Abdul-Haq, Principal, Muhammadan College, Madras, had sent his valuable collection of MSS. and books.

His illustrations and renderings of the verses of Iqbal were very much appreciated. The librarian of the Rampur Library, Mr. Imtiāz 'Alī 'Arshi, had also sent a few interesting books for display. Among the local institutions the Idāra-i-Adabiyāt-i-Urdu displayed not only its enormous and valuable publications but also its rare collection of valuable and unique MSS., autographs of luminaries like Shibli, Ḥālī and Iqbal. The corrections made by the famous poet Dāgh on the poems of Hyderabad nobles attracted considerable attention.

The collection of Agha Hyder Hasan, Professor of Urdu, Nizam College, was also the focus of general attention. The miniature paintings of old poets and MS. copies of the early Urdu poets were presented in his collection in an enormous number.

A special section was dedicated to the publications of the ladies of Hyderabad. A chart of these publications prepared by Mr. Naṣiruddin Hāshimi was most instructive. Among the authoresses the names of Mrs. Sughra Humāyūn Mirza, Mrs. Barkat Rai, Mrs. Khalīl-uz-Zaman, Sayyida Akhtar deserve special mention.

Another section was dedicated to the authors of the Deccan whose books on nearly all scientific and literary subjects were displayed. Among them the names of Nawab 'Aziz Jung Bahadur, Mr. Naṣiruddin Hāshimi and others attracted special attention.

The Association of the Graduates of the Osmania University covered considerable space in the circle where the academic products of the Osmania University Graduates were displayed. The Association had also lent to the exhibition its complete set of the books that had been rendered into Urdu by the Translation Bureau, and thus the valuable effort of this institution in enriching the language were placed before the scholars and the general public.

Mrs. Sughra Humāyūn Mirza had evinced keen interest in the exhibition by lending her valuable collection of books and autographs. A few lines written in Urdu to her by Mr. Gandhi were of great interest.

The Central Hall was occupied by the valuable collection of rare books that were lent by Nawab Salar Jung Bahadur consisting of the MS. Diwan of Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shāh and other eminent poets, and also of some rare and the earliest publications in Urdu.

Bazm-i-Iqbal had helped in making the exhibition a success by lending its valuable collection of Iqbaliyāt and the illustrated verses of Iqbal. Nawab Hasan Yar Jung Bahadur and Mr. Syed 'Abdul-Vāhid deserve our thanks for their interest in this respect.

Mr. Dildār Husain, Superintending Engineer, had lent a letter of Mīr Anis which recorded his visit to Hyderabad, and had importance for its contents.

Mr. Ḥabībullah of the Accountant-General's Office had lent a valuable MS. copy of *Diwan* of Wali which contained several unpublished verses.

Mr. Farḥatullāh Bēg had lent an original portrait of the famous poet, Mo'min Khān, which was a very good specimen of the art of the period.

The efforts of Mr. Sajjad Mirza in popularising and simplifying the Naskh type were creditably displayed in the section which was allotted to the Teachers' Training College. The College had also displayed Urdu literary charts which were very instructive and a plaster model of the poet, Ghālib.

The Government Central Press made a most creditable show of its meritorious services rendered by it to Urdu type.

The section allotted to the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu Book Depot was very tastefully decorated and had displayed all the latest Urdu publications in a most attractive manner.

The India Book-House, Jāmi'a Millia Book Depot, Dār-ul-Muṭali'a, Nampalli, the Ṣaḥīḥ Qā'ida, Razvi & Co., and the Maḥbubia Book-Binding Works had put up a very good show.

K.M.A.

DECCAN

The Origin of Bombay.

DR. B. A. Saletoṛe has published a short article on the *Origin of Bombay* in the *Journal of the University of Bombay* (July 1944). This is not a new problem as it has already occupied the attention of many scholars. Following the article of Dr. Saletoṛe we note in the *Hobson-Jobson* (pp. 102-103) and Dr. Kalepeci's remarks, and come to the conclusion that it is more or less a corruption of *Mumba Devi*, 'who was the patron deity of the Kolis. Mumba Devi's temple stood on the central island which, in the course of time, during Portuguese possession, came to be called Mombain.' As far as Muslim relations with this part of India are concerned, we can safely say that Thana and Sopara, the present suburbs of Bombay, have been the haunts of the Arabs from the very early days and when 'the civil administration of this part of the country passed into the hands of the Muslims in the thirteenth century, it was Mahim that was favoured by them because of its more favourable geographical position.' After this the Portuguese came to trade on the Western Coast of India in the sixteenth century. The writer of the note in the *Hobson-Jobson* says that 'the name can be traced long before the Portuguese occupation, long before the arrival of the Portuguese in India.' We find that the word *Munbi* or *Mumbai* which, according to some authorities, have been corrupted into the present form 'Bombay,' is found in Muslim publications made in Bombay during the last century till 1218 A.H./1865 A.D. According to such publications it means that this old form *Munbi* was in vogue

particularly among the Muslims ; therefore it becomes necessary for us to trace the philological aspects of the word Munbi from Muslim point of view which we fortunately find in the Persian dictionaries ; for instance in Steingass p. 1321 and *Farhang-i-Ānandrāj*, III, p. 422, “ منبی Munbi, who gives information, makes known, brings news.” It leads us to believe that, according to the expression of the word Munbi given here from Persian dictionaries, it has some bearing upon the present form of word Bombay, and besides, this part of the country from the very beginning has been the source of communication or information with the outside world. Moreover, the word Mumba has neither any connection with Hindu mythology or theology nor it is of Sanskrit origin.

Muslim Coins.

The Journal of the Numismatic Society of India, Bombay (Dec. 1943) has some interesting articles dealing with coins of the Muslim period. *The Sanskrit Legend on Bilingual Tankas of Maḥmūd Ghazni* by Dr. V. S. Agarwala. He thinks that the key to the correct understanding of the inscription of the coin is to be found in the fact that the Sanskrit version represents an honest attempt to render faithfully the sense of the Arabic original on the obverse side. In the Arabic text, therefore, lies the key to its right interpretation. The two versions are presented below :—

Sanskrit	Arabic
1. Avyaktameka	لا اله الا الله
2. Muḥammāda Avatara	محمد رسول الله
3. Nrpati Maḥamūda	يمين الدولة
4. Abvyaktiya Nāme	وامين بسم الله
5. Ayam Ṭankam	الدرهم
6. Hata	ضرب
7. Maḥamūdapura	بمحمود پور
8. Ghatita	ضرب
9-10 Tājikiyera Samvati	سنه
11-12. 418, (419).	(۳۱۹) ۴۱۸

The above Sanskrit rendering should be credited to one who had a good knowledge of the philosophical concept of the Divinity in both the Hindu and Muslim theologies. It also represents that even at such an early stage both the Hindus and Muslims had learnt each other's languages as an indispensable necessity of the day. *A Gold Coin of Muḥammad b. Tughlaq* by S. A. Shere. It seems necessary to point out that the writers on Muslim coins or inscriptions should feel their responsibility of giving

correct pronunciation of Muslim names. For instance, the word *Tugh-laq* given here, ought to have been rendered as '*Tughluq*'. For their satisfaction and guidance it seems sufficient to cite here the *Rehla* of Ibn-Baṭṭūṭah (Cairo, 1928, II, p. 30). A *Rare Ilāhi Fulus* of Akbar of Gorakhpur Mint by P. L. Gupta; A *New Coin of Maḥmūd, son of Muḥammad b. Sām* by C. R. Singhal. The writer could have shown that this Maḥmūd son of Muḥammad b. Sām is different from the well-known Sulṭān Mu'izz'ud-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām. The last Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India which was held at Aligarh, was presided over by R. B. Prayag Dayal. His presidential address published in this issue devotes very little space to Muslim coins.

Muslim Inscriptions.

Recently the Baroda State Archæological Department has published its *Memoir* No. III, dealing with *Muslim Inscriptions* from the Baroda State. This important publication is commendable in many respects. It bears only twelve inscriptions published under the editorship of Mr. G. Yazdani and Mr. R. G. Gayani. They range from Tughluq period to the nineteenth century of the Christian era. The first bilingual inscription, dated A. H. 740, belongs to the period of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluq edited by Mr. Gayani. It was found from the village Karkhadi which was also recorded in the text as Karkari. When we carefully study both the Sanskrit and Persian versions side by side, we find that the Persian version has not been faithfully deciphered. The inscriptions of the Gujarat Sultanate bear very useful information. The inscription VII of the period of Shāhjahān is also bilingual, i.e., Persian and Gujarati-Hindi, which has been ably edited by Mr. Yazdani. From this inscription one can easily trace the development of the Urdu language although it is written in Devanagri characters.

Ṣāhib-i-Jamāl.

The Indian Film Companies have made a practice to represent Indian historical episodes in one corrupted form or other, giving them historical importance, simply with a view to cater for the public taste, without caring for the accuracy of the history of the event and ignoring the original sources. For instance, recent writers have already staged the drama of *Anārkalī* and a further attempt might still be made in Bombay, although the drama as represented had no historical background. The correct information for the so-called *Anārkalī* mausoleum at Lahore and the lady buried therein, we refer our readers to the *Islamic Culture*, 1935, p. 618, and *Indian Culture*, Calcutta, Vol. V, pp. 105-109. In reality this monument at Lahore is the mausoleum of Ṣāhib-i-Jamāl, one of the

wives of Salīm (later on Emperor Jahāngīr), (vide *Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, Eng. Tr. I, 18-19), who died on 15th of the month of Tir during the 44th regnal year of Akbar (1008 A.H.) (vide *Akbar Nāma*, III, 757). The date of death 1008 is also inscribed on the sarcophagus. She was the daughter of Khwāja Ḥasan, the uncle of Zayn Khān Kōka and she was the mother of prince Parwēz (vide *Ā'in-i-Akbari*, Eng. Tr. 1932, p. 323; *Jahāngīr* by Beni Parshad, p. 30).

Art Find.

In the last issue of the *Islamic Culture* (p. 325), we had noted under this heading something regarding the specimen of calligraphy attributed to Prince Khurram (later on Shāhjahān) from the Patna Museum. On the reverse of the same specimen one miniature was also referred to which was not discussed. Fortunately exactly the same miniature has already been reproduced in the *Asiatische Miniaturenmalerei*, Wien, 1933, pl. 31 and fig. 94. The description of this miniature given in this German publication runs thus: "Hindusket mit Schuler und Hund. Kalkutta Indian Museum, datiert 622 H. mit der Unterschrift Schah Khurrams (nach Originalphoto des Museums)." i.e., according to this German publication the original miniature along with the specimen of calligraphy belongs to the Calcutta Indian Museum. Now it lies with the authorities of the museum or the writer of the article to decide about its actual ownership. Fortunately, the next issue of the *Journal of the Bihar Research Society* (XXX, pt. i.) bears one article on a rare MS. of the *Tuhfat-u's-Salātīn*. Its flying page, reproduced along with the article, has autographs of both Jahāngīr and Shāhjahān which bear the usual word حرره (written by) as we had in our last note pointed out to be the practice of the princes.

Some Points on the History of Maharashtra.

At the Annual Meeting of the Bharat Itihasa Samshodhak Mandal, Poona, one of the members of the Mandal read a short paper dealing with some important points about the history of Maharashtra:—

(a) According to 'Isami's *Futūḥu's-Salātīn* (p. 496) Ḥasan Bahmani, before his accession to the throne of the Deccan as the first Bahmani Sultān under the title of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Abu'l-Muzaffār Bahman Shāh, on the abdication of Ismā'il Mukh, held two towns, viz., Hukeri and Badgaon as his fief in the Deccan:—

چنین آمد از قرعه شان دلیل	که دیهم نه بر سر اسمعیل
چو در گوش کرد اسمعیل این سخن	بگفتا نه ام در خور ملک من

که جائش بسر حد این کشورست	حسن نام برده است او دُر خورست
بتر تیب ماهر یک ازوی فروست	هکیری و بدگانو اقطاع اوست
چراغ خوش از دوده بهمن ست	بهزکار چون نام خود احسن است
که شایان ترست او به تخت و کلاه	بخوایم اورا درین تخت گاه

Hukeri is on the Hubli-Miraj railway line, forty miles from Miraj towards Hubli, and Badgaon is on the Poona-Miraj railway line, six miles from Miraj towards Poona. Both of these are important stations.

(b) According to Firishta (Persian text, I. 277) the boundaries of the first Sultān 'Alā'ud-Dīn Bahmani's kingdom extended from the river Pauna to the vicinity of the fortress of Adony and from the ports of Chaul and Dabhul to the city of Bidar. Briggs (II, 291) translates this text of Firishta thus: "From river Beema to the fortress of Adony and from the port of Chaul to the city of Bidar." If we accept the river Beema as the boundary, as Briggs has expressed it, it will be absolutely ambiguous, because the river Beema which generally occurs in the history of Bahmani kingdom flows through the district of Gulbarga, and, therefore, it is certainly the river Pauna which according to the *Bombay Gazetteer* (v. xvii, pt. i, p. 9, Poona) is in the Poona district :—

"The Pauna rises on the crest of the Sahyadris south of the range of hills which forms the southern border of the Indrayani valley and includes the fortified summits of the Lohogadh and Visapur. It flows at first nearly east along the winding vale of Pauna or Pauna-Mauval hill, leaving the rugged westlands, it runs south-east and after a very winding course, joins the Mulla from north near Dapudi. At the village of Ambegaon, about six miles east of its course, the bed of the Pauna is about 1820 above the sea."

(c) Dr. S. Balkrishna and Apte have published Persian documents with their reproductions and translation dealing with the history of the Mudhol State in their respective works, viz., *Śivaji the Great* and *The History of Mudhol* (Marathi). The Persian documents deal with the grants made by the Muslim rulers of the Deccan to the ruling family of Mudhol. Dr. B. A. Saletore tried to prove these documents as spurious (vide *The Authenticity of Mudhol Farmans*, New Indian Antiquary, 1939, pp. 6-24, while Mr. G. H. Khare opposed it (vide Dr. Saletore, *The Authenticity of Mudhol Farmans*, New Indian Antiquary, 1940, pp. 186-196). The first Farman shows that a grant was made in 753 A.H./1352 A.D. by the first Bahmani Sultān, i.e., Sultān 'Alā'ud-Dīn Bahmani. A careful examination of the reproduction reveals that the name of the grantee, or whom it was addressed, seems to have been missing; and he was the son of Sajan Singh and grandson of Ajai Singh. Dr. Balkrishna has taken the missing name as Dalip Singh (*op. cit.* p. 38). One more important point is this that the name of the Sultān noted in the Persian document is 'Husain' instead of Hasan. The contemporary history of Sultān 'Alā'ud-

Dīn Hasan Bahmani's period, the *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn*, composed by 'Isami at his court in 751 A.H./1350 A.D. tells us that the Sultān 'Alā'-ud-Dīn Hasan Bahmani started from Sagar to Mudhol with a view to crush one Narayan who according to the *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir* was the then ruler of Telangana. Narayan offered resistance and fled away. Mudhol fort was besieged by the Sultān. Narayan then made a night attack on the forces of Sultān and later on was defeated and had to tender apology. Sultān forgave him and returned (Isami, pp. 556-561).

نرائن چو در حضرت شهر یار بسے معذرت کرد شرمندہ وار
فرستاد آنگہ دو سالہ خراج پذیرفت آئندہ را ساد و باج
ز مندھول در جانب مرج راند مھے یک دو در قلعہ مرج ماند

M. A. C.

DĒLHI

The Death of a Great Missionary.

ON Thursday, the 13th July passed away a great saint and divine, Maulānā Muḥammad Ilyās Ṣāḥib Kāndhalwī. The Maulānā had been ailing for some time and so his death was not quite unexpected, yet it cast a gloom over the city of Delhi and the area of Mēwāt, which had benefited so much by the Maulānā's efforts. Mēwāt has a large Muslim population, consisting predominantly of Meos. The Meos, who have given their name to this area, are a brave, well-organized clan. They have their peculiar customs and characteristics and their qualities remind us of the tribesmen of the Afghan border. They are poor, backward, steeped in ignorance and superstition. Their qualities of organization attracted some notice when, tired of the misgovernment in Alwar, they agitated against chronic misrule. Such is the extent of their ignorance that a Meo proverb says that if a Meo gets educated, he should be buried ten miles away from a Meo habitation. Such an ignorant, proud, conservative and warlike people the Maulānā undertook to reform. His ceaseless efforts have produced a number of schools, mosques, and, what is more important, Meo workers fully conscious of the need of reforming their community and devoted to their task. The Maulānā's methods were adopted from his spiritual ancestors, the Ṣūfis. He lived an austere life, denying himself all luxury, even comfort and rest. His nights were spent in long vigils and prayers and his days in preaching. His single-minded devotion and purity of life drew to him men of all classes. At his feet sat intellectuals conversant with Western learning, 'Ulema, Ṣūfis. In his company were men who reminded a visitor of the early Muslims. The atmosphere was deeply spiritual. For the Maulānā was a practical man; his conver-

sations and preaching, bereft of all ornamentation or rhetoric were to the point ; his simple words went home because of his sincerity and earnestness. He brooked no idlers around him. When he was on his death-bed, he did not like people to leave their work of preaching and flock around him. To anxious inquirers after his condition he said, I am all right ; you are my disease—you leave the important work of Tablīgh and come to me." He endeavoured to follow in the footsteps of his great master, the Prophet, and the beauty of his life was his most potent weapon. He, therefore, without any resources, achieved in a short time what large organizations could not achieve in years. Yet his mission is by no means complete and one hopes and prays that his followers under the guidance of his successor and disciple, Maulānā Muḥammad Yūsuf may be given the strength, perseverance and inspiration to continue his great work. Islam mourns the loss of a great son in the death of Maulānā Muḥammad Ilyās Ṣāhib Kandhalvī.

انا لله وانا اليه راجعون

May the Maulānā's soul rest in peace and may God bless the work he has left behind !

A Book on Muslim Education.

The Nadawat-ul-Muṣannifīn has published a book on Muslim education by Maulānā Manāzīr Aḥsan Gilānī called *Musalmānōn-kā-Niẓām-i-Ta'lim wa Tarbiyat*. The Maulānā has given an illuminating history of Muslim education in India and has mostly drawn upon original sources. The book is, therefore, scholarly, but the chief value of the work lies in the constructive proposals regarding the future. He rightly deplores the wide division which has taken place between the old fashioned theological institutions and modern secular schools and colleges which have paralyzed the growth of Islam as a great intellectual and spiritual force in India. This is but the first volume of the work and educationists look forward to the publication of the second volume.

The Burhān.

This Journal has kept up its standard, though its last number appears in a greatly reduced form owing to a more stringent paper control by the Government. There are thoughtful articles on tolerance in Islam, the conserving of Islamic traditions and contemporary scholasticism in Islam.

The Urdu.

This quarterly organ of the Anjuman-i-Taraqqī-i-Urdū has been kept up at its usually high standard. The articles on Munshī Iqbal Varmā

Sahr Hitgīmī (April), on Fakhr-u'd-Daulah Nawāib Mirzā 'Alā-u'd-Dīn Aḥmad Khān 'Alā'ī and on Modern "Progressive" Literature (July) deserve mention.

Study Groups on the Middle East.

Delhi is the headquarters of the Indian Institute of International Affairs. The Institute has recently organized a study group for the Middle East which has at present divided itself into committees to localise investigation on Persia, Afghānistan, the Persian Gulf, 'Irāq and Turkey. It is hoped that the results of their investigations will be published. After finishing work on these countries, the group will take up the Arab countries.

I. H. Q.

NORTH-EASTERN INDIA

THE Ma'arif (Azamgarh), has, during the period under review, published many useful articles, some of which deserve special mention here. Maulānā Zafar Aḥmad of Theology Department, Dacca University, gives a learned discourse on the contributions made to Ḥadīth in India after Shāh Waliullah, the famous religious luminary of the 17th century A.D. Some of these works along with their authors may be succinctly mentioned here for panoramic views of our readers.

(1) الجواهر المنيفه فى ادلة الامام ابى حنيفه by Sayyid Murtaḍa Bilgrami (1205 A.H.) who discusses in this book Ḥanafi laws in the light of the Ḥadīth; (2) بستان المحدثين (History of the Traditionists), عجالة نافعة (on Principles of Ḥadīth), by Shāh 'Abdul 'Azīz of Delhi (1339 A.H.); (3) مظاهرعق by Shāh Muḥammad Ishāq (1262 A.H.) an Urdu translation of مشکوٰۃ by Shāh Muḥammad Ishāq (1262 A.H.) who had many learned pupils, some of whom wrote the following books: Nawāb Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān, besides adding the fourth chapter in مشکوٰۃ compiled several commentaries of بلوغ المرام explanatory notes on الروضة النديه as well as on ادله بخارى entitled عون البخارى and wrote also الحطه على الصحاح الستة. Maulāna Shams'ul Ḥaq of 'Azimabad was the author of عون المعبود which is a commentary of سنن ابى داود. His brother Maulana Abū Tayyeb also wrote its commentary in several volumes called غايه المقصود. A treatise العصر اعلام is also one of his works. Maulānā 'Abdur-Raḥmān Mubarakpuri compiled a commentary on Tirmidhi, entitled تخفة الاحوذى (4) انجاح العاجه

explanatory notes on سنن ابن ماجه by Shāh 'Abdul-Ghani of Delhi (1296 A.H.); (5) حاشيه بخارى شريف marginal notes on Bukhari, by Shaikh Aḥmad 'Alī of Sahāranpur (1297 A.H.), who wrote also الدليل القوي discussing the inadvisability of reading سورة فاتحه behind an Imām in congregation; (6) Profuse marginal notes on the last five chapters of Bukhari by Maulānā Muḥammad Qāsim, the founder of Dār'ul-'Ulūm, Deoband; (7) التعليق الممجد على الموطا المجدد marginal notes on موطا along with an elaborate history of Ḥadīth in the preface by 'Abdul-Hai of Lucknow (1304 A.H.); (8) تنسيق النظام which is a commentary of مسند امام ابوحنيفه by Maulānā Muḥammad Ḥasan of Sambhal (1305 A.H.); (9) Marginal notes on التعليق المحمود by Maulānā Fakhr'ul Hasan of Gangoh; (10) آثار السنن along with its marginal notes التعليق الحسن which support Hanafi laws in the light of the Ḥadīth, by Maulānā Zāhīr Ḥasan Shauq Nimvi (1322 A.H.); (11) النفع الشدي and الكواكب الدرري which are discourses on the various aspects of Ḥadīth, by Maulana Rashid Aḥmad of Gangoh; (12) Marginal notes on عظمة وحى- ابو داود which is a commentary of بدء الوحي and explanatory notes on some chapters of Bukhari by Maulānā Maḥmūd Ḥasan of Deoband (1339 A.H.); (13) سنن ابي داود which is a commentary (in five volumes) of بدل المجهود by Maulānā Khalil Aḥmad of Sahāranpur; (14) فيض الباري (discourses on Bukhari in four volumes, printed in Egypt), العرف الشدي (elucidation of Tirmidhi in two volumes); commentary of ابو داود in two volumes, explanatory notes on سنن ابن ماجه and several booklets, viz., رفع اليدين and قراءة فاتحه خلف الامام، صلوة الوتر by Maulānā Sayyid Anwar Shāh of Kashmere (1354 A.H.); (15) السبعة السياره (biographical notices of some traditionists), marginal notes on Tirmidhi), التعريف نا حاديث التصوف and الثواب لحي, التعرف احياء السنن وجامع الاثار وتايع الاثار, a collection of forty verses of Ḥadīth, احياء السنن وجامع الاثار (a discourse on mysticism in the light of Ḥadīth), and اعلام السنن in twenty volumes (dealing with the laws and the dogmas of the Ḥanafites in the light of Ḥadīth) by Ḥakīm-ul-Ummat Maulānā Ashraf 'Alī Thanvi (died in 1362 A.H.); (16) فتح الملهم في شرح صحيح المسلم (elucidations of Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim) by Maulānā Shabbīr Aḥmad, Professor in Ḥadīth, Dabhl; (17) اوجز المسالك في شرح الموطا المالك (explanatory notes on Imām Mālik's موطا) by Maulānā Muḥammad Zakriya; مشكوة شريف (explanatory notes on التعليق المصباح على مشكوة المصابيح (18) in six volumes by Maulānā Muḥammad Idrīs. It has been printed

in Egypt.

Maulānā Owais Nadvi, in another article of the *Ma'ārif*, has thrown some illuminating sidelights on *Tafsīr Kābīr* which, according to him, was not exclusively the work of Imām Fakhr'uddīn Rāzī, but was collaborated Shams'uddin Khalil of Damascus (died in 637 A.H.), Najm'uddin Qamuli (died in 727 A.H.) and other scholars whose names should be traced. The cataloguer of the Khadieviah Library, Egypt, on the authority of Khafaji's *Shafā'* (شفاه), says that Imām Rāzī wrote the *Tafsīr* till سورة الانبياء; Maulānā Shibli No'amānī, the well-known Urdu scholar, is of opinion that the Imam compiled it till سورة الفتح. The writer of the above article differs from these views and asserts that the internal evidences prove that some parts of the *Tafsīr* preceding سورة الفتح were not written by the Imām. For example, in the *Tafsīr* of سورة يسين there occur the following lines

واستحسنه فخرالدين الرازى رحمه الله سمعته يترجم عليه بسبب هذا الكلام

(and Imām Rāzī liked this, and for Imām Ghazzālī's point, I found Rāzī praying for him). This shows that these lines were written by a person other than Imām Rāzī. The writer adds further that after the *Tafsīr* of سورة يسين there are mentioned dates and the Imam's name after the *Tafsīr* of the different Surahs has been completed. This shows that the Imam did not write the *Tafsīr* continuously, but wrote it in parts and the incomplete parts were completed by his collaborators whose names could be gathered after a deep study of the *Tafsīr*. For example, in Surah ق in the course of the *Tafsīr* of the verse وما انا بظلام للعبيد there has been mentioned the name of a contemporary scholar, Imām Zainuddīn, whose identity has not yet been known. If the accounts of the scholars referred to in the *Tafsīr* are known, their respective collaborations might then be easily discriminated. The writer of the above article has given in the end a list of Imām Rāzī's different works on *Tafsīr* which are not so generally known, viz., (1) تفسير سورة فاتحه which according to the author of مفتاح العلوم was in two volumes, and entitled كشف الظنون; (2) تفسير سورة بقره The author of طبقات الاطباء is of opinion that. تفسير سورة بقره and تفسير سورة بقره were, besides the تفسير كبير two different works of Imām Rāzī; (3) تفسير صغير is also known as اسرار التنزيل وانوار التاويل a copy of which is in the Oriental Library, Patna. This has been referred to in the كشف الظنون and Abul-Wafa Nāṣir Horaini was greatly profited by this treatise in his *Tafsīr* of سورة ملك. But this treatise can better be called a work on scholasticism; (4) رسالة التنبيه على بعض الاسرار المودعة في بعض سور القرآن العظيم has been mentioned in طبقات الاطباء; (5) درة التنزيل وغرة التاويل referred

to in كشف الظنون and a copy of which is in the Khadieviah Library, Egypt; although it is doubtful whether the book is of Imām Rāzī or of Abu-'Abdullah Muḥammad bin 'Abdullāh al-Khaṭīb Askafī, one of whose works bears the same title.

Another article by Maulānā 'Abdus-Salām Nadvī deals with the life and works of Muwaffaqu'ddīn 'Abdul-Latif who was born at Baghdad in 557 A.H. and died there in 629 A.H. He was one of the versatile Arab scholars and prolific writers. His numerous works, which are enumerated by Ibn Abi-Uṣaibi'a in two and a half pages, cover almost the whole domain of knowledge of those days. In Europe he became known principally with the help of a short description of Egypt which was translated into Latin, German, and French. According to the writer of the above article, Muwaffaqu'ddīn 'Abdul-Latif's criticisms on the philosophical thoughts of Aristotle and Avicenna are as commendable as those of Imām Rāzī, Ghazzālī, and Abul-Barakāt Baghdādī.

In an answer to a query, the above journal has given clue to the various works of Quṭbuddīn Shirāzī, preserved in different libraries of the world. Quṭbuddīn Shirāzī was born in 634 A.H. at Shirāz and died at Tabrīz in 710 A.H. He belonged to a family of distinguished physicians, and was not only a prominent medical man, but grew highly popular by his writings on astronomy, philosophy and the treatment of religious problems. He was regarded as the most favourite pupil of Nāṣiruddīn Ṭūsī. His works as referred to in the *Ma'ārif* are the following: (1) نهاية الادراك في رواية الافلاك which contains four discourses in Arabic on astronomy. Its manuscript is preserved in the Khadieviah Library, Egypt, and Madrasa Sipah Salar, Teheran; (2) التحفة الشاهيه which is an account of Arabic cosmography with mathematical calculations (3) شرح حكمة الاشراق is a commentary on Suhrawardī's *Hikmat-al-Ishrāq*. It was printed at Teheran in 1315 A.H.; (4) مفتاح المفتاح is a commentary of Sakkakī's encyclopædic work. This was the first commentary of the latter's abstruse book, and has been regarded by Ḥājī Khalīfā as one of the best commentaries of مفتاح. Preserved in the Dār-ul-Kutub, Egypt, and Madrasa Sipah Salar, Teheran; (5) التحفة السعديه also known as Kuliyyāt is the first theoretical part of Avicenna's *Qānūn*. Shihābuddīn's التحفة السعديه is reckoned as the most exhaustive commentary of *Kulliyāt*. This was dedicated to Muḥammad Sa'du'ddīn, Aḥmad Khān's Vizier, and preserved in Madrasa Sipah Salar, Teheran; (6) شرح مختصر الاصول ابن حاجب which has been referred to in the preceding two books; (7) فتح المنان في تفسير القرآن is a *Tafsīr* of the Holy Qur'ān in forty volumes. Its first volume is preserved in the Khadieviah Library, Egypt; (8) A commentary of Zamakhsharī's الكشف لاحتياق التنزيل

(9) حاشيه برحكمة العين marginal notes on Najmuddīn Qazwīnī's book رساله في بيان الحاله الى (10) , and has already been printed ; (10) الطب وآداب الاطباء is a treatise on medicine, a copy of which is in the Khadieviah Library, Egypt. It was transcribed in 913 A.H. ; (11) درة التاج لغرة الدياج is an encyclopædia of philosophical sciences written after the model of Avicenna's كتاب الشفاء. It was written at the instance of Amīr Debaj bin Feel Shāh, between 693 and 705 A.H. and has been printed. Other works of Qutbuddīn Shirāzī mentioned in the *Encyclopædia of Islam* may be supplemented here, viz. : (1) شرح تذكرة (2) الناصريه (on the motion of rolling and the connection between the straight and the crooked). This is an appendix to the *Nihāya*, mentioned above, (3) في الهيئة (4) تبصره في الهيئة (5) كتاب فعلت فلانتم which means work on astronomy ; 'I have composed it, but blame it not,' (5) A commentary of Avicenna's *Urjuza*.

The Shibli Academy, A'zamgarh, has produced the third volume of the History of Islam, which consists of the chronicles of the 'Abbasid dynasty from Abul-'Abbas-Saffāh (132 A.H.) to Abū-Ishāq Muttaqī-billāh (333 A.H.). The book, consisting of 447 pages, is a storehouse of facts arranged in a picturesque and vigorous style. The career and character of the different rulers of the dynasty have been studied with admirable frankness and discrimination, and the whole narrative is uniformly marked by precision, clearness and grasp, leaving upon the minds of the readers a very vivid and complete impression of the period. This volume will be followed by a survey of the period beginning from the reign of Mustakfi-billāh till the rise of the Būyids. The literary and cultural achievements of the 'Abbasid will be treated at length in a separate volume.

The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society has, in its issue of March 1944, given prominence to a rare manuscript, *Tuhfat-us-Salāṭīn*, dated 950 A.H. (1543 A.D.) transcribed by the illustrious calligraphist Amīr 'Alī and bearing the autographs of Jahāngīr and Shāhjahān with their chronograms on its fly-leaf. It contains the selected verses of Amīr Shāhi, who was a reputed poet, eminent calligraphist and excellent painter and musician, and enjoyed the patronage of the accomplished and learned prince Baisanghar, son of Mirza Shāh Rukh of Kurasan. Humāyūn got this manuscript as a present in Persia, and this was treasured in the Imperial Library of his successors till it was sent in Shāh 'Ālam's reign to Murshidabad with other valuables of the Imperial Library for safe custody with the then Nawab of Murshidabad, who was the Emperor's Viceroy in Bengal. It remained there for about a century and a quarter when Mr. P. C. Manuck, Bar.-at-law of Patna, obtained it some years back at Calcutta from a scion of the ruling family of Murshidabad. The manuscript is written in beautiful, clear Nasta'liq in panels of elegant narrow dimension.

Each title panel contains a single line of verse and three such panels are side by side in one horizontal line, but the last page of the manuscript contains only two such panels. The three lines with these three small panels make one and a half verses. Then above and below each set of the three small panels there are single letters in large bold and firm Nasta'liq style. Each folio has illuminated borders in flowers of gold on buff or pale or blue ground. The penmanship in the large writing with its bold and firm sweeps is exquisite and displays the masterhand of consummate skill of calligraphy in Nasta'liq. Shāhjahān cherished it as a precious gift and called it *Tuhfat-us-Salāṭīn*.

Another article of the above journal deals with some aspects of Qutb Shāhi administration of Golconda with special reference to the duties and responsibilities attached to the officers of the Peshwa, Mīr Jumla, Sar-i-Khail, and Havaladar of Masulipatam. The officers mentioned specifically are Maṣṣūr Khān Ḥabshi (1926-28), Shaikh Muḥammad (1334) and Mīr Muḥammad Sa'īd.

The original illustrated manuscript of the Persian translation of the famous Sanskrit work *Harivamsha* was exhibited by Professor Maḥfūzul-Haque of the Presidency College, Calcutta, at a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal held on the 7th August 1944. Professor Maḥfuzul-Haque, in describing the Persian version said, "The translation was undertaken at the instance of the Emperor Akbar about 1585 and on its completion it was illustrated by the talented painters of the Royal Studio. The manuscript is a fine specimen of Nasta'liq calligraphy and contains about a dozen paintings in excellent Moghul style."

Professor M. Ishaque of the Calcutta University has made an interesting study of Minuchihi in the *Indian Culture* of July-September 1943 (Calcutta) in which he has elucidated the following points. Daulat Shāh in his *Tadhkirah* has given the soubriquet 'Shast Kuleh' to Minuchihi and subsequent writers following him have also affixed it to his name. But this nickname has nothing to do with him. It rather belongs to another poet Shamsuddīn Aḥmad ibn Minuchihi of whom no reference is made in any other work except in *Rāḥat-uṣ-Ṣudur wa Āyāt-us-Surūr* by Najumuddīn 'Alī Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Alī Rawandī wherein his name has been mentioned as Amīr-ush-Shu'ara wa Safīr-ul-Kūbara Shamsuddīn Aḥmad ibn Minuchihi Shast Kuleh. He flourished more than a century after Minuchihi and lived during the rule of Seljuq Sultān Tughrīl ibn Arsalan (571-590 A.H.). Again, the view that Minuchihi has written any panegyric on Sultān Maḥmūd and his son Muḥammad of Ghazna is erroneous, for the poet never came from Gujran and Tabaristan to Ghazna previous to the rule of Mas'ūd, and accordingly there is no panegyric either on Sultān Maḥmūd or on Sultān Muḥammad in his *Diwān*. Again, it is also incorrect to say that Minuchihi sang the praise of Aḥmad ibn Hasan Maimandī who died in 424 A.H., while Minuchihi came to Sultān Mas'ūd's court in 426-27 A.H. He certainly

wrote Qaṣīdas on Khwāja 'Abdul-Hamīd Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abdus-Samād who, after the death of Aḥmad ibn Ḥasan Maimandi, became Sulṭān Mas'ūd's minister in 425 A.H. and continued to be so even during the rule of Maudūd ibn Mas'ūd (433-44 A.H.). Again, the author of *Khulāṣat-ul-Afkar* says that Minuchiḥiri was a pupil of Abu'l-Faraj Sikzi. But this view is also erroneous. Abu'l-Faraj Sikzi or Simjuri flourished towards the end of the fourth century when Minuchiḥiri was a mere child. The author of *Majma'-ul-Fuṣaḥa* writes that Minuchiḥiri was 'Unṣuri's pupil. This is also a mistake which has arisen from the fact that Minuchiḥiri, in his Qaṣīda composed in the metaphor of a candle, has mentioned 'Unṣuri' as Ustād (Master). Obviously he paid this compliment to 'Unṣuri' as a mark of respect for acquiring his favour, for when he (Minuchiḥiri) was introduced to 'Unṣuri' at the court of Ghazna, the former had already become a famous poet. Again, some of the poems and verses ascribed to Minuchiḥiri in the different editions of his *Dīwān* lithographed in Teheran, as well as found in various works, are spurious.

The aforementioned journal publishes another article under the caption 'Sovereignty in Early Muslim India' by S. K. Banerje. This is exclusively a study of Sulṭān Iltutmish's kingship, which has thus been summed up; Iltutmish's kingship was the choice of the nobles and he was expected to stop the disintegration of the kingdom that had set in owing to the disorder in Ārām Shāh's reign. The expectation was fulfilled by the recovery of Sindh and Bengal. Iltutmish knit the kingdom well by disposing of his rivals and crushing the disobedient Hindu or Muslim chiefs. Amongst the latter he made no distinction between the Mu'izi or Quṭbi nobles and those who had no such distinction. He was a generous and stern ruler. His policy towards the Hindus was marked by a mixture of firmness and conciliation. He subdued many of them in North India and Malwa but allowed their chiefs to have a local importance on condition of acknowledging his suzerainty. Similarly, he acknowledged the Hindu practices by imitating their decorations in his buildings or their symbols on coins. His greatest achievement was the establishment of the Shamsi order of the forty nobles who formed the cream of his civil and military services. His kingship was recognised by the Khalifa who was in theory the head of the Muslim world. Out of a reverence to the Khalifa he called himself the Sulṭān of the East. He ignored the Persian and Turkish princes, and even challenged them by assuming the title 'Master of the Kings of Persia and Turkistan.'

S. S.

NORTH-WESTERN INDIA

New Publications.

Maulānā Muḥammad 'Alī, President of the Aḥmadiya Anjuman Ishā'at Islam, Lahore, is presumably already known to our readers as

the author of several standard works on the religion and history of Islam and as the first Muslim savant to translate the Qur'ān into a Western language. His great devotion to Islam has enabled him, at his present advanced age, to produce yet another work of interest and importance, viz., *A Manual of Ḥadīth*. It is a collection of the Traditions of the Prophet, arranged according to their subjects, such as Imān (faith), Revelation, Prayer, Alms, Fasting, Jihād, Marriage, Gifts, Wills and Inheritance, Foods and Drinks, etc. It is in fact a Compendium of *Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī*, which comprises all those Traditions which have a bearing upon the practical side of Islam. In order to make the treatise complete in this respect, the compiler has also drawn upon from other collections of Ḥadīth, especially the *Mishkāt*. The Arabic text of the Traditions and their English translation are given in parallel columns on the same page. The translation combines the qualities of accuracy, clarity and readability into a high degree. The general get-up of the book is elegant; and its moderate price of Rs. 10 should place it within the reach of a large number of readers. Like other works of the Maulānā, this can be had from the Ahmadiya Anjuman Ishā'at Islam, Brandreth Road, Lahore.

Maulāna Muḥammad 'Alī has also recently published a booklet under the title of *The New World Order*. In this small book the learned author has tried to offer a solution for the various evils from which humanity is suffering these days. He takes the various social and economic problems with which mankind is confronted at present and discusses the solution which Islam offers in each case. The Islamic doctrines are, of course, all derived from the Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth; and they have been set forth with the author's proverbial learning and lucidity of exposition. The appearance of this booklet is very opportune in the present time of universal post-war planning, and we feel no hesitation in saying that the veteran Maulānā has rendered a distinct service by calling attention to a number of characteristic Islamic doctrines which have operated as civilising forces in the past and which are still capable of acting as powerful regenerative factors in the uplift of humanity.

The Publishing House of Shaikh Muḥammad Ashraf of Lahore has brought out several new books in recent months. A few years ago, that keen student of modern Islam and Arabic scholar of great repute, Amīr Shakīb Aarsalān, tried to diagnose the political and social decay of the contemporary Muslim world in an essay, entitled *لماذا تأخر المسلمون*. It has now been put into English by Mr. M. A. Shakoor, M. A. (Alig.), and has been published in the form of a decent booklet. It deals with a problem of fundamental importance for the Muslims which the author has discussed with a rare penetrative insight. He has studied the political situation in the Arabic world in particular at close quarters; and, therefore, his thoughtful and instructive book should be read by every serious person who wants to understand the causes of the decline of the Muslims or is interested in their reform and regeneration.

The other recent publications of Shaikh Muḥammad Ashraf deal with the various aspects of the thoughts of Iqbal. *Iqbal : His Art and Thought*, by Syed 'Abdul-Vāhid, B.A. (Oxon.) of Hyderabad. The chief reason for publishing it has been the author's genuine desire in helping others to be able to understand Iqbal. In the opinion of the author, the contemporary sources of information about the personality and philosophy of Iqbal are fast disappearing, and every effort should therefore be made to utilize them while they are still available. The author further feels that the study of Iqbal has been a source of great spiritual strength to him, and he hopes that the readers of his study might experience a similar uplifting influence. The book has been printed at the Government Central Press, Hyderabad, and its pleasing get-up is in keeping with the best traditions of its tasteful workmanship.

Even the letters of Iqbal possess a unique value for understanding his personality and thought. Sh. Muḥammad Ashraf has acquired by collecting about three hundred letters which Iqbal wrote on different occasions to a number of eminent scholars and men of affairs in India, and has published them under the title of مکتوبات اقبال. This collection includes those addressed to Syed Sulaimān Nadwi, Sir Ross Mas'ūd, M. 'Abdul-Mājid Daryābādī, Dr. Syed Zafar-ul-Ḥasan, M. Akbar Shāh Najibābādī, etc. They are written in a simple, direct and natural style, and are free from conventional formality. In his letters Iqbal reveals himself with frankness and touches on many and varied subjects of absorbing interest with illuminating effect.

The Iqbal Academy of Lahore is doing much useful work by popularising the study of Iqbal's works. An Urdu translation of his *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* is being published serially in the monthly periodical of the Academy, called *Paighām-i-Haqq*. The Academy has recently published a number of other useful books and pamphlets in Urdu, viz., A Commentary by Mr. M. Yūsuf Khān Salīm, B. A., on Iqbal's *Asrār-i-Khudī*; *Ta'limāt Iqbāl*, a set of contributions on the teachings of Iqbal from various authors; *Iqbāl ka Taṣawwur-i-Zamān-o-Makān* or Iqbal's Conception of Time and Space by Dr. Raḍi-ud-Dīn of the Osmania University; *Iqbal ke Chand Jawāhir Rēzay*, in which Khwāja 'Abdul-Ḥamid of the Government College, Lahore, has given his personal impressions of Iqbal; *Mawt-o-Ḥayāt Iqbāl ke Kalām men* by Dr. Raḍi-ud-Dīn; *Haqīqat-i-Nifāq* by M. Ṣadr-ud-Dīn Iṣlāhī; *Ifādāt-i-Shāh Wali-Ullāh* by the same author; *Ishtirākiyat aur Islām* by M. Muḥammad Maḥzar-ud-Dīn Siddiqī; *Muḥammad 'Abduh*, an Urdu translation by the same author of the chapter from Charles Adam's book, *Islam and Modernism in Egypt*, dealing with that great Muslim divine; *Hamārē Hindustāni Musulmān*, an Urdu translation by Dr. Ṣādiq Husain of W. W. Hunter's famous work, *Our Indian Muslims*; and *al-Munabbihāt 'ala-l-Istī'dād-li-Yaum il Ma'ād*, a collection of the sayings

of the Prophet compiled by Hāfiẓ Ibn Hajar. This edition of the work is intended to serve as a reading book for the use of students.

Dr. Burhān Ahmad Siddiqi of the Islamia College, Jullundar, has prepared, and published through the Urdu Bookstall, Lahore, an Urdu version of his English work, *Mujaddid's Conception of Tauḥīd*.

Sh. I.

NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

IQBAL, HIS ART AND THOUGHT,
by Syed 'Abdul-Vāhid; published by
Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, Kashmiri
Bazar, Lahore; Crown Octavo, XV
+ 265 pp. with two plates; price Rs. 6.

IN this volume Mr. S. A. Vāhid has studied the various aspects of Iqbal's poetry, and placed him in line with the greatest poets whom the world ever produced, such as Homer, Kālidās, Jalāl-u'd-Dīn Rūmī, Dante, Shakespeare, Milton and Goethe. This judgement may be regarded as premature because Iqbal died only six years ago and his poetry has still to undergo the stern test of time. There is no doubt, however, that Iqbal's verse for deep philosophical thought and forceful expression gained recognition in Europe and other parts of the world during the poet's lifetime, and he was hailed as one of the greatest poet-philosophers of Asia. Iqbal's 'philosophy of ego' so vigorously inculcated in his poems, particularly in *Asrār-i-Khudī* and *Rumūz-i-Bekhudī*—the former most ably translated into English by Prof. R. A. Nicholson, impressed the Western savant as a novel interpretation of the doctrine of Islam in contrast to the pantheistic and fatalistic teachings of the divines of that faith in the Middle Ages. The poet was an ardent student of Jalāl-u'd-Dīn Rūmī from the beginning, his thesis for the doctorate also comprised a study of Maulānā Rūmī's *Mathnawī*, and it is most probable that such verses as :—

بہ زیر کنگرہ کبریاش مردانند
فرشتہ صید و پیمبر شکار و یزدان گیر

"Below the turret of His Grandeur are
men,
Capturing angels, hunting apostles
and fettering divinities "

would have inspired him with the dynamic potentiality of self; and subsequently his philosophic mind worked out the theme in the light of the tenets of Islam as taught by the Holy Qur'ān. Iqbal possessed a versatile genius, and side by side with his poetic and philosophic talents he had a keen insight into the practical phases of life and accordingly his frequent emphasis on 'ceaseless action,' contentment and sympathy with fellow human beings all pointed out the way how the general disintegration and deterioration prevalent among the Muslims at present may be prevented, and a healthy and perfect community (Ummat) evolved from the chaos. Mr. Vāhid has most ably discussed all these points in his book and given quotations from Iqbal's poems to elucidate his views. For example, on pp. 124-25 he has reproduced the following lines by Iqbal regarding the Ideal Man :—

ہاتھ ہے اللہ کا بندہ مومن کا ہاتھ
غالب و کارآفرین کارکشاکار ساز
خاکی و بوری نہاد بندہ مولا صفات
ہر دو جہان سے غنی اس کا دل بی نیاز
اس کی امیدیں قلیل اس کے مقاصد کثیر
اس کی ادا دقتیں اس کی نگاہ دنواں
نرم دم گفتگو گرم دم جسٹجو
رزم ہو یا بزم ہو پاک دل و پاک باز

Translation

A Mo'min's arm is really God's arm—
Dominant, creative, resourceful, efficient.
Human but like angels in disposition;
a servant with the master's attributes;
His carefree heart not worried about
either world.

His hopes are small, his aims great,
His manners captivating, his eyes charming.

Gentle in speech, fierce in action;
In war or in friendly assemblies pure of
heart and noble of disposition.

And again in Persian the poet writes
(pp. 148-49):—

آن هرمدی که بر فطرت فرود
راز خود را بر نگاه ما کشود
آفرید کائنات دیگری
قلب را بخشد حیات دیگری

Translation

The skilful master improves upon
nature,

And reveals his secret to our gaze!

He creates a new world—

And gives a new life to our being!

Iqbal's philosophy is based on the
thought of both Western sages and
Eastern seers to which he has referred in
the following verse (p. 191):—

خرد افروزد مرا دوس حکیمان فرنگ
سینه افروخت مرا صحبت صاحب نظران

Translation

The teaching of the Western sages
added to my knowledge,

Association with the Eastern seers has
imparted a fervent glow to my heart.

Mr. Vāhid has devoted a separate
chapter to the subject, *Iqbal as a Lyrical
Poet* (pp. 184-209), and quoted lines from
his different poems to illustrate the charm
of his ideas and exquisite expression,
for example,

کبھی اے حقیقت منظر، نظر آ لباس محاز من
کہ ہزاروں سجدے تڑپ رہے ہیں مری جوہن نیاز من

For once O awaited Reality reveal
Thyself in a form material,

For a thousand prostrations are quiver-
ing eagerly in my submissive brow.

or

این حرف نشاط آور می گویم و می رقصم
از عشق دل آساید با این همه بینایی

Translation

I utter this mirth-giving phrase and
dance with glee,

From Love the heart receives solace in
spite of all restlessness.

None can deny the lyrical element in
Iqbal's verse, but, as philosophical ideas
predominate in all that he has composed
or sung, the present age and perhaps
also the posterity are likely to class
him as a philosopher-poet. Iqbal him-
self has given his own opinion in one
of his lines wherein he writes that he
should not be taken for a *Ghazal Khwān*,
a lyrical poet.

A student of Persian poetry may notice
the influence of Qa'āni in the cadence and
diction of Iqbal's verse; similarly some
scholars may perceive 'clear reflections'
of the fine imagery of the mystic poets in
lines like the following by Iqbal:—

ای زاهد ظاهر بین گیرم کہ خودی فانی است

لیکن تو بھی بینی طوفان بہ حجاب اندر

which is reminiscent of the well-known
verse of Hadrat Navir-u'd-Din Chirāgh
Dihlavi. The late Prof. E. G. Browne
and in his wake some Indian scholars also
have traced some affinity between the
writings of the German philosopher
Nietzsche and Iqbal, which may be
true in regard to minor detail, but the
monotheistic philosophy of Iqbal is
essentially different from the atheistic
doctrine of eternal recurrence of Niet-
zsche. The Holy Qur'ān, as interpreted
during the early centuries of Islam, forms
the basis of Iqbal's philosophy, and all
the force, love of truth and fraternal
feelings which make the prominent fea-
tures of Iqbal's writing are derived from
the same source.

Mr. Vāhid's style is clear and simple,
free from pedantry; and the volume
should be welcomed not only by the
admirers of Iqbal but by all those who
are interested in the progress of Eastern
thought.

G. Y.

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT AND THE ISLAMIC STATE by Ilyās Aḥmad ; Urdu Publishing House, Allahabad, 1944 ; Royal 8vo. pp, 190; price Rs. 3.

IT is only recently that the attention of political scientists has been drawn to the mass of original political thought contained in the works of Muslim writers and an attempt is being made to bridge the gulf which seems to exist between the classical and mediæval epoch of European history. But this is only an aspect of the case. We are fully conscious of the great debt which the so-called European civilization owes to Islam in all branches of science and arts of war and peace, but an attempt to estimate that debt in the field of political thought has still to be undertaken. A great wave of Islamic culture swept over the West for seven hundred years beginning with the eighth century A.C., and the Muslims continued to influence the life of the West directly right up till September 1609, when Phillip III of Spain decreed their final expulsion from Spain ; while another wave of Turko-Muslim culture was spreading into Central Europe with its plume in the great siege of Vienna in September, 1529.

Thus, right from the beginning of the Islamic era Europe had the closest possible connection with all aspects of Muslim thought, and it is unthinkable that Islamic political thought had no influence on the West. Hobbes lived from 1588 to 1679 and published his work the *Leviathan* in 1651 ; Locke lived from 1632 to 1704 and his treatises on Civil Government are dated 1689 ; while Rousseau was born in 1712 and died in 1778 and it was at the age of 40 that his works began to see the light. These three great political thinkers of the West have made social contract the pivot of their political thought. The chain began just when the lustre of Islamic rule in the West had begun to dim while in the East it was still in the heyday of its glory.

Mr. Ilyās Aḥmad has attempted, at times convincingly, to give an estimate of the effect of the knowledge of history of early Islam on the political thinkers who propounded the theory of Social

Contract. There are people who try to judge the development of Islamic thought from the point of view of the ideas of the twentieth century ; but what Mr. Ilyās Aḥmad does is to show that the European writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries borrowed their ideas at least partly from the way they understood the unravelling of early Islam. He contends that the State of Nature, as propounded by the later writers is nothing else than the 'Aḥdu'l-Jāhiliyat or the wild days of pre-Islam when there was neither law in the land of Arabia nor any superior to issue commands which might be obeyed. The whole country was full of internecine feuds where wars were the rule and there was not any peace worth the name. We may not agree with the author when he says that this was akin to the State of War which, according to Hobbes, existed in what may be termed the pre-State, for, while according to Hobbes "every man was an enemy to every man" in the pre-State, in Arabia before Islam it was the case of desultory though protracted and sanguinary quarrels between certain tribes, bred out of their exaggerated sense of self-respect and pride. The author seems to stretch his reasoning a little too far when he says that the second great pledge of Aqabah was the basis of the Hobbesian sovereign, for then also the Prophet "promised nothing" and thus perhaps appeared to Hobbes an autocrat. This is not so. The whole basis of the moral and political society created by Islam was two-fold : the supremacy of the Divine Law which controlled the actions of the Apostle of Islam and the ordinary Muslim alike, and the promise of the highest elevation of the individual in this life and the Hereafter if he joined that society. This is, of course, not what happens on the institution of the sovereign according to Hobbes, for the sovereign *there is above the law* and all that he promises is peace, which is regarded as the end, not the means, towards something else.

It is not so much Hobbes as the author of *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos* whose arguments run parallel to the second pledge of Aqabah, for according to him the finest contract was between God and

the ruler of the Israelites that they would worship no God but Him and would maintain true religion. The *Vindiciae*, in a way, postulate a law which is superior to the laws propounded by the king himself.

There is one thing which Mr. Ilyās Aḥmad has brought out well in this connection, and that is the principle of Peace represented by the very word "Islām," directly contrasting with the 'Abdu'l-Jāhiliyat or the pre-Islamic days and comparing the same with the pre-State and the commonwealth of Hobbes. But he is far more interesting, at times even convincing, when he comes to Rousseau. Rousseau has always been an enigma to thinkers on political science. In religion he began with Protestantism, became a Catholic, a creed which he later ridiculed in his works, and ended in Deism propounding a civil religion with an omnipotent God. In politics he gives the sovereign power in the hands of the whole community, yet he is explicit that "of themselves the people always desire what is good, but do not always dream it," and that, "individuals see the good which they reject while the public desire the good which they do not see," and again that "the general will is always right, but the judgement which guides it is not always enlightened." It is for this purpose that he wants "light" from a legislator. The office of the legislator as Rousseau discerns it, does not enter into the constitution of the State; it is a "superior office, having nothing in common with human government." And now let us see what Rousseau has to say about this legislator: This superior intelligence would be one "who could see all the passions of men without experiencing any of them; who would have no affinity with our nature and yet know it thoroughly; whose happiness would not depend on us and who would nevertheless be quite willing to interest himself in ours; and, lastly, one who, storing up for himself with the progress of time a far off glory in the future, could labour in one age and enjoy in another." Finally Rousseau exclaims that these attributes could only be those of God Himself.

Mr. Ilyās Aḥmad argues systematically

that the whole conception of the State of nature is taken from the interpretation of pre-Islamic Arabia. There is a point which is in favour of this reading which he has perhaps overlooked and that is the claim of the Qur'ān that Islām is the "Path of Nature" which is unalterable. Everything which did not conform to this was contrary to natural laws governing the peaceful progress of the world and to the well-being of the freedom of the world at large and went against the concepts of equality and fraternity as Islām understood it. It may be that it is this aspect of the question which makes Rousseau say that whoever refuses to obey the general will "shall be forced to be free, i.e.," forced to accept the Path of Nature.

To many it will be regarded as wishful thinking, but there is one thing more than anything else which is conspicuous in the early history of Islām and that is the series of contracts which began in pre-Islamic *Ḥilfu'l-Fuḍūl* (which was a kind of temporary measure meant to end lawlessness at Mecca) and ended in the consolidation of all Arabia under an Islamic banner. The process was slow but almost every step that was taken was that of entering into some contract or other. In Islamic times it began with the two great pacts of 'Aqabah, the contract with the Muslims of Madinah, the contract with the non-Muslims of Madinah, creating what may be called a non-communal composite State, the contract with the people of Mecca after the entry of the Apostle of Islām and finally the contract with the representatives of all Arabia during what is termed the 'Āmu'l-Wufūd or the Year of Delegations. These contracts were, as Mr. Ilyās Aḥmad says, renovated after the death of each Khalifa much as Hobbes delineates in his book with regard to the need for the renovation after the demise of a sovereign.

We are not concerned here so much with Rousseau's religion, which the author says was Islām in disguise, but the fact remains that most of his portraits that exist now happen to be in oriental costume. Moreover, while he rejects the Roman Catholic form of Christianity

as being an "extravagant kind of religion which gives to men two sets of laws, two Chiefs, two countries, imposes on them contradictory duties, and prevents them from being at once devout men and citizens," he considers the society set up under the pure form of the Gospels to be "no longer a society of men." On the other hand, he says quite unequivocally that the Apostle of Islam "had very sound views; he thoroughly unified his political system; and so long as his form of government subsisted under his successors the Khalifa, the government was quite undivided and in that respect good." As we know, Rousseau died a pauper and during the intoxicated height of the French Revolution his bones were dug up, ground, and scattered to the winds!

Mr. Ilyās Aḥmad gives enough food for thought and his book is worth a study. Certain obvious mistakes disfigure the text, such as Uḥad for Uḥud, and Ḥaḍarmaut for Ḥadramaut, but these do not minimise the importance of the thesis.

H. K. S.

THE MEANING OF PAKISTAN,
by F. K. Khān Durrānī; publishers
Shaikh Muḥammad Ashraf, Kashmiri
Bazar, Lahore; price Rs. 4.

THERE is no doubt that Pakistan is today the most controversial problem of Indian political questions, without the proper solution of which the final political salvation of India would not be possible. In this book Mr. F. K. Khān Durrānī has tried to clarify the issue in the light of his own ideas some of which might be disputed.

Every student of Mediaeval India knows that communal alienation was not a feature of those days. During the Mughal rule Hindus and Muslims lived quite amicably together as friends and neighbours, and even shared one another's joys and sorrows. Now the real question to be inquired into is: what the factors are to have upset the amicable

relations between the members of the two communities? The author is right when he says that the aggressive racial nationalism of the European pattern which some people in India have lately developed has led us to inter-communal hatred. Hindus claim the right of majority rule in the country which Muslims dispute. They cannot agree to a permanent majority rule in such a heterogeneous society as that of India. According to them the principle of majority rule presupposes particular political and social conditions which unfortunately do not exist in India.

The late Sir Muḥammad Iqbal first expounded this idea in his Presidential Address delivered at the Allahabad Session of the All-India Muslim League in December 1930. He said:—"Experience, however, shows that the various caste units and religious units in India have shown no inclination to sink their respective individualities in a larger whole. Each group is intensely jealous of its collective existence. The formation of the moral consciousness which constitutes the essence of a nation in Renan's sense demands a price which the peoples of India are not prepared to pay. The unity of an Indian nation, therefore, must be sought, not in the negation, but in the mutual harmony and co-operation of the many."

To achieve the ideal of mutual harmony and co-operation under such conditions, centralised unitary Government or a federation would not help much. On the contrary such a scheme should be evolved as would afford the various component elements of the population of India chances of fully working out the possibilities that may be latent in them.

Sir Muḥammad Iqbal was confident of the future prospects of the political life of the countrymen when he said, "Perhaps we are unwilling to recognise that each group has a right to free development according to its own cultural traditions. But whatever may be the causes of our failure, I still feel hopeful. Events seem to be tending in the direction of some sort of internal harmony. I have no hesitation in declaring that,

if the principle that the Indian Muslim is entitled to full and free development on the lines of his own culture and tradition in his own Indian homelands is recognised as the basis of a permanent communal settlement, he will be ready to stake his all for the freedom of India." (p. 207).

To make the self-determination of the Muslim units really effective, it would be necessary to bring into existence a loose confederation from which these units might secede at will or divide India into several full-fledged sovereign States which might contract a treaty for subjects of common concern as currency, trade, railways and even defence.

We are surprised to find that Mr. Durrānī, being vehemently against aggressive nationalism of the Hindus, wants the Muslims to adopt the same blatant attitude by asking them to reconquer the whole of India for Islam (p. x). This is pure and simple jingoism which, if followed, will lead to inter-communal hatred of the worst kind. But there is hardly any need to dwell upon this in detail, for the Muslims have invariably followed their human and generous instinct in such situations, which has invariably stood them in good stead.

Y. H.

"MODERN PERSIAN POETRY" by Dr. Md. Ishāq, pp. xix+226, size Demy 8vo printed at Ripon Printing Press, Lahore; can be had of M. Israil, Esq., 159-B, Dharamtala Street, Calcutta; price Rs. 15.

CONTENTS:—An excellent foreword by the Hon'ble Dr. Sir Nawab Mahdi Yar Jung Bahadur, Education Member, H.E.H. the Nizam's Executive Council, with seven chapters dealing with the birth of modern poetry, poets, language, metres, verse-forms, themes, and containing conclusion, bibliography and index.

Ever since the publication of the first and the second part of the *Sukhunarān-i-Iran dar 'Aṣr-i-Hāqir* compiled by

Dr. Md. Ishāq, it was expected that the author would bring out a critical review of the modern tendencies of Persian poetry as a whole and assess the real value of this transitory period of Persian literature and particularly poetry, which had undergone a great change in its subject-matter and treatment as a result of the various influences that have been enumerated by the author in his first chapter, the Birth.

It is to be seen whether it is entirely a new kind or form of poetry or its peculiar phase under the pressure of circumstances. Birth would mean something entirely new, creative, original and unprecedented. According to the author, "there are no Firdausis or Sa'dis, but the distinctive feature of most of them is definite individuality which will secure to them a sure place in modern pantheon." The question is whether the modern pantheon reflects anything beyond national patriotism or political lore. Is there any higher philosophy or idealism behind all this national fervour which may be termed as universal poetry, having an appeal for all times and a message for humanity in general? The Hon'ble Dr. Sir Nawab Mahdi Yar Jung Bahadur has struck the keynote in his brilliant preface by asking a plain question: what is the real value of this transitory production as literature? In the long list of poets that is given in the second chapter, one finds only a few names which deserve an honourable seat in the pantheon. Although their characteristic features have been pointed out in brief, the essence of their poetic imagination has not been analysed to show their superiority as artists and creators of modern thought and idealism in Persian literature. Their chronological and geographical classification does not lead the reader to the depth of their minds. Perhaps the author thinks that time alone will pass judgement on the individual merits of the galaxy of the modern poets. The author has undoubtedly dealt with their meters and verse-forms, themes and peculiarities in a capable manner with a number of examples. Aqā Jamalzadeh, in his preface to the first part of the *Sukhunarān-*

i-Iran dar 'Asr-i-Hādir has briefly pointed out that modern Persian poets can be classified into three or four distinct categories:

(1) The Conservatives or the blind imitators of the classical school, (2) the Radicalists or the ultra-modernists, who, in their zeal for reform and national sentiment, are condemning the old literature. These two are the extreme sections of modern Persian poets; the former is dwindling, while the latter is trying to reach the Parnassus of Persian poetry with great effort but little achievement.

There is another division of Persian poets who are observing the *via media* in Persian poetry, who know the real wealth of classical literature and are well-versed in it, and are conscious of its shortcomings and are fully alive to the necessities of modern times. This school of moderates, according to his opinion, is the hope of future Iran. While the fourth, the mushroom class of poets are doomed to destruction.

The author himself has expressed a similar opinion by saying that Persian letters during the past millennium had attained very high stages of perfection and classicism, and this solid fortress could not be stormed by Western influences without a thorough preparation. If from the question of standards, one turns to contents and forms of modern Persian poetry, one has to admit that the new tendencies have revolutionised Persian

poetry, and the apostles of the modern movement have enlarged the sphere of poetry by introducing new themes into it. The new movement has liberated Persian poetry from the fetters of conventionalism and artificiality. It can be identified with the endeavour of the Persian nation to create and mould the whole environment, natural, social and cultural for the progressive realization of individual and national freedom. This modern period with all its redeeming features and drawbacks is a period of formation of "Romanticism" which may lead to great results in future.

This short survey of modern Persian poetry provides ample material along with the texts of the two volumes of the *Sukhunwarān-i-Iran, the Adabiyāt-i-Ma'asir* of Rashid-i-Yasimi and other later publications, for the study of modern Iran not only in the field of literature but also in sociology. It forms a good complement to the "*Modern Iran*", a brilliant and well-balanced account of the activities of the pre-war government of Iran by Mr. Elwell Sutton. We welcome the publication of *Modern Persian Poetry* and expect that it will receive a very warm reception from the hands of those who want to know Persia or the modern Persian thought intimately and through first-hand sources. The author is to be congratulated on the get-up and publication of this book in such difficult times.

M. N.

BOOKS RECEIVED

1. Indian Young Muslim Union's organ "*The Crescent*" has been as usual published in September 1944 and it contains articles in three languages, i.e., English, Gujarati and Urdu. The English section of the Magazine comprises the following papers which are worth reading:

i. *Safeguard for Muslims in the Post-War Reconstruction of Education in India* by Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad.

ii. *The Cult of Sufis*—by Nawab Sir Ahmad Hussain, Amin Jung Bahadur.

iii. *The Islamic Conception of a Gentleman*—by Dr. M. A. Mu'id Khan.

iv. *Prophet Mohammad*—by Sir Mohammad Yamin Khan.

- v. *An Important Point about the History of Muslim Gujarat*—by Dr. M. Abdullah Chaghtai.
- vi. *Indian Muslims and their Neglect of Science*—by Prof. Mohd. A. R. Khan.
- vii. *Arabic Sources of the History of Gujarat Saltanat*—by Janab Qazi Ahmad Mian Akhtar.
- viii. *The Spirit of Science and World Unity*—by Dr. M. Raziuddin.
- ix. *Why should one Study the Life of the Prophet*—by Dr. Mohammad Hamidullah.
- x. *India's Economics*—by Dr. S. N. A. Jafri.
- xi. *I Search the Chest*—by Dr. Salebhhai Tyebbhahi.
2. *The People of Poland*—by Bernear Newman.
3. *Poland and Russia*—by Dr. J. Weyers ; published by the Indo-Polish Library.
4. *Pakistan*—by Dr. Shaukat-Ullah Ansari ; published by Minerva Book-Shop, Lahore.
5. *What Poland Wants*—by Ignacy Matuszewski ; published by the Indo-Polish Library.
6. *Eastern Pakistan : its Population and Delimitation and Economics* ; published by East Pakistan Renaissance Society, Calcutta.
7. *Turkiyat Macmuasi* (in Turkish language)—by Dr. H. Ritter.
8. *Philölogika* (in German language)—by Dr. H. Ritter ; published by Walter De Gruyter & Co., Berlin.
9. *Das Proömium des Matnawi-i-Maulwi* (in German language)—by Dr. H. Ritter ; published by Kommissionsverlag F. A. Brockhaus, Leipzig.
10. *Kitab Bad, Man Anaba Ila Llahita* 'Ala (in German language)—by Dr. H. Ritter.
11. *Farsca Grameri* (in Turkish language)—by Dr. H. Ritter.
12. *A Handlist of the Arabic, Persian and Hindustani MSS.* ; compiled by R. B. Serjeant, Ph.D.
13. *Hal and Talwar* (in Urdu), published by United Publication, Delhi.
14. *Dārā Shikuh and Fine Arts*—by Bikrama Jit Hasrat, Santiniketan (off-print).
15. *Mukālama Bābā Lāl wa Dārā Shikuh*—by Bikrama Jit Hasrat, Santiniketan (off-print).

Corrigenda

I.C., Vol. XVIII

Page	Line	Text	Correction
301	1	The Mughal	The Mughals
237	10	long trial	long trail
278	4	subacida	Subadcid
278	ft. note 5	remonstration	remonstratie

NOTICE.

All manuscripts, letters, etc., meant for the Editor, should be addressed to the Secretary, Editorial Board, and business correspondence to the Manager, Islamic Culture, Hyderabad, Deccan.

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Ed., I. C.

